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Painted by Sir Peter Lely. Engraved by Philip Audinet.

My Lords
Your Lsps
most humble servant
Rochester
May ye. 13th 1701

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THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND OF HIS BROTHER,

LAURENCE HYDE, EARL OF ROCHESTER;

WITH THE

DIARY OF LORD CLARENDON

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FROM 1687 TO 1690,

CONTAINING MINUTE PARTICULARS OF THE EVENTS ATTENDING

THE REVOLUTION:

AND THE

DIARY OF LORD ROCHESTER

DURING HIS EMBASSY TO POLAND IN 1676.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, WITH NOTES,

BY SAMUEL WELLER SINGER, F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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1828.

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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON.

CCXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

State of the Ports of Munster.—State of certain Regiments, and other Army regulations.—Condition of the Castle and Citadel of Limerick.—Lord Castleconnell disappointed at the neglect he experiences.—His sons; one of them recommended for the first vacant cornetcy.

MY LORD, Limerick, September 22, 1686.

My last to your Lordship was on the 12th instant from Waterford: since which time I have been at Cork, Youghall, Kinsale, and have visited all the ports in the province of Munster, wherein there are several things of absolute necessity to be repaired, which will be of no great expense. I shall quickly send over a further account thereof. At Cork the Major-general's regiment is quartered for the present, for the conveniency of seeing them all together: I saw them all drawn out, and exercise; which they perform as well as can be expected from men who have been no longer in the service. Next week five companies of them are to march to Waterford, where they are to winter. Last night I came to this place, where Colonel Hamilton is at present, and his whole regiment of Dragoons. I have also seen them exercise, at which they are as adroit as is possible for new men to be: it is, indeed, a very fine regiment, and need not be ashamed to appear before the King, if there were

occasion. The men being raw, are apt to commit too many disorders, and some of their officers being young and unexperienced did not keep them in so good discipline as they ought to have done; but the Colonel's having been a little time with them has done them (I hope) all good, for he will have order observed. He thinks this town not a good quarter for horse, and so the regiment will all disperse the next week into other places; and I have ordered four companies of my Lord Forbes's regiment to come hither. I have viewed the King's Castle, and the Citadel here; which are in very ill circumstances. Colonel Lacy is Deputy Governor of the King's Castle, under my Lord Blessington: his company is here with him, and it is a very good one. I met here my Lord Castleconnell, whom the King knows: he served under his Majesty in Flanders. He is now under great mortification to see so many of his countrymen (some of whom never served before,) in employment, and nothing done for him: I have promised to move his Majesty in his behalf; which I humbly beseech your Lordship to do. This Lord hath two sons in the army, who have served abroad: his second son, Mr. Edmund Bourke, has nothing. He is a proper gentleman; and when there is an opportunity, if your Lordship please to obtain for him a cornet of horse, or some employment in the foot, it will be an act of great generosity and goodness, and an obligation to a noble family. I shall be at Kilkenny on Saturday, and the next week at Dublin. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Arrival at Limerick.—The Collector and Surveyor of Limerick arrested at the suit of the merchants, in revenge for the seizure of contraband goods.—The soldiers interfere with the revenue officers in the discharge of their duty.—These things will be redressed by Colonel Hamilton.—Five Companies of Lord Forbes's Regiment are coming to Limerick.—State of Colonel Hamilton's Regiment; of the Castle and Citadel.—Is entertained by the Bishop, by the Mayor, &c.—Mr. Nihill presents a petition of the Roman Catholic merchants of Limerick at the Mayor's.—Clamorous conduct of those merchants.—Lord Clarendon's answer to them.—His reception by the Sheriff, &c. on the limits of the County.—Conduct of the Catholic gentry.—Lord Castleconnell, and his claims to the King's notice.—Captain Mathew's house at Thomas Town; state of the place.

Limerick, September 23, 1686. Thursday.

On Monday I left Cork: I dined at Castle-Lyons, the Earl of Barrymore's, and lay that night at Mr. Arthur Hyde's; a worthy man, and owned to be so

by all people. The next day I came to this place, where I arrived after six in the evening, it being about twenty Irish miles. I spent only yesterday here; and so should not have written to you from hence, but to give you an account of one or two particulars which have happened here; and which I think worth the remarking, at least to inform you, that you may know what to say, if you hear any thing mentioned of what passed while I was here. Amongst those who came to attend me upon my arrival, were the officers of the King's revenue in this port. Mr. Bridges, who is now on his circuit, met me at Cork, and came with me hither, that I might have an account of what was necessary for me to know relating to the King's service. Mr. Munke, the collector of this port, told me, that about a week since himself and Mr. Pearse, the surveyor, were arrested by a writ out of the Common Pleas, at the suit of Mr. Stackpole, and others concerned in the fine goods which were seized sometime since, and condemned for attempting to defraud the King of his duty; the whole history whereof, and what was done therein at the Council Board, I told you in my letters of that time; and which I beg you to review. Pearse, being upon the King's business, and obliged to go out of town, was forced to give bail for his appearance: the common security of 50*l.* was refused, and they would not let him go till he had found 400*l.* security for his appearance the first day of the next term at Dublin; which, though not very easy, the poor man procured by the help of some honest men in the town, who saw plainly that he was prosecuted upon the King's account. Munke, the collector, who is a very brisk man, and diligent in his duty, and lives constantly in town, plainly said he would give no security for his appearance; that he had the honour of the King's commission, and, if they would lay him by the heels, at their perils: he had done nothing but his duty, and would justify it. He told them, if they had proceeded fairly and regularly by a writ out of the Exchequer, he would have submitted to it; that was the King's court, which properly had cognizance of all things relating to the revenue; and that court would punish the King's officers, if they did amiss; but nothing of the revenue could come before the Common Pleas. Upon this the sheriffs thought fit to let him alone, and to proceed no further; and so Mr. Munke follows his business. I confess I could not but think this proceeding a great piece of insolence, after all the deliberation that was had of the matter at the Board, and that there were twelve days between the hearing of the cause and dismissing the appeal, to the end that the merchants, who thought themselves aggrieved, might have made their

submission: which if they had done, they would have found the effect of; as one of their number did, who had his goods restored to him again, paying the King's duty, and the reward to the officer according to the act. The complaint being made to me, I thought I could do no less than send for the merchants, and discourse with them, which I did: but the answer of one of them (who is the most active in this prosecution) was very bold; viz. that he knew what he did, that he had as good counsel as any in the kingdom, and that he made not one step but by the advice of Mr. Nangle. I said no more; but you may be sure the business shall be well followed, and the King shall not be baffled in this matter. Mr. Nangle was of counsel with these merchants at the board, but he assured me he would advise them to submit, which this is not. Another complaint was made to me, that when the King's officers are on board a ship, at its arrival, to take an account of her, some of the dragoons come on board, and beat them off, by which means the King is very much abused. The soldiers' names are not known; and when complaint is made to the officer upon the guard, the answer is, "It is not my own company: the duty is done by detachments out of the several companies, and I do not know the names of the men. When you tell me any of them, they shall be punished." I have told Colonel Hamilton of this, (who is now here with his whole regiment) and these things should be redressed; but the regiment at the Colonel's desire, (this not being a proper place for them to continue in) are removing to other quarters; and five companies of my Lord Forbes's regiment are coming in their rooms, who shall have orders given them for their good comportment. I must not omit telling you, that these complaints which I mention, were for things done before Colonel Hamilton came hither; for he is very careful, and gives very good rules. He has indeed a very fine regiment, which would not be out of countenance if the King saw them: they are as adroit at their exercise, as can be expected from men who have been no longer in the service. Some of the officers are young, and, till they are reclaimed, (which I hope will be quickly) they commit too many irregularities, and too much countenance their soldiers in the like. I have visited the King's Castle, and the Citadel here, which are famous by reputation, but are really in wretched circumstances, of which I will write more largely at my return. I have likewise viewed the quay, and the Custom-house, upon which you shall shortly have some observations. I have been entertained here very greatly by the bishop, who is a man of quality, uncle to the present Lord Digby of Colshill. Last night I was

entertained at supper by the mayor and corporation. As soon as I came into the room, one Mr. Nihill, a young lawyer, who is lately made of the King's Counsel, (he married Follyard's daughter, the late King's barber: his father is a little attorney in the town, but he himself is very proud and pert, to say no worse,) came to me in a very clamorous way with two or three merchants of the town, and delivered me a petition in the name of the Roman Catholic merchants of this city, saying they were extremely oppressed, and could have no right done them. I told them I would consider of it, and give them an answer to-morrow morning; which I am sure ought to have satisfied any reasonable men; and I thought they were so, for they, the merchants, went away, Mr. Nihill staying behind; but within three minutes they met with my secretary on the other side the room, and told him they had delivered me a petition, and desired an answer to it. He told them he had not yet seen it, (for they themselves had given it me but just in that instant) but to-morrow morning they should have an answer. They were so rudely loud, that I was forced to bid them be gone; and so they withdrew, their friend Mr. Nihill being ashamed of them.

Thursday. This morning the merchants came to me for an answer to their petition. I told them in the hearing of a multitude of witnesses, that, in the first place, they might have come to me at my lodging, where some hundreds of people had spoke with me, and not in that clamorous manner they did at the mayor's: in the next place, I asked Mr. Nihill, whether himself and his father, and the three Roman Catholic merchants who came with the petition, and other Roman Catholics, to the number of thirteen in all, were not actually admitted of the Common Council; and whether I had not, according to the King's letter, dispensed with their taking the oath of supremacy; to all which they answered, yes; then, said I, they had no reason to complain, and if any others had, when they applied to me by name, I knew what I had to do. But for any men to petition in the form of a body, when they had not authority so to do, was not to be suffered; yet I was ready to receive a petition from any corporation, or legal body; but if particular men gave me a petition, in the name of the Protestants of such a place, I would take a course with them; and therefore I advised them to be more careful for the future; that if any persons petitioned me in the names of those who were aggrieved, I would do them right: and so dismissed them, how well satisfied I cannot tell; but I am sure, some who were present, even Roman Catholics, blamed them, and thought I was in the right. I here send you a copy of the

petition. The truth is, these people, some of them, think they must have all they have a mind to, and that their being Roman Catholics is sufficient, and look upon themselves as injured to the greatest degree, if they have not, what is never allowed to the English, but under qualifications: and this is the difference between us; wherein I think myself in the right, and that the King's intention is, that religion should be no hinderance to the native merchants, &c. from enjoying the benefit of being freemen, and holding offices, as the rest of his Majesty's subjects do: and in that I am sure the King is fully obeyed. Possibly Mr. Nihill will make a representation of this; for it can be proved that he has made great brags of what he can do in England by the interest of his friends there. If you hear any thing of these matters, you know now the whole truth. Upon the limits of the county, the High Sheriff met me (as usual) with a great appearance of gentlemen, and about a dozen Roman Catholics among them, which were more than have been with me, take them all together, since I left Kilkenny. I take notice of this only to observe to you, that these gentlemen, the natives, though several of them are in the commissions of the peace, yet they will not mingle with the others, nor come to any public appearance, but herd by themselves, as if their business were to keep up a distinct interest; which I am sure is not for the King's service, and I hope a little time will teach them better things. Among those Roman Catholics who have been with me here, was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashell, who has this morning made me a very civil visit; and likewise our old friend, my Lord Castleconnell, who thinks he has hard measure that he is put into no employment; and truly I cannot but pity him, considering how long he served, and how many are provided for, who never served at all; and therefore I have moved my Lord President to speak to the King in his behalf. I am just leaving this town, and shall be to-night at Captain Mathews's.

Thomas Town, Captain Mathews's house, Friday the 24th.

I came hither last night, where I have been most kindly used. This is a very fine place, and the most improved of any situation I have seen since I came into this kingdom, especially considering that it is but fifteen years since he first sat down upon it, when there was not a house upon it. To-night I shall lodge at Clonmell, and to-morrow at Kilkenny, from whence you shall hear again from me. God keep you and all yours.

CCXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further progress in his Journey.—Clonmell.—Carrick, a seat of the Duke of Ormond.—Illness of Lord Rochester.—Expected visit of his son Lord Cornbury; does not approve of his absenting himself just at present.—Meeting of Parliament.

Kilkenny, September 28, 1686.

My last was ended at Thomas Town. On Friday I lay at Clonmell, a very pretty town, the capital of the palatinate of Tipperary; all which county is very fruitful and rich land, but all pasture, and employed in sheep walks and feeding black cattle. There is very little arable in the whole county, and consequently not much people; of which there is a great scarcity over the whole kingdom. It is very observable that there is not half the stock upon the ground as useth to be; which is a great evidence of the deadness of the inland trade. On Saturday, after I had taken a view of Carrick, an ancient seat belonging to the Duke of Ormond, and I think one of the prettiest places I ever saw in my life, I arrived here in the evening; where I found four packets come that morning together from England, in which I had your's of the 11th and 18th instant; and by that means I did not know of your being ill, till at the same time you gave me an account under your own hand of having missed your fit. I give God thanks that you are so happily freed from that distemper: an ague would have been a very ill companion in the winter. That you may long enjoy perfect health, the greatest blessing of this life, is my constant prayer.

By what you say in your's of the 11th, I perceive I am speedily to expect my son. He were better have put off that visit till the spring, and so I sent him word some time since; but I will take care he shall be back again before the meeting of the Parliament. And upon this occasion pray give me leave to ask, whether it be certain that the Parliament is to meet at the time appointed. My Lord Tyrconnel gave out three months since, that it would certainly meet at the time, and made a further discourse upon it, of what measures would be taken, in case the proceedings of the Parliament did not answer expectation, which I do not think fit to mention this way; but those discourses have put imaginations into men's minds, which are not for the King's service in my humble opinion. To-morrow, God willing, I go hence for Dublin, where I shall be on Thursday; and then I will quickly give you

an account of all the letters I have had from you whilst I was abroad. My wife has been here these three weeks; and by the benefit of this air has perfectly recovered her health, even to a miracle, if it please God she may keep it. God Almighty keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

His journey.—Lady Clarendon's health improved by her stay at Kilkenny.—Hopes that no changes in the affairs of Ireland will be resolved on without the Duke's advice.—Cannot think that Lord Tyrconnel's and Mr. Nangle's arguments, which are all on one side, ought to decide the matter.—The Lord Chancellor's letter.

MY LORD, Kilkenny, September 28, 1686.

I have lately made a progress all over Munster, not only much to my own satisfaction, but I hope, in some respects, of use to the King's service. While I was abroad, by your Grace's favour I left my wife at this noble place, which has perfectly restored her to her health. At my return hither, which was on Saturday last, I had your Grace's letter of the 16th instant; and am very sorry to find, that you have yet had no communication of the affairs of this country. I am willing to hope, that it is because they are not yet taken into consideration; for certainly there can be no resolution formed for new changes without advising with your Grace. If there should, it is to be feared, they will not be so much for the advantage of the English interest, and the settlement of the kingdom, as were to be wished: nor can I believe that determinations will be fixed for shaking possessions upon hearing the arguments only of my Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Nangle, who appear but for one side. Though the latter be a man of great knowledge, and professeth great duty to your Grace (for which he is the more to be liked), yet he cannot conceal his partiality; and at the consultations where I have seen him, it has been visible, with all his learning and skill, he could not confute the reasons of those who differed with him, by any other arguments than the single saying, he was of another opinion. The letter your Grace mentions from my Lord Chancellor here, is a very good one, and to the King himself: I wish it may be seen. What I have written upon the subject of our late consultations, my brother can give your Grace an account of. Certainly the King will never determine the state of a whole kingdom, upon which the future well or ill

being of it does depend, without hearing all interests, as well as one; and if his Majesty will hear and examine, then, I am sure, right will be done. To-morrow I return to Dublin, it being time to go into winter quarters, the season of the year being fresh, though the weather is very fair; for we have not had one drop of rain since I have been abroad. I am with all possible observance,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCXXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Successful termination of his journey.—Complains that the King should prefer to have the business of state in Ireland done by those in subordinate authority, making him appear insignificant.—Would be willing that the King should see all his letters, as Lord Sunderland shows him but few of those addressed to him.—Commissioners of the Revenue proceed in their task with diligence, notwithstanding the discouragement they receive.—Further reports of changes.—Bush and Smith, neither of them qualified to succeed Mr. Trumbull.—Mr. Price's engagement to return the Revenue to England without exchange.—Complaint of proceedings in the Ordnance department.—Appointment of a Dutch Consul.—Neglect of Lord Sunderland to answer his letters.—Mr. Sheridan, his character.—Mr. Flood: suggestion about his fitness for Accountant-General.

Chapel Izod, October 2, 1686.

My last to you was from Kilkenny; which place I left on Wednesday, and arrived here the next day. I have had a very pleasant progress throughout, and the finest weather that has been known; not one drop of rain having fallen since the two first days after I went out, till my return. It now begins to rain and blow; so that the next week we think to remove to Dublin. I have been abroad just three and twenty days, in which time I have gone between four and five hundred Irish miles; and, I thank God, am returned without any ill accident to any of my company, or so much as to a horse. And now I will apply myself to give account of what I have observed relating to the King's affairs, as I shall have occasion. In the account I have given you all along of the little notice the natives have taken of me, I have omitted one particular, which I think worth your knowledge. At Cork some gentlemen of both religions being together, and discoursing with some wonder how few of the natives had been with me, a Roman Catholic priest in the company (who will own it) said, "Our people are mad; our clergy have forbid gentlemen to appear:" says another, "We have some among us who pretend to govern, and to know more of the King's mind than my Lord-

lieutenant, which will ruin us." At my return hither I found three packets from England, among which were yours of the 21st and 23d past. As to what you say in your first, that, after the several representations I have made of affairs here, I must have patience, I can very easily submit to the King's pleasure in every thing; but still I cannot help saying and thinking that it is a new method of doing business, that all that the King thinks fit to have done should be performed by those in subordinate authority, and he, who is vested in all the power the King can give him, must sit like an ass and know nothing. While all the public letters from England take notice of the changes which are made, and the persons here concerned receive compliments thereupon, (as particularly Mr. Justice Nugent does of being Lord Chief Justice) and my Lord Lieutenant knows nothing: I confess, where the use is to the King to have pains taken to show the world how very insignificant the man is, with whom he thinks fit to trust the government of a Kingdom, I do not see. Nor is it to be wondered that other men pay so little regard, when they see how little countenance I have from my master. I can say to myself, I have done nothing amiss; and I have not angered the King, because I am not reproved for any thing I have done since my being here, which I ought to look upon as a comfort: but that is taken quite away by the mortification I receive by the public observation, how little I am trusted. I know not any one letter I have written, which I would not be willing the King should see; and perhaps the letters I have written to you in my progress might do some good to have him see them, at least no harm: but of that you are the best judge. I only mention it because, if the brags of some people are true, few of my letters to the Secretary of State are showed to the King; but God's and the King's will be done. I will serve him as well as I can, and as much as he will give me leave. No endeavours of mine have been wanting, nor shall, to allay men's jealousies, and to pacify their minds; but reasonable apprehensions are not to be cured with unreasonable arguments; and nothing but time, whereby it appears those fears are groundless, can secure men. The Commissioners of the Revenue do not slacken in their vigour or diligence, and doubt not of the success they have had in being approved, notwithstanding all the discouragements are endeavoured to be put upon them by letters from England; one while, that they are to be changed, and other whiles, that the revenue is to be farmed; of both which reports the last packets are full, as they are of my Lord Dover's being to supersede me, and forty other stories; which would

be ridiculous at another time, if rumours concerning the affairs of this Kingdom had not proved true these last eight months. You shall very speedily have an account of the business relating to Lord Ranelagh and partners, and of the other farms; and then you will see it has not been forgotten, nor neglected. The work is intricate enough, and requires the utmost intentions, from which I have been this summer sufficiently diverted; (not meaning by my progress) but I say you will very speedily be satisfied.

As to the two persons you mention for Mr. Trumbull's place to be supplied by one of them, Bush and Smith, they are both ingenious men, and have been bred clerks under the Commissioners of the Revenue; Bush in the Accountant-General's office. He is now in the circuit attending Mr. Bridges. But, in my opinion, they are neither of them yet qualified for such a station, and would do better to be continued longer where they are: and it would do better certainly to have some able man out of England; which you are the best judge of.

For Mr. Price's engagement to return the King's private revenue without any exchange, I never heard of it, till by your letter of the 23d past; and so could not give any order in it. I have now spoken with him; and he tells me he has taken orders in it, and that you will from this time receive 1000*l.* a week, till the whole be paid; which, he hopes, will not be much worse, than if it had been paid at Michaelmas. I do assure you it was never so hard a matter to return money from hence, as it is now, the lowest rate being now 8½*l.*, but he does not repine, though it be very high.

To show you that I am not to be without complaining, I am now to make one complaint of the Office of the Ordnance. Upon letters I had some time since from Lord Dartmouth, that stores were sent to Chester and Carlisle for the use of this kingdom; upon notice that they were arrived at Chester, and ready to be disposed of as I would order, I sent Mr. Robinson, clerk of the stores here, to Chester, at the time my Lord Tyrconnel went over, with orders to bring some of the stores hither; a particular account whereof I gave my Lord Dartmouth in my letter of the 4th past, and have heard nothing from him since. The arms were accordingly delivered to Robinson, who had shipped them; but a letter came from the Office of the Ordnance to the Governor of Chester to direct him not to deliver the arms till further order: so they were immediately taken out of the ship again, and carried back to the Castle there; all which may be well, and for the King's service, for aught I know; but certainly it had not been unrea-

sonable to have said something to me of it. Afterwards Mr. Robinson received another letter from the office, requiring him to be at the Tower at my Lord Dartmouth's return from the west, to consider of what is fit to be done for Ireland; but Mr. Robinson was then at Holyhead, ready to embark for this place: and certainly he was in the right in coming over, and not in going to London; he having my order to make haste hither, which cannot be superseded by a less authority. One would think I ought to be advised with, as well as Mr. Robinson, in what is fit to be done for Ireland. I send you copies of both letters; and do beg you will do something therein, and let me know it. I confess I did not expect that slight from my Lord Dartmouth's office. I am sure I have lived very civilly towards him; perhaps more so than my successor will, whoever he may be: but I know not how to deal with men; or else the new method is to be observed throughout, and the Chief Governor is to sit still and do nothing, and be responsible for the faults of others. I am not angry; but I know I am not well used; and it is to you only I complain.

I had some time since a reference from the King, by my Lord Middleton, concerning a Dutch Consul to reside in this kingdom; upon which I made a report, and sent it in as civil a letter as I could write to his Lordship on the 12th of August. As to the business, it is nothing to me; and, when you have a mind to be diverted, I can tell you why it will be hindered. But his Lordship might have afforded me the civility of an answer; which I only tell you with this remark, that I believe, being a Secretary of State makes a man forget to write. I would I were in any employment which would cure me of that infirmity; it would give me much ease. I send you here enclosed the copy of the last letter I had from my Lord President, together with my answer to it: I cannot help its being so dry. God keep you and yours. One of the rumours from England from people who think themselves knowing is, that Mr. Sheridan will be here immediately, and to be a Commissioner of the Revenue. Sure it is not known what a wicked cheating man he is.

Here is one Mr. Flood waits upon me, he came over with me, he is a very honest man, and seems to be a man of business; but I am not yet enough acquainted with him to judge whether he be fit to be Accountant-general, and I am very tender of recommending any I am not thoroughly acquainted with; he is very well known to Sir Charles Cottrell, and to Sir Thomas Fits, of whom you may inform yourself.

CCXXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Result of his observations during his Journey.—The greatest want of Ireland is people, and yet emigrations daily take place.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Oct. 2, 1686.

My last to your Lordship was of the 22d past from Limerick. After two days stay at Kilkenny, I arrived here on Thursday last, having very happily ended my progress; of which all the account I shall trouble your Lordship with at present is, that I have seen a most pleasant and beautiful country, full of great improvements, and capable of many more with the least encouragement. All along as I went, I found the people full of duty and devotion to the King, and desirous to give all possible demonstrations of it. I wish there were more of them; for scarcity of people is the greatest want this kingdom at present has; and many do daily go away. Whilst I was at Kilkenny, I received four packets from England, and amongst them your Lordship's of the 11th past; by which I am glad to find all my letters were come safe to your Lordship. The King's letter concerning Sir Arthur Gore, and the Commission for Mr. Barnwall, came to me near a month since; and I acknowledged the receipt of them in a former letter to your Lordship. Your Lordship is pleased to tell me, that his Majesty does not think fit to issue such a proclamation, as was done in the late Earl of Essex's time; of which certainly the King is the best judge.

It would be very ridiculous to entertain your Lordship with the stories, which are written out of England to some of the natives here, of the resolutions which are taken upon Mr. Nangle's representations to the King; but I was never forward to give too much credit to reports, and do take all the pains I can to decry them. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but that I am with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Will do Captain Dering all the service in his power.—Conduct of Lord Tyrconnel in regard to minutes of the conference on the 26th of August.—Lord Clarendon's opinion of the course to be pursued in restoring the forfeited estates, &c.—Wishes his letters of the 14th and 26th of August to be read to the King.—Present state of the regiment of Guards.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 5, 1686.

Since my last I have received yours of the 16th of August, by Captain Deering; and I think you will be satisfied, if I tell you, that he shall find no inconvenience by his having been absent beyond his licence. And I assure you, I will do him all further service in my power; of which I will be content himself shall be judge: but, God knows, that is very little, as things are ordered. I acknowledged yours of the 7th past in mine of the 19th, from Cork. I then told you, if I were with my papers, and if I saw those minutes which my Lord Tyrconnel showed, signed by himself and others, I could write more particularly, than was possible for me to do at that time. I have now preserved my notes, and I do not find I have cause to contradict what I said from Cork; but I shall further add, that the last consultation I had with Lord Tyrconnel and others was on Tuesday the 24th of August. On the 26th of August, my Lord Tyrconnel embarked for England; when indeed I saw him, but we had no consultation: how then minutes came to be signed of what was done on the 26th, is worth observing. This I must likewise take notice of, that on the 24th, when we had a consultation, Major-general Macarty, though he was there, went away at least half an hour before we broke up: how then he could sign a paper of what every body agreed to, when he was not there at the result, is worth considering. The proceedings of some men are admirable; which is all I will observe at present: and, for an account of the last conference we had, I refer myself to the letter I wrote to my Lord President, dated the 26th of August; (which was as soon as I could write after the 24th,) whereby it will appear, that there was no mention then of the time of calling a Parliament here; and that I was not of opinion, that the money to be raised should be employed to satisfy those who were in possession of the lands, which by the King's declaration were intended (after reprisal) to be restored to the ancient proprietors; but, on the contrary,

that those who could not be reprised, because the stock fell short, should (after so long a settlement, and such various changes,) be quieted in their possessions; and that the money to be raised should be distributed among such as the King should think best. And now I will say no more upon this subject, till you give me fresh occasion by what may arise there. I have been the more particular in this matter, because I will never be found to give an account to a Secretary of State of any thing different from a resolution taken unanimously, when it is so: and, on the other hand, an assertion of half a number ought not to be imposed upon the other half as a resolution of theirs, when in truth it is not so; especially where the care of a whole kingdom is concerned. And for that reason I would earnestly wish, that my letter of the 26th of August to my Lord President might be read to the King, and likewise my other letter to his Lordship of the 14th of August; the particulars whereof are all true: and I am covetous of nothing, but that the King should know the truth of every thing; which, I am afraid, he does not of matters here in this poor country. When his Majesty knows all, he is best able to judge, and to direct what he will have done; and if ever I tell him an untruth of what I pretend to say upon my own knowledge, then let me suffer. I could be very well content the King saw every letter I have written since I came hither: I am sure he will find nothing in them but duty and integrity, and a desire to serve him in the best manner. This morning I saw the regiment of Guards drawn out and exercise; which they performed as well as could be expected from raw men, for much the greater part of them are raw. I likewise ordered them to be mustered: they are not yet quite complete; but their numbers will be quickly full. God keep you and yours.

CCXXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His concern at having incurred the King's displeasure in any way.—Answers seriatim the objections urged against his conduct.

Dublin Castle, October 6, 1686.

Yesterday about noon came in two packets from England with letters of the 28th and 30th past; and in Mr. Shaw's of the 28th I received your's of the 25th past. You will believe I need no mortification, when you tell me that I have done any thing with which the King is in the least dissatisfied;

for, if I know my own heart, I had rather not be in the world, than to remain under his Majesty's displeasure; which is an unhappiness I hope not yet befallen me when, at the same time that he is pleased to tell you what he is dissatisfied with me for, his Majesty is still so gracious as to give me leave to answer to what is suggested to my prejudice; which I shall do with all possible plainness and integrity. And I hope you will judge of me by yourself, that I am as sensible of this his Majesty's gracious goodness, as it is possible for a man to be; for which I do cast myself at his feet with all imaginable submission. I will proceed to answer the particulars objected to me head by head, in the same method you give them. The first your letter mentions (I transcribe the very words) is, "that there had been some time ago a debate at the Council table, concerning the confirming the choice, that had been made in several corporations, of men to be of the corporations, and of such men as were not fit to be chosen; that this debate happening while my Lord Tyrconnel was there, he and several others of the Council that were against the confirmation, had delivered their opinions so as that the matter was laid aside without confirming those choices; but that, since my Lord Tyrconnel came away, you had ordered the confirming of them, and you, as Lord Lieutenant, without any more debate at the Council." To which I answer, that in the month of July most corporations choose their magistrates for the ensuing year; and those mentioned in the new rules, certify their elections to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to the end that the persons chosen may be approved of. When any of these certificates come up, they are laid before the Lord Lieutenant and Council by the Clerk of the Council, to whom they are returned. When any were thus produced this summer, every body at the board spoke their minds freely, as they knew any thing of the person elected. If an objection were made against any man who was returned, he was set aside, and the place ordered to go to a new election. And from time to time several approbations were respited in expectation that something might be objected to, and all that were objected to were set aside; and not one that was respited, but, before he was allowed, the certificate was read, and the Clerk of the Council acquainted the board with the reason of the respite; and then the whole board being satisfied, consented to the approbation. And I do positively aver, that I, as Lord Lieutenant, have never given an approbation of any election of magistrates or officers of corporations without the concurrence of the Council. The law directs, that the approbation of all magistrates and officers of corporations (in the rules mentioned) shall be by the Lord Lieu-

tenant and Council. Should I alone, as Lord Lieutenant, approve of any without the Council, the approbation would be illegal, and void; and I hope I shall never upon my own head do an illegal thing. I have here given as full an answer as I can to the first head, which is very general. If the person who has informed the King, will mention any particular approbation, which he complains of, I will send an exact account thereof; and I would be very glad a particular were assigned.

Second head. "That, when several troopers were ordered to be disbanded, when the changes were made in the army, and Lord Tyrconnel would have had their arms taken from them, you would not allow it; which, the King was pleased to say, besides the charge that it must be to him to find new arms for the new troopers, is against all methods in the like cases, to leave men that must be displeased for being disbanded, with arms in their hands, and against all prudence and reason."

My answer to this is, that the practice in the army of Ireland was, that no man was admitted to be a trooper, but who came well mounted, armed, and accoutred at his own charges. When many of these men were turned out, not being thought qualified for the King's service, and no fault laid to their charge, I confess, I thought it very hard, that the poor men who had laid out all they had to equip themselves to serve the King, must, besides losing their employments, be stripped of what they bought before they came into the service, and which they could dispose of towards their relief: but there are not many of these cases, not above thirty in the whole army; for several of the officers thought it so compassionate a thing, that they bought many of the arms and accoutrements of the men they disbanded. If I have done amiss herein, I have told the true ground of my error; and I do most humbly ask his Majesty's pardon for it, as I shall upon my knees for every thing he is displeased with me for.

The Third head was the "calling Captain Arthur back from the business he was sent about:" I think I need not transcribe all you write upon that matter.

I gave you a full account of that whole affair in mine of the 9th of the last month; which, I earnestly desire you, may be read to the King. I shall add this further, that on Wednesday the 25th of August, was the first and only time my Lord Tyrconnel said any thing to me of putting any more men out of the regiment of Guards. And what he then told me (for I wrote down immediately all he then said, as I have done almost every word that has passed

between us, while he was here) was, that he had marked two hundred men to be put out of that regiment; that there was no haste, if they were not dismissed this month or six weeks, for they were very good men, and he would be sorry to lose them out of the King's service; they were only not sizable for the regiment; and therefore he desired, I would order Colonel Russell to be written to, that he might be supplied with these men; for he (Lord Tyrconnel) knew men were not easy to be got, where he was. I never enquired whether they were new men, or old, but bade Sir P. Rycaut (who was present all the time) write, as was desired, to Lieutenant-colonel Billingsley, Colonel Russell being then upon other business at Galway. My Lord Tyrconnel sometimes thinks he has spoken of things, which perhaps he intended, but never mentioned; and, on the contrary, is sometimes dissatisfied that things are done, though they were by his own desire, which he had forgotten; as he has more than once been convinced of upon debate. And so it is in this particular. I do assure you, upon the faith of an honest man, that he never mentioned to me the sending Captain Arthur, or any other officer to raise men. And Colonel Dorington's order to Captain Arthur (a copy whereof I sent you) recites, that my Lord Tyrconnel had impowered him to send such officers as he should think fit, &c. whereby I think it is very clear, that neither Captain Arthur, nor any one else was named to me. But the true reason why I sent for Captain Arthur back was, because the raising of men is a matter of great consequence, and ought to be done by no authority but of the Chief Governor. If my Lord Tyrconnel had told me, (as he might have done) that he had thought it needful to raise men in the country, rather than to take such as offered themselves here; I would have advised with his Lordship, into what counties to have sent, and would have sent those very officers his Lordship had advised. But for a man to go to raise men by any less authority than of the Chief Governor, was never known in this kingdom: and for an officer to be despatched upon such an affair by an order of a Lieutenant-colonel, grounded upon an order from my Lord Tyrconnel, signed the very day he left the kingdom, and not so much as one word said to the Chief Governor, would, I believe, in any part of the world be thought very strange. This is the whole truth of that matter; and if I have erred, you see upon what my error is grounded; and I am always ready to beg the King's pardon for whatever he is offended with me.

Fourth head. "That, though you did consent to the changes that were directed, you did it so, as every body saw you did not approve of them; that you did not consent readily, and people could see that you gave dis-

countenance to it; which did not become the Chief Governor to do in any thing that was the King's pleasure should be done."

To this head I know not how to answer, but that I am not guilty. What account can a man give of his looks? For any one to tell the King, that though I consented to the changes, yet every body could see I did not approve them; that I did not readily consent, and that I discountenanced them: these are general, and (to say no worse) very unkind suggestions, which I have been enough acquainted with. As to the changes, the manner of making them was by the King's command, and I am sure nobody offered to debate upon them; and so consequently there was not, nor could be any need of my consenting one way or other. If any particular instance had been given of my discountenancing the King's pleasure in the least, I doubt not but I should have answered it to his Majesty's satisfaction; because I am sure I can never be guilty of any such thing. And in the mean time, till a particular be instanced, I hope I shall be judged by my actions, and not by my looks; nor by other men's imaginations, that I do what they would have me do to be found fault with; and which, by the grace of God, I will not do. The plainest answer I can give to this head is, that immediately upon my Lord Tyrconnel's arrival, I gave him as full orders for the putting out and putting in all common men and non-commissioned officers, as I was by the King's letter commanded to do; nay, though sometimes my Lord Tyrconnel has given me occasion in discourse to speak of men being put out, I always declined it; saying the King had put that matter into his hands, and I would not meddle in it, but contribute all I could to the making it easy; and for the truth of what I say, I refer myself to my letter of the 20th of July to my Lord President, which, I humbly beg that the King would vouchsafe to read. I can likewise say that several officers, even some Roman Catholics, have sometimes acquainted me with the orders they had received concerning the discharging men out of their companies; which, perhaps, they were not well pleased with: but my positive answer to them was, that they must obey the orders they had received. Where my giving any discountenance to the King's pleasure was, I would be glad to be told. That the manner of making these changes in the army was a mortification to me, I will not disown; and for which I refer myself to what I wrote to my Lord President on the 22d of June; which I wish may likewise be laid before the King. But I do absolutely deny that I ever gave the least discountenance by act, word, or even so much as a look, to the

execution of what his Majesty had directed: and I hope, whoever would have me judged by my looks, or by their fancies, will be content to be so judged themselves.

Fifth head. "That whereas his Majesty had given you directions to cause Catholics to be received into the Corporation of Dublin, you had as yet given no account of those commands; and other corporations were backward in doing the like, because Dublin did not give them the good example."

My answer to this last head is, that the King's letter concerning the corporations, &c. (for Dublin was not alone) was brought by my Lord Tyrconnel, and delivered to me on the 7th of June. On the 22d of the same month, I sent my letters to most of the corporations of the kingdom, in pursuance of the King's commands; of which I gave my Lord President an account in my letter to him of the said 22d of that month. I have likewise given him other accounts relating to the corporations in several letters, particularly on the 6th, the 11th, and the 20th of July; all which letters I do humbly beg may be laid before the King. As for the business of Dublin, the circumstances of that city differed from others, which required several conferences with my Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and the seeming delay proceeded not out of any disobedience to the King's commands, but only to remove the rubs which lay in the way. And it was resolved that all persons who had any pretence to the privileges, which other citizens in their circumstances enjoyed, should be admitted upon their quarter day; which will be next Friday se'nnight: and with that answer did the parties concerned seem very well satisfied. I am sure some of them were so; and so, I thought, was my Lord Tyrconnel; whom we acquainted with the whole proceedings in that matter before he went away. No one man has suffered the least inconvenience by this affair not being settled; nor have any of the other corporations been backwards in showing their obedience to the King's commands for want of the good example of this city; as you will see undeniably by the enclosed list of corporations, to which I have written, and every one whereof has obeyed. And wherever any Roman Catholics have been chosen into offices, I have immediately upon application (for that is to the Lord Lieutenant alone) dispensed with the Oath of Supremacy; and have refused none but two merchants of Limerick, who were chosen to be of the Common Council of that city; and my reason for refusing to dispense with them was, because they were convicted of having defrauded the King in his customs; the whole story whereof I have given you an account of at large in my

former letters. And I did not think it reasonable that such men should presently get into authority by his Majesty's favour; which for their obstinacy, in my humble opinion, they do not deserve.

Thus, I think, I have given you an exact answer to the several heads mentioned in your letter; which I hope will give the King satisfaction. I have only to beg that you will put me out of my pain as soon as you can, by letting me know that I am not under his Majesty's displeasure. I could enlarge upon some particulars; but, as I have been, so I will continue to be very tender of saying any thing that may reflect upon any people living, especially now; though really one would think the design of some men was only to affront me. I thank God, I please myself still with the firm belief, that I have paid a perfect, punctual, cheerful, and ready obedience to all the commands I have had from the King; and if any particular be put to me, I doubt not but I shall make it appear undeniably. I wish the King saw my heart, and heard every word I speak: so clear I am in my own mind, and so free from any reserve. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

His concern at having incurred the King's displeasure.—Refers to his Letter to Lord Rochester for an explanation of his conduct.

Dublin Castle, October 6, 1686.

Though my spirits were never under so great a load as at this time, with the apprehension of being under your Majesty's displeasure, yet I take the presumption of casting myself this way at your Majesty's feet, with all humility, to implore your pardon for any thing I have done which you do not like, though I do not know what my faults are. It is a most extraordinary instance, not only of your Majesty's eminent justice, but of your condescension, and most gracious goodness to me, to let me be informed of any thing you are displeased with me for; which I shall to the end of my life acknowledge. I have, Sir, most seriously considered the several particulars my brother sent me by your Majesty's command, upon which your Majesty was dissatisfied with me; and I have called myself to the strictest account for all my actions since I came hither, and thought I had behaved myself so, that it had been impossible to have misrepresented me to your Majesty. I have, by your Majesty's gracious permission, returned to my brother an answer to

every one of the particulars your Majesty was displeased with. I have done it as exactly as the generality of the things would bear; and if any more particular had been objected, I doubt not but I should have given a plain and undeniable confutation. I will only add, that the answer I have sent is only plain matter of fact; and I do most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, that I will always tell you the whole truth without any disguise, though the concealing of it would be to my advantage. I have aimed at nothing so much here, as to give your Majesty a full information of all things and persons in this kingdom, to the best of my knowledge; and I have gloried in nothing more, than in the obeying all the commands I have received from you, not only punctually, but with expedition, and cheerfully. And if I have committed errors or mistakes, I do with all humility beg your Majesty's pardon, and as soon as I am showed them, they will be as soon corrected. Sir, I can say I never willingly offended your Majesty in my life, and, by the grace of God, I never will. I do therefore again most humbly implore your pardon, and your favourable construction of what my brother will read to you; and that you will be pleased not to let me live under your displeasure, than which nothing can be more miserable. That little fortune, and all I have, is held from your Majesty's goodness and bounty: I had rather be without that, and life too, than to want your Majesty's good opinion, which, as I ever did value above all other things, so I will hope you will not withdraw it from him, who will ever be, in what state soever, to the last minute of his life, Sir,

Your Majesty's &c.

CLARENDON.

CCXXXV.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Commanding him to defer the Appointment of Sheriffs.

Whitehall, October 8, 1686.

The usual time approaching now for appointing Sheriffs of the several counties there, I have thought fit that that matter should be deferred for some short time, and accordingly I would have you not name nor appoint any of the Sheriffs till you shall receive my further directions therein.

J. R.

" To the Lord Lieutenant."

CCXXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Encloses his Correspondence with Lord Sunderland.—Is told that it is a great disappointment to those who have complained of him, that he is not immediately sent for home.

Dublin Castle, October 9, 1686.

I told you in some other letter, that I sent you all I received from and wrote to the Lord President. That I may not fail of doing so, I send you the enclosed, which is a copy of the last I had from his Lordship, for your contemplation. Certainly the two letters he acknowledgeth from me (besides the very many he has not yet answered) might have deserved another kind of return: but patience at all times, and in all things. Having no great matter of moment to impart at this time, I will let his Lordship breathe some days yet, before I give him the trouble of a letter. After the long one I wrote to you on the 6th instant, I believe you will scarce expect any from me at this time; but I cannot omit telling you a little story. Yesterday an advertisement was brought me from a Roman Catholic, (who would not appear himself, for reasons I shall know hereafter) that the King was very much dissatisfied with me; that complaint had been made to him of several things I had misbehaved myself in here, and some of the particulars were instanced, which were mentioned in your letter. I am further told, that the King has sent me word of these complaints, to see what I can say for myself, which, my author says, is a great disappointment to those who complained of me; for they expected I should immediately have been sent for away without any more ado. The answer I gave to the person who came to me was, to thank him, and his friend who sent me the information, though I was not to know who he was. I did not own in the least that I had received any reprehension from the King; all that I said was, that whenever any complaint was made of me, I did not doubt but I should be acquainted with it, and I did as little question but I should be as able to give a satisfactory account of all my actions. This matter is written hither by two persons, both whom are named to me, but I do not think fit to mention them this way: methinks this seems very odd, considering all things; but this is the course of the world. I have art enough not to seem dejected to the world, though, God knows, the thought of being under the King's displeasure sticks close to my heart. My carriage here in every respect, and the pains I have taken,

though I say it, are visible to all the world; but God's will be done. While I am here I will pursue my method, and give as full and perfect accounts of every thing as I can, with exact truth; which I am sure can do no harm, though it will not always do good. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

Pray give me leave to put you in mind of a letter I some time since sent to you from Lord Dongan. I am called upon every day for an answer: the truth is, you cannot imagine how impatient people are here, who expect any thing, even those who think themselves the best bred.

CCXXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Rumours of intended changes in the Government of Ireland, originating with Lord Tyrconnel.—Lord Clarendon to be recalled, and Mr. Nangle to be Attorney General.—Lord Powis to have Lord Rochester's place.—Reflections upon the inconsistency of the King's conduct.—Irregular proceedings of Lord Tyrconnel, in making changes in the Army.—Conduct of the Roman Catholics to Charles the First.—Recommends John Ladyman and his petition to Lord Rochester's patronage.—Proposal respecting the Auditor's Office.—Mr. Strong's illness; should he die, would have Mr. Keightley succeed him.—Commissioners of the Revenue; should like to see Mr. Robinson among them.—Mr. Aubrey, his character.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 12, 1686.

Having so good an opportunity as this of John Ladyman's going for England, whither his own affairs call him, I will write of some particulars, which are not so fit to be trusted by the post. In the first place, as to the intelligence, I told you in my last of the 9th, which was given me of the King's having reproved me for what he was dissatisfied with in my behaviour here, I then told you it was written hither by two persons; which were my Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Bridgeman.

Yesterday came in two packets from England, with letters of the 2d and 5th instant; which bring but very little news, as we believe, because those who have the most intelligence, have not the retentive quality; and within two hours after the letters arrive all is presently talked of, and from whom their letters come, that it may be known they have not bad correspondents. And since we hear of no brags yesterday, nor this morning, we conclude, there is little news stirring. Last night our friend James Dempsey came to me, as he often does, to give me information; and it is impossible for any

man to make greater professions of friendship and kindness, than he does to you and me. He tells me, there is a letter come this last post, from Mr. Thomas Sheridan to Judge Nugent, which says, that the changes intended in Ireland are not yet fully resolved on; though my Lord Tyrconnel doubts not but before Christmas I shall be recalled, and that either himself or Lord Dover shall succeed: that Mr. Nangle would certainly be Attorney-general; but that Sir William Davies has kissed the King's hand, and that the laying him aside, and making any other changes among the Judges, was for the present deferred. It is further said, though I am to be sent for home, it is not to be in anger; that I am not to be disgraced; but that the King has use of my service elsewhere, and that something of advantage is to be done for me; which I am much to depend upon, if the rest of what they say is true; which is, that you are to be set aside, and that Lord Powis is to succeed you. Are not these fine notions? For my part, though I do not build my faith upon common reports, yet I shall not be surprised, if every thing which they give out is true; for my Lord Tyrconnel, by his discourse which he makes commonly, (I am sure he has made it to me,) would have it believed, that whatever representations he makes of persons will be credited; and as he has been the occasion of removing several, so he can do more; which he said directly to me: and therefore it is very likely he may obtain to have me removed. To which all that I say is, that I will never do any thing for which (by the strictest examination) to deserve to be removed; and for the rest, I hold this government by no tenure, but the King's pleasure; and when he thinks it for his service to be served by others, I am sure I have nothing to reply, but to submit to his will. I cannot help reflecting sometimes upon the wonderful alterations I see in the minds of men, when I cannot give myself a reason for the same. When the King first appointed me to this government, he was as much a Roman Catholic as he is now; and I suppose, was then as much set upon advancing that religion as he can be now: but why did he then tell me that he would support the English interest? which was one reason of his sending me hither, that the world might see he would do so: that, though he would have the Irish see, that they had a King of their own religion, and that they should enjoy all the freedom thereof; yet he would have them see too, that he looked upon them as a conquered people; and that he would support the settlements inviolably, but I must endeavour to find out some way to help him to relieve some of the Irish, who had deserved well of him; and what I have attempted to do towards that end has been the

cause of our late debates. That the King's mind is altered, I have no reason to believe from any thing he has said to me; for in almost every letter I have had the honour to receive from him he has declared the Acts of Settlement must not be touched, and that he will support the English interest: and yet certainly all proceedings look as if his Majesty's mind were altered, and as if he intended a total alteration; when none of the persons about him, who well know the constitution of the settlements here, are advised with, but all the consultations and measures taken with the Irish, whose professed interest and avowed principle is to break the present settlements, and to suppress the English; and when all the power is in the hand of the conquered native; and the English who did conquer, are left naked, and deprived even of those arms, which by their patents of plantation they are obliged to have in readiness for the King's service. But why do I tire you with discourses of this nature, which is the common subject in every man's mouth; and when I see, if one talks one's heart out, all that can be said will signify nothing, whilst the men who are now in credit, continue so: and we must never hope to be heard, except the King did believe irregularities were committed; which, I am sure, I have often enough represented to my Lord Sunderland. But if he does not read my letters to the King, as the other party brag he does not; or, if he does, and the King does nothing thereupon; what can a man do more, whose only business is to represent? And though you cannot help these things, (not being within your province,) yet I cannot omit giving you an instance or two of the irregular proceedings in making the changes in the army; which certainly can never succeed well in any army, when rightly considered, they being so contrary to all method and discipline. When Lord Tyrconnel was at the review at Kilkenny, he marked out several men in all the troops, in some more, in some fewer, to be disbanded, which was to be done without any dispute; and it was submitted to, without the least hesitation, though his expressions were both public and reproachful enough to, without any manner of provocation given by, the officers. When he went from Kilkenny, he gave orders to Macdonnel, major to the Duke of Ormond's regiment, to see those orders for disbanding executed; and empowered him to put out such other men from time to time, as he thought fit; a copy of which order I send you here enclosed: in pursuance of which, Major Macdonnel sends an order to the lieutenant of Captain Aungier's troop, (a copy whereof is likewise herewith,) to put out such men as he thought fit, without taking any notice of the captain. And accordingly the lieutenant, without so much

as speaking to his captain, puts out nine men, and puts in nine others; and all this while the captain upon the place: and it cannot be pretended that he ever is from thence. But what can be said in these cases? It is plain even by my Lord Tyrconnel's order, which is perfectly personal, that Macdonnel could not delegate his power to the lieutenant; and what discipline can be expected in this army, where inferiors are to command superiors, and where superiors must be kept under by inferiors? I could send you multitudes of these instances, if they were needful. If it be suspected that a captain will not take in such men as are designed, why is not the officer told what sort of men he should take in? and if he do it not, can there be a better advantage desired against him, than his not doing what he was commanded? It were to be wished, if I knew how, that the King might know of some of these things, and see these orders; and if he will have it so, there is no more to be said. Is it impossible to find a way to inform the King how these natives did carry themselves towards his blessed father? Roman Catholics have been rebels in other countries; and is it not possible that Irishmen, who have been so, may be so again? I send you here enclosed a copy of General Preston's oath, which he took in October 1646. I have at this present in my hands the very original, signed by himself: it is worth your contemplation. Perhaps at one time or other it may be cast in the King's way. I have within this fortnight, by a wonderful Providence, I think, had put into my hands very many original papers of the passages of those times; but I do not intend any but yourself shall know of them: they may be made good use of when I am gone. I think this letter is long enough; but I must not conclude it without recommending the bearer, Ladyman, to you. He is a tenant of the King upon his private estate. Enclosed you will have his case, and what he desires, drawn by himself. I will never press for any servant of mine against a general rule; and you have formerly told me in one of your letters, that the King will not fill up the leases upon his private estate. John Ladyman is very honest, and has as good an understanding as any man you shall meet with of his rank: he will give you a very good account of any thing you shall ask him relating to country affairs, and can tell you the true value of land in Munster, as well as any man there; which may not be amiss for you to know in relation to the King's private estate. If I continue in the government, I intend to have him over again in the spring, for I know how to make good use of him; and I hope may do him good, though I have not been able to do it to any yet. Some time since

I made a proposal concerning the Auditor's Office; to which you returned me an answer, that you would, when you had thought well of it, return me a further answer: you will give me leave to put you now in mind of it. My design in the proposal was purely for the King's service; and if I could have made a better, I would. If Mr. Ware dies to-morrow, the office comes to Mr. Deering: if you think him qualified to execute it himself, (which I doubt he cannot be yet) I wish he would come over and try to evict Ware; for it is not reasonable, in my opinion, that the King should be at the charge of outing Ware, when he cannot dispose of the place as he thinks best: but if Mr. Deering will execute the place by deputy, as he may do by his patent, it is then to be feared, he will put in him who will give him the best consideration; which will not be for the King's service. And for that reason I made the proposition, which is submitted to your judgment to do in it what you think best; and you shall hear more from me in it, or not, as you appoint. I will only add one word more, to assure you that Croker never thought of the thing, till I first moved it to him; and he made the proposal by my directions: so that, if you do not approve of it, I would not have it do Croker any harm. Indeed I do think if I could see him in the Auditor's Office, and Richard Thompson in the Surveyor-general's Office, which I will endeavour, (if my Lady Frances Shaen will hearken to reason,) I should look upon myself to have done very good service in restoring two officers of so great concernment to the service both of the King and the subject. I am sure it is of no manner of concern to me. I will say one word to you concerning the revenue, which is only to yourself for your own consideration; and therefore I mention it in this private way. Mr. Strong has lately written hither, that he is fallen very ill: so that, I find, it is much doubted that he will not come over again, at least not this winter. If he dies, you will know it before I shall; and I hope you will be able to secure the place to your mind. I know you think you have a promise for Mr. K———: I wish it may hold; for I would really have something done for him. And I do verily believe he will fill the place well, because he is industrious, has a good understanding, and will take pains: but really, as things are at present, we are very lame; for we have but three Commissioners upon the place, Mr. Bridges being in his circuit; as, if I might have my will, one of them should always be. If you read the laws of the revenue of this kingdom, you will find that the Act of Customs directs the management of that branch to be by Commissioners; and therein particularly says the number shall be five or

seven, as the King shall think best: and the act further directs, that all the ports of the kingdom shall be visited once every year at the least, by some of the said Commissioners, in order to inspect the management and officers, that no injury be done to the King, nor any abuse rendered to the subject. The Act of Excise and new Impost, limits the number of Commissioners to five. But certainly it is best for the whole revenue to be managed in one commission; and it may very well be done, if one could be sure all five would always be in perfect health. To have the ports visited as they ought to be, will take up near a year's time; and I am resolved they shall be all visited this year: and therefore, if you could be sure to put in whom you would, I would propose the putting in a sixth Commissioner, which would be much greater gain to the King than the salary comes to; but of this you are the best judge. I confess I would be very glad to see Mr. Robinson here in that commission: he so perfectly understands every corner of the kingdom, that he would be very useful in the inland excise; which was Mr. Strong's province, as the customs is Mr. Culliford's. You know I do not love to speak ill of any man, and I will not do Mr. Aubrey ill offices, who is a very honest, ingenious man, and passionately loves you; but I doubt his head does not lie to this sort of business: but this is only to yourself, as all this whole letter is; which you may burn, or do what you will with. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Again refers to the complaints against his conduct.—Review of irregular practices in re-modelling the Army.—Affair of the Ordnance; is calmed upon that point, and acquits Lord Dartmouth.—Reflections upon his own mortifications, thinks he cannot be accused of indulging in complaint.—His friends shall have no cause to be ashamed of his conduct.—Encloses a copy of the King's letter to him.

Dublin Castle, October 16, 1686.

The last packet from England brought me your's of the 7th and 9th instant: to the first I return an answer distinctly by itself, and hope it is so clear as will fully justify me in all I have done in the matter which is complained of. I must still say, why do not the parties concerned complain to me directly? The horse have done so, and they are relieved; but, upon my word, never any application was made to me by the foot: certainly it is un-

usual for complaints of this kind to be made of a Chief Governor in every trifling matter; but thus it must be, where officers are taught to have no dependance upon their superiors. I refer you to my other letter, and so shall say no more upon this subject here.

Now to your's of the 9th. What you sent by my son I have received; for he arrived here on Wednesday last: but who the other was, by whom you wrote, I know not; for I have as yet received no other. I think I see every thing in the same light you do, and I will carry myself accordingly, as far as I can; but yet, in many cases, I cannot avoid making representations, though I find they signify nothing. However, if any inconveniences arise by any irregular practices, it cannot be said that I did not represent them, which possibly might otherwise be objected to me; and therefore I shall think it necessary in many cases, till I am directly told what measures are taken, (which perhaps I shall never be, and which I am sure I ought not to imagine without being told them,) to represent matters of fact, which in themselves are so wonderfully contradictory, and so utterly against all the practice in the world, as will in the end destroy all discipline in this army. And, let me tell you, it is no less than a miracle, that there has happened no inconvenience yet. For God's sake, consider the state of matter of fact. I am commanded to empower Lord Tyrconnel to put out and put in what men he thinks fit in the army. I have done it, reciting the King's command to do it. His Lordship empowers the majors (as appears by the copies I sent you in mine of the 12th) to put out whom they think fit, without reciting the authority he has from me, because he will be thought to act by himself; for by the authority he has from me he cannot give any other officers such power. But to let that pass, the major likewise takes upon him, reciting (though with more respect to my Lord Tyrconnel, than his Lordship thought fit to pay to my Lord-lieutenant) by virtue of a power given him by Lord Tyrconnel (which power, by the way, does not enable him to empower others) to appoint the lieutenants (one of which orders was likewise sent you) to put out such men as they thought fit. The captain is upon the place, knows nothing of all this, sees new men brought into his troop, and says, his old men are honest, and lusty, and will not part with them: the lieutenant owns he knows nothing to the prejudice of the old men, but the major has given him authority, and he will bring in his own friends; though, at the same time, he confesseth that he does not know some of these new men (taking them upon the recommendation of others), and that they cannot provide themselves horses.

Well, but let this pass too. Perhaps by squabbling, the captain and lieutenant agree; and some of the old men stay in, and some of the new are admitted. The captain afterwards in his duty gives orders: up starts a fellow, and says he came to serve the lieutenant, and will serve nobody else. Hereupon words ensue: the lieutenant rants, and swaggers, that he will do as he has a mind to; that he will complain to Lord Tyrconnel, and have his captain turned out. This lieutenant, perhaps, never was a soldier, by the way: the captain hereupon grows out of humour, and comes to town to complain to me. I send for the major to me, and discourse him singly, as I did with Major Macdonnel, though I have always thought fit to have a witness by. He confessed his orders were not regular in being sent to the lieutenants. Sometimes, he said, it was the mistake of his clerk, who wrote the orders, and he did not read them when he signed them; and sometimes, he said, he did not know whether the captains were at their commands or not. I told him, he should then direct his orders to the officer in chief commanding the troop; but I told him further, that by the rules for officers to attend in their quarters, which are the same as in England, he knew, as well as I, what officers were with their commands. A thousand of these things I could tell you; and now, I beseech you, consider what pains are taken to put things out of order, and to make men intemperate, if not disorderly. What can I do in these cases, when officers complain to me, but hear the matter? And I must determine it according to the rules of war; in which, I am sure, I should be justified, as others would be in my place. Is it not necessary, in such matters as these, to lay them before those, who should recommend them to the King, as often as any of them happen?

I say no more of my complaint of the Office of the Ordnance: I am as easily calmed in that point, and in any thing else, as you can wish. And if I know myself, I am not too much inclined to take things amiss; and I am perfectly satisfied in this matter, because you say, my Lord Dartmouth told you of it. But I could not tell that by inspiration; and till I did know it, you must give me leave to say, it would have made a wiser man chagrin, to hear multitudes of people talk in their jeering way, that my Lord-lieutenant's orders for arms are rejected; which a little foresight might have hindered: but it was not ill intended, and I do assure you, there remains no more shadow of distrust from me towards my Lord Dartmouth, than there does with you. When Mr. Robinson received those directions to repair to London, he was at Holyhead, and thought (and I must still think he was in the right) he ought

not to go without my order. Truly I could not then well spare him; for I am preparing some estimates of such things as I think of absolute necessity to be done in some of the forts with the least expense, in which I cannot well be without his help; but when those are ready (which will be very speedily), if you think it needful, I will send Mr. Robinson with them into England; but then I would desire, that he might be presently despatched back again, and not kept three or four months there, as people often are. I wish some course were taken to supply us one way or other with arms; for really all we have, especially the pikes and muskets, are scandalous; not a day that many of them do not break. Major-general Macarty has told me plainly, that he has bespoke arms here for his own regiment; that any man may lay out his own money, and he will see, when they are done, whether the King will not reimburse him, when he sees the arms as good as any in England, and cheaper. This is the language men use, when they think they may do what they have a mind to. For their being as good as in England, and cheaper, I am satisfied they will be; because I have spoken with the men, and I know the rates they offer to make them at: but since the King will be served otherwise, I think it ought to be done his own way; which I am sure is my practice, whatever my opinion be, when I have once represented it. Therefore I shall not encourage the Major-general in his undertaking, and shall be ready, if I am directed, to forbid him going on in it. I find, by the opinion you had of me, when you answer mine of the 2d, that it is impossible to see how one looks when one writes; or, perhaps I express myself very ill, which I am easily persuaded to believe. I hope it is your great concern for me, (and I have every day cause to bless God for your constant kindness,) that I should do nothing amiss, which makes you apprehend that I grow more apt to take things ill than I was wont, or than I should do; and that the mortifications I meet with do sour my constitution. Such slights and affronts, as I daily meet with, would provoke both reasonable and wise men, and without much blame too: but I have been for these eighteen years past so much accustomed to mortifications, which have made such impression in me, that I have the vanity to believe I can bear them better than some men. I confess I have met with some here which I did not expect; but I was so much fortified against most things which could happen, that I must be allowed to say, that nothing has befallen me wherein I have showed the least dissatisfaction, whatever impression has been made upon my mind. I am so perpetual a watch upon myself, that the life I lead would be uneasy to a wiser man; but,

by the grace of God, I resolve to go through, as long as I am permitted, with the same resolution with which I entered upon this great task; and give me leave to assure you, upon my faith, that I have not to any man here showed the least of passion, or peevishness; which, if I may speak so well of myself, (as I may between you and me,) has been wondered at by some present, considering the provocations I have had. I must still confidently say, that it is to you only I complain: whatever others tell you to the contrary, pray examine it. If they tell you I write complainingly, desire to see the letters, and then judge: if they tell you that in discourse I complain, pray let me know the particulars, and I will tell you the whole truth, and then judge. I do give you many thanks for the cautions you give me, and do beg you to continue doing it, whenever you think it needful. I am guilty of many imperfections; but my friends will have no cause to be ashamed of my carriage, notwithstanding the great difficulties that are laid in my way. And I cannot help hoping, that some way or other the King will be prevailed upon (to which, I should think, my Lord Dartmouth might contribute by the access he has,) to hear, and examine into the affairs of this country, by more than by one sort of men; and then I am sure all will do well. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

I here present you a copy of the last letter I had from the King, together with my answer to it open. I thought it my duty to answer it with all speed; but, if you do not approve it, do not deliver it: though really I thought I could not say less upon the occasion; and I am sure I have done it with all modesty: but I leave it to you. The weather is so very fine that I have resolved to take a ramble on Tuesday to Drogheda, and will be back on Thursday.

CCXXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affairs of the Army; deductions for clothing, &c.—and reimbursement of those disbanded.—Does not wonder at men deserting, not being able to live upon their pay.—Conduct of some townspeople to the new levied soldiers: not applicable to Galway.

Dublin Castle, October 16, 1686.

In answer to yours of the 7th instant, which came to me the day before yesterday after the packet was gone off, I shall give you an account of all I have done relating to the deductions for clothes; which I beg you to lay

before the King, and then it will appear by the truth of the matter of fact, whether I yet deserve to be blamed. When the men in service were disbanded in June and July last, there was not two months due to them; which was immediately issued, as fast as men could get certificates from their officers of what was due to every one; and that part was done in great disorder and confusion: but I will not make any complaints, or reflections thereupon, having done it in former letters to my Lord President. The men then petitioned me, setting forth that there had been great deductions made from them for clothes, &c., which they had never worn; and prayed that they might be reimbursed that money. I very well know that in England, when any common men are disbanded, without any faults laid to them, they have an account of the pay the King allows them, and something in lieu of the clothes which are taken from them: but I yet made no order in the matter. At Kilkenny, which was about the 13th or 14th of July, I discoursed of this particular with my Lord Tyrconnel and the rest of the general officers. Lord Tyrconnel was at first against giving any thing for their clothes: but both the Major-general and Colonel R. Hamilton were of another mind, and said, they never put out any men without giving them something to buy themselves clothes, more or less, according as they thought fit; and they reimbursed themselves again, as they thought convenient, from the pay of the men they took in. But though they could do this, when they put out now and then a man, yet now, when there were so many men to be disbanded out of every company, the officers could not possibly advance so much money; and they did not know what the deductions were, nor what they would amount to. I then told them, that the deductions which had been made in eighteen months from a common man in the regiment of Guards for clothing, came to 4*l.* 4*s.*, and from a common man in the other regiments of foot, to 2*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*; that I did not think it reasonable to make the men the whole allowance of what had been deducted from them, and yet I did think it very reasonable and conscionable too to give them something in consideration of their clothes, which they had bought and never worn; that the allowances I thought fit to make were, to a common man in the Guards, 48*s.* for his clothes, and to a common man in the other regiments 26*s.*; and so in proportion to the corporals and serjeants. Nobody spoke against these allowances; and even my Lord Tyrconnel seemed at last to think them reasonable: only he said, he hoped they would not be deducted out of one payment. To which I replied, that I never intended to make the deductions in less than

out of six months pay; but that I could not be positive in the matter till I saw all the alterations in the several troops and regiments completed, for that the deductions must be ordered according to the number of the men disbanded, and that in the mean time I would take care the soldiers should have their full subsistence money. On the 30th of July, I signed an order to the Receiver-General to pay to the disbanded men, besides what pay was due to them to the day of their being disbanded, the sums above-mentioned respectively in lieu of their clothes, and to deduct the same out of the growing pay to the new men for the six months, which would be due at Christmas. This I did for a warrant to the Receiver-general, that the disbanded men might have their money, and go about their business; but I always declared to the officers, that when the warrants were to be issued for the completing September's pay, (by which time I should clearly see what the whole money for clothing would amount to,) I would take care that the deductions should be made at such gales, as would be as easy as they themselves could desire; and to show them that I did intend what I said, besides the June pay, which is completely satisfied, in the last month in August I issued a month's pay to the whole army, out of which there were not any deductions made for this matter of clothing. This is matter of fact, so that nobody has yet cause to complain; nor has any body yet felt the deductions for what was paid in lieu of clothes to the disbanded men, because in truth no deductions have yet been made. As soon as these accounts can be set right, (the method whereof, I must still say, has been industriously perplexed,) which I believe may be within a fortnight or less, I will send you a view of the whole, with my opinion what time I think convenient to be allowed for the making those deductions; and in the mean time the soldiers shall receive their subsistence money without any deductions, as they have hitherto done. Thus I think I have fully answered the first part of your letter; I am sure with great truth, and I hope to the King's satisfaction. Give me leave to add, that I do not much wonder some of the officers should find excuses for their men's leaving the service, and not being able to live upon their pay: besides other reasons which might be given for it (if thought fit), this is one, that some of the officers, to get men, did promise them five-pence a day clear for every day in the year, besides clothes and other accoutrements. As to the other part of your letter, that some of the towns are not so kind to these new men, as they have been to the old who were Protestants, though the King is pleased to say it was not my fault, (for which gracious condescension I am infinitely obliged

to his Majesty,) yet truly I should think myself very much to blame, if I did not correct the persons guilty, and redress the miscarriage upon the first notice: but I can truly say there has not been any complaint of that kind made to me. And certainly it cannot be said of Galway, where my Lord Forbes is quartered, and who would have complained if there had been occasion. Besides I have of late had much commerce about the mayor, who is a Roman Catholic, and a very honest and good man, and will suffer no affront to be put upon the King's soldiers: but I will enquire into it, and give a good account thereof. God keep you and all yours.

CCXL.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Interference of Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Nugent, in the nomination of Sheriffs.

Dublin Castle, October 16, 1686.

I have received the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 8th instant, and shall most punctually obey your commands, not to proceed to the nomination of the sheriffs till your further orders; and I hope your Majesty does not doubt my perfect obedience to all the commands you shall think fit to lay upon me, as I am sure I have hitherto fully executed all I have received. I humbly beg your Majesty's permission upon this occasion to inform you, that the day before my Lord Tyrconnel went hence, he and Mr. Justice Nugent gave me a paper of the names of the persons who were thought fit to be sheriffs for the next year. I confess, Sir, I thought it very strange (to say no worse of it) for any two men to take upon them to give a list of men for sheriffs over the whole kingdom; to anticipate the representation of the judges, who are the proper persons to offer men fit for those employments, and without so much as leaving room for the Chief Governor to have an opinion in the matter. This list is pretended to be made indifferently of Roman Catholics and Protestants, but I am sure several of them, even of those who are styled Protestants, are men no way qualified for such offices of trust. In this I am not partial; as, with humble submission, I must beg leave to assure your Majesty, I have not been in any thing I have done here, in which I will be content to be judged by any who have been witnesses of my actions. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for my presumption in saying thus much, which I think it my duty to do for your service, with all possible

submission to whatever commands your Majesty shall send me. When your Majesty knows what is said on all sides, you are still master of your own resolutions, and cannot doubt of an obedience from those who serve you; at least I am sure not from me, who am proud of nothing but of what I have been and ever will be, Sir,

Your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCXLI.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 16, 1686.

At my return out of the country, where I had been eight or ten days, I received your Excellency's letters of the 22d of the last month from Limerick, and the 2d of this from Dublin; which I have laid before his Majesty: who says he will think of my Lord Castleconnell, which I will not fail to mind him of, being recommended by your Excellency. I have only further to acquaint you, that the King is resolved to make Major-general Macarty Governor of Limerick, and would have you give leave to Colonel Richard Hamilton to come over into England.

I am, my Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND, P.

CCXLII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Has written to Lady Rochester a letter to be laid before the Queen.—His journey to Drogheda.—Rumours of changes to be made in the Army and Government of Ireland.—Report that Lord Rochester is to be displaced, and the Treasury put in Commission.—Hopes there is no truth in it, but trusts to bear all with resignation.

Dublin Castle, October 23, 1686.

On Tuesday last, I wrote to my sister, and enclosed in it a letter to the Queen; which I suppose she hath taken your advice in, before she delivered it. If you do not like it, I hope you have made it to your mind; and then I will transcribe and return it to you. I went on Tuesday to Drogheda, as I told you in my last I intended. I lay at Mellefont, the Earl of Drogheda's, being earnestly invited thither. The next morning I came back to the town, and saw nine companies of Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment (who are there quartered) drawn out, and exercised. They seem to be very good men,

are very well sized, and as adroit as can be expected from new men. I dined at the mayor's: in the evening I returned to Mellefont; and the next day, being Thursday, I came hither, as I resolved at my going out. When I was at Drogheda, the packet of the 14th instant from England arrived, which filled the town with news. Captain Taaffe, Lord Carlingford's brother, declared, that his letters told him, that his Captain, my Lord Blessington, was put out, but he could not yet tell who was in his room; that my Lord Roscommon was discharged, and was to have 500*l.* per annum pension; that Colonel Russell was to be Lieutenant-colonel of the Duke of Ormond's regiment, and that Colonel Anthony Hamilton was to have Russell's regiment, and that Mr. Lutterell was to be Lieutenant-colonel to Sir Thomas Newcomen, in the place of Anthony Hamilton; and that there were to be other alterations in the army. I am sure I know nothing of all these changes; and perhaps it is not very usual in other armies for private captains to leap over old officers' heads to be lieutenant-colonels; but the favour of great men goes far. Perhaps these reports are not true; but, whether they are or no, it seems I am to be the last who is to know them, as I was the last time. But the King's will be done. The public news letter from London was likewise produced, which comes from one Stevens. I read it myself; and amongst other intelligence it is said, Mr. Fitz-James is speedily to go Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the Earl of Tyrconnel to be his deputy. And further, at the close of his letter he says, it is confidently reported, that the Treasury is to be put into Commission. For the first part, which concerns me, I am sure I am not in competition with Mr. Fitz-James, nor any one else; nor hold I this Government by any tenure but the King's good pleasure. I am so accustomed to mortifications, that I hope I know how to bear this with that resignation which becomes me; though I confess, if I am recalled in disgrace, it will go very near me. If I have endeavoured any thing since my being here, it has been to please the King, and to serve him with all the faculties of my soul; and, though I say it with some vanity, I can serve him. But I hope the last part of the intelligence is not true, concerning the Treasury. Methinks it should be sufficient for men to extend their malice only to me, and that they should be satisfied with making me miserable, without ruining the remains of a poor family; but God's will be done. This has been a great day here, kept solemnly by Act of Parliament; and having upon that occasion had much company, I do not write so composed as I should. God keep you,

and my sister, and all yours. At my return from Drogheda, I met with your's of the 16th, which I answer by itself, that it may be seen, if you think fit.

CCXLIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His affliction at the terrible news of the continuance of the King's displeasure.—Reviews the objections made to his conduct, upon which it is founded.—Objections to the Mayor of Dublin: his character.—Is ready to ask pardon for his offences in the manner prescribed.

Dublin Castle, October 23, 1686.

On Thursday last, at my return from Drogheda, I found here (which arrived that day) your's of the 16th instant, which brought me the terrible news of the King's displeasure, and that what I wrote to you on the 16th instant gave him no satisfaction in the points which were laid to my charge. The wrath of a King is unsupportable, and I am sure must crush me to nothing, who am next to nothing already, and must be altogether so without his support. I can make no other answer to the objections against me than the truth, which I have done exactly. But, good God! what can I say, if the King thinks the particulars, with which I am charged, faults of that magnitude, that they are never to be forgiven? I have endeavoured to ask his Majesty's pardon, with all the submission and resignation I am capable of expressing, and do intend to do it again in the best manner I can; and shall be always ready to ask him pardon, in the manner he prescribes, for whatever he shall at any time think I have done amiss in, without further justifying myself, than his Majesty gives me leave to do. But to you I hope I may be allowed to say thus much, that the greatest satisfaction I have had here has been, that I have endeavoured to serve the King with all the faculties of my soul, and with the hope of pleasing him; and, notwithstanding all my ill circumstances, I should reckon myself happier to have my services acceptable to him, than by all the fortune he could enrich me with. But, how miserable soever I may be made by his Majesty's anger, I shall have this comfort, that I shall leave his Majesty's affairs here better than I found them; and I am sure I will never want will, nor a heart to serve him, as long as he will give me leave; and I hope it will not be imputed to too much vanity, if I say that I can serve him here. Upon reading your letter over and over, I will en-

deavour to enlarge upon some particulars in matter of fact, if it be possible, to show the King, that at least I did not wilfully do any thing against his mind. And in the first place, as to the confirmation of magistrates after my Lord Tyrconnel was gone, who were respited when he was here, I shall beg leave to add this; that they were respited, till some of the board, who were most acquainted in those parts, could inform themselves of the men. If any of the board excepted against a man positively, he was not respited, but rejected, and that place ordered to go to a new election. As for instance, on the 28th of July, the return of the mayor and bailiffs of Wexford was laid before the board. My Lord Tyrconnel signed the approbation of the bailiffs with the rest; among whom were present of the Roman Catholic counsellors, Lord Limerick, Lord Gormanston, Macarty, and Mr. Purcell, who all signed it; but my Lord Tyrconnel said, he was assured by those he could trust, that the person who was returned for mayor was an ill man: upon which the board, without the least opposition, ordered a new election to be made of a mayor; and the return was not made till the 28th of August. On the 23rd of September, at Council, the mayor returned upon the second election was approved, and signed by Lord Gormanston, Macarty, and Judge Nugent. The return of the sovereign of Kinsale was set aside, when Lord Tyrconnel was present, because he was uncapable, by the Act of Parliament, by being an officer in the revenue; and the second election was approved of, and signed by the three abovenamed counsellors, as well as the rest. The return of the mayor of Waterford was brought to the Board on the 21st of July, when Lord Tyrconnel was there; but the confirming him was respited, because nobody knew any thing of him: afterwards there was a very good character given of the man; and on the 4th of August the approbation of him was signed by Lords Limerick and Gormanston, Macarty, and Mr. Purcell. Lord Tyrconnel was not present, but he had made no objection to the man; nor indeed had any one else. The return of Limerick was laid before the Board, when my Lord Tyrconnel was present, and respited, because the man chosen for mayor was not known: but there was afterwards a very good character given of him; and particularly Mr. Nihill, one of the King's counsel at law, (at whose request I had ordered twelve of the Roman Catholic merchants to be admitted into the common council of that city,) assured me he was a very honest man; and his approbation was signed by Lord Gormanston and Judge Nugent, who were all the Roman Catholic counsellors then present; and who likewise signed the approbation of the

mayor of Cork, who was likewise respited, when Lord Tyrconnel was there, for no reason but to be informed of the man. And I think these were all who were respited when Lord Tyrconnel was present: if any particular election be mentioned, I will give an exact account thereof, who signed the approbation, and who undertook for the man. And when all is done, I doubt not but all these magistrates will be as ready as any people in the world, to serve the King in whatever shall be required of them.

To the second head, the business of the arms, I can say no more than I did in mine of the 6th. I told the whole truth; and, if the constant practice of the place, before I had orders to alter it, will not at least extenuate the offence, which I did not know to be one, I do cast myself upon the King's mercy; as I shall always do, both alike whether I am in the right or the wrong.

To the third, the business of Captain Arthur, I am very sorry the King should think me capable of having a pique, where his service is concerned: I pray God others do not show one towards me in what they do. If I may be allowed to be vain of any thing, it is that I never showed a pique towards any one, though he had injured me: and surely I should not now begin to show a personal pique towards a man who had not injured me, and where the King's service was but pretended to be concerned. As to what the practice is in England of raising men by the several colonels, though I have known something thereof formerly, I say nothing of it, because the King's pleasure is declared: and if my Lord Tyrconnel, or the Lieutenant-colonel, had said a word to me of it, which, upon my faith, they neither of them ever did, the thing would have been very easy. And, considering the constant practice of this place, I did not know I had committed a fault; for which I do throw myself at the King's feet.

To the fourth you tell me nothing was said.

To the fifth, I am very glad the King seemed satisfied, that the other corporations have obeyed his commands. As to my not sending word of it sooner, I can but appeal to the several letters I wrote to my Lord President, which I mentioned in mine of the 6th to you; whereby it will appear that I did it in a very great measure. I am very sorry what I said about the City of Dublin was not satisfactory to his Majesty, and therefore I will enlarge upon it; which will, I think, make it appear that nobody could do more than I did in it. Finding that there was not so ready a compliance given to the King's commands as I expected, I sent for the then lord-mayor

to come to me; who, with the aldermen, all expressed great readiness to obey the King in any thing he should command them: but their constitution being, that freemen should be admitted only at certain quarterly times, my lord-mayor and aldermen could not prevail with the commons (without whose consent that rule could not be altered), though they twice tried by my positive direction, to admit any freemen till the usual time; which being yesterday was sennight, all the Roman Catholics who made application were then admitted. A list whereof I send you enclosed, whereby you will see what fines or acknowledgments they paid; which is just the terms the English are admitted upon: and I understand his Majesty's meaning to be that all his subjects should be used in every thing alike; which, I am sure, has been my business: and I must still with some vanity say, that my equality and impartiality has been publicly commended by the best and most considerable Roman Catholics of the kingdom, and even by their clergy; many of whom come frequently to me, and I dare appeal to themselves, whether they go away unsatisfied. I am sorry the King thinks the mayor of this city to be fanatical. If it be meant the old mayor, Knox, he was in office before my time; but he has as clear a reputation for loyalty and integrity as any man of his quality; and, I must needs say, he showed it throughout his mayoralty. If it be meant the present mayor, his name is Castleton, accounted a very loyal man by all people of both religions, and no objection was made to him when he was proposed at council; but he was confirmed with general consent: he is brother to Mr. Castleton of the post office in London. Indeed, within few days after my Lord Tyrconnel came over, he told me, discoursing of several things, that the mayor elect was a d——d fanatic. I asked his Lordship if he knew him? He said, "No; but Mr. Luke Hoare, the merchant, had told him so." Upon which I sent for Mr. Hoare, and asked him concerning the mayor elect, telling him what my Lord Tyrconnel had told me. His answer was, that sure my Lord had mistaken him, for he had never spoken to the prejudice of Mr. Castleton, having never heard ill of him; that he did not much know him; that he was not taken for a great politician, but he had always heard him reputed a very honest man. I can give, if required, a very particular account of what passed between my Lord Tyrconnel, and me, and Mr. Hoare, upon this matter. But what can I say more? What my offence is judged by the King to be, I am ready to ask his pardon for it in the manner he prescribes, with all the resignation imaginable to his will. The King raised me: he may pull me down,

and do with me what he pleaseth. I hope he knows that his breath may dispose of me, and all I have; and whatever he determines, will be submitted to with as much cheerfulness as is possible from an afflicted heart: which can never leave me whilst his displeasure lasts. And how little I continue in the world, if I must not be eased of that heavy weight, I assure you is very indifferent to me. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

CCXLIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Imploring pardon for what he has done to incur his displeasure.

Dublin Castle, October 23, 1686.

I hope your Majesty knows me too well to believe that I could receive my brother's last letter of the 16th instant without the utmost grief and trouble: to find by that letter, that the answers I gave with all submission to the objections your Majesty was pleased with such abundance of grace and goodness to send to me, did not satisfy you, is a mortification beyond any thing that can befall me in this world. Your Majesty is not satisfied, and I must make no further reply, for I will acquiesce in your Majesty's judgment, whatever it be; but I will still hope, Sir, that your Majesty will not find me guilty of any wilful error or disobedience. I do cast myself at your Majesty's feet with all the submission the most afflicted heart is capable of, and do beg your pardon for whatever I have offended you in; and I will presume to say you never had, and never can have a greater penitent before you, among the many who have had the misfortune to offend you. I was taught obedience by one whom your Majesty was pleased to honour with a great proportion of your favour; and I have made it the study of my life to practise it. I thought myself so happy in nothing here as in obeying your commands, which I endeavoured to do with all expedition and cheerfulness to the best of my understanding; and however your Majesty disposeth of me, you will find a most resigned obedience in me. To die, Sir, especially in your service, is no hard task. I was once marked out by the fury of ill people, among other men, to be ruined for my duty to your Majesty. I would to God I had then been made a sacrifice; it had been a glorious death: but to live under your Majesty's displeasure is impossible for me. I do presume again, with all humility, to implore your Majesty's par-

don, and to beg that you will not suffer a poor family to be destroyed, the raising whereof was the immediate work of your own generosity; and that he who bears a title of your own procuring, may not be utterly cast out of your protection, who desires to live no longer than he can do you service. God Almighty preserve your Majesty, and give you a long life, and a long and prosperous reign; which shall ever be the prayer of,

Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXLV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Colonel Hamilton going to England.—Death of Captain Ridley.—Captain Caulfield recommended to succeed him.—Recommendation of other persons in his suite, for Officers in the Army.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, October 23, 1686.

By the last packet I received your Lordship's of the 16th instant, and I had before one of the 28th past. Colonel Hamilton told me at Limerick, that he was ordered to go into England about this time; upon which your Lordship may be sure he had leave; and he goes hence to-morrow if the wind serves. I have this day an account that Captain Ridley is dead. Your Lordship may please to remember that his company was designed last spring for Captain Caulfield, and accordingly a commission sent over for him, which remains in my hands; Captain Ridley, upon application, having been continued in his company: but now, if the King's bounty continue towards Captain Caulfield, whose case, I must needs say, is very hard, he may, upon the signification of his Majesty's pleasure, have the company which was at first designed him. We have now fresh reports out of England that there are to be speedily great alterations in the army; and reports of that kind having often proved true, I hope your Lordship will forgive me, if by way of provision I take the liberty, upon the encouragement you have formerly given me, to bespeak your Lordship's favour on the behalf of some young men who have depended upon me, and came over with me, and to whom I would be very glad to do good. And, if beggars may be choosers, your Lordship will give me leave to mention the names of the persons and the employments I could wish for them. Sir Thomas Fotherly is the first: he is a very honest gentleman, and after his father's death will have a good estate. Mr. Guy, to whom he is related, will give your Lordship an

account of him. I should be infinitely obliged to your Lordship, if you could obtain for him a company in the Guards here, in which I am sure he would serve the King very well. There are two others for whom I would be very glad to provide: one De la Hyde, and one Stevens. They are both Roman Catholics. The first has served very well abroad, and the King knows him, and commanded me to take him into my family. He is a very good sort of man, and I doubt not will give a good account of any employment the King puts him in. Stevens is a very honest young man: his father belongs to the Queen Dowager. A colours would make him very happy. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXLVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Recommending Lieutenant-colonel Billingsley to his patronage.—Lord Tyrconnel objects to Lord Clarendon permitting officers to go into England.—Will write to the King, but has no hope of continuing in his post but through the Queen's kindness.—Trusts that he shall not be recalled in disgrace.—Suggests his brother's solicitation of some of the Catholic Privy Counsellors.—Is prepared for the worst; comforted that he has done nothing that can be blamed by reasonable men.

Dublin Castle, October 23, 1686.

This honest bearer, Lieutenant-colonel Billingsley, having a mind to go into England, I could not refuse him leave, nor a letter to you; he is a true honest man, very much my friend, and has paid me great respect ever since my being here, which I cannot say of every body. You may remember, when I came over, the King had a very good opinion of him, but he fears it is not so now. He thinks he was hardly dealt with in having the youngest Major in the army, as Dorington was, put over his head; but he submitted to it, to show his readiness to serve the King in any station. But he now hears that his Colonel, Russell, is to be removed, and Anthony Hamilton put over his head, which he says a man of honour cannot bear. This, and the information his friends give him out of England that ill offices are done him to the King, makes him think it needful for him to go over: and truly, considering how insignificant I am as to the doing any body good, I cannot refuse any honest man leave to go over to look to himself. Perhaps it may be an objection to me, as it was in the spring, or at least Lord Tyrconnel told me (in plain English)

I had done very ill in permitting so many officers to go into England; but let that pass: Colonel Hamilton now goes over, and he has desired me to give leave to five or six officers at a time to go over. Well, pray do this gentleman what service lies in your power. If I had known of his going sooner, for he took the resolution of going by this opportunity but to-day, I would have written more largely and freely to you; but I shall very speedily have another safe hand. For the present I will only tell you, that Sayers arrived on Thursday last, and brought me yours of the 30th of September. I will contrive such a letter to the King as you mention, upon the notion of Sir William Petty, and send it open to you, to alter or do what you will with; if it be not too late for me to offer at any thing, of which methinks I should know something clearly by your next. For aught I perceive by yours of the 16th, there are no hopes left for my stay here but from the Queen's kindness: if my remove be determined, methinks those who have obtained it should be satisfied that they have prevailed, and that the King might be induced not to recall me in disgrace; which I am sure was not designed when Lord Tyrconnel went hence: for, as I told you in a former letter, it was then resolved that all means should be used to remove me, and that it was the only thing to be pushed at; but that I should be sent for with honour, &c. as useful to the King elsewhere: at least that it should be so pretended. And this was told by an intimate of Lord Tyrconnel to a friend of mine; but whether that can be now obtained, you are the best judge. Whether you have any commerce with any of our old acquaintance among the Roman Catholic Privy Counsellors with you, or whether you enter with them into any of the affairs of this country, and what is fit for you to do towards them, you are the best judge: and I thank God I am prepared for the worst that can happen; with this comfort, that I have done nothing here which can be blamed by any reasonable man of either religion, who considers calmly, without some prepossession, according to the methods of doing business all the world over. But God's will be done! If I am in the same mind to-morrow morning as I am now, I will write to the King in behalf of Billingsley; not that I believe it will do him good, but because he desires it. God keep you and all yours.

CCXLVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

In favour of Lieutenant-colonel Billingsley.

SIR, Dublin Castle, October 24, 1686.

I hope your Majesty will not be offended, that I presume to give you this trouble by Lieutenant-colonel Billingsley, who is informed, that he is under your Majesty's displeasure, and that there are thoughts of removing him from your service; which must be a great mortification to all honest men to lie under so great a load. I have therefore given him leave to go into England to cast himself at your Majesty's feet. Your Majesty knows how long he has been employed in the service of your royal brother and yourself; and how good an account he has always given of himself: and I must do him the justice to say, that no man can have more duty or loyalty for your Majesty, nor pay a more ready obedience to all your commands, than he testifies upon all occasions. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this presumption. God preserve your Majesty; which is the daily prayer of, Sir,

Your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCXLVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Desires to know if the Auditor's fee of sixpence in the pound is to be deducted from the payments made to the Roman Catholic Primate; and what acquittance he is to require from him.—Refers to Colonel Richard Hamilton for information respecting the deductions from the pay of the Army.

Dublin Castle, October 26, 1686.

Having written to you so full of late, and having had no letters from England since those of the 16th, I should not have written at this time, but upon a particular occasion, which I desire to be fully instructed in; which is this. On the 31st of August, I received the King's letter, dated the 24th of the same month, commanding me to give effectual warrants for the payment of 2190*l.* per annum to the Roman Catholic Primate from time to time; which I accordingly did immediately, and the three quarters due at Midsummer last was paid within three days after: but the person who received it, refused to pay the Vice-treasurer's fees; for which, you know, Mr. Price is accountable, and

the auditor will charge it upon him. I desire, therefore, that you will know the King's pleasure, whether that fee of 6*d.* per pound shall be deducted from the said sum of 2190*l.* per annum: if not, that you will send me authority to discharge Mr. Price; that is, that he may not be charged therewith. I received likewise a letter from you from the Treasury Chamber, of the same date with the King's, signifying to me his Majesty's commands that the said sum should be distributed to certain persons in a list there underwritten, and in such proportions as are there expressed; and that I should take care of the distribution thereof accordingly. The King's letter directs, that the whole sum of 2190*l.* should be paid to the Roman Catholic Primate. Now I desire to know, whether I am to ask him for the acquittance of the several other persons, or what I am to do. It is a nice business, and I am sure I have not made one wrong step as yet towards these gentlemen; and God knows, I would not offend the King in this, or any thing else: therefore, pray let me have a rule whereby to walk. Colonel Richard Hamilton, who went hence for England on Sunday, will tell you how I am ordering the deductions in the army; which he seemed well satisfied in. You shall have the whole design sent to you within a very few days, that the King may see how easy it will be to the soldier; and at the same time it will be plain to you, that the deductions so much complained of are in the Colonels' own powers to remedy, for they are made by their own orders to their agents; some of which, in truth, are very exorbitant. I have said in some of my former letters, that the King will at one time find the mischief of it in his army here: when you have the whole before you, the King will be best able to direct what he will have done; and in the mean time I shall say no more. God send your next letters may bring me some comfortable news, for I am almost heart-broken. God Almighty keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXLIX.

BISHOP OF OSSORY TO SIR PAUL RYCAUT.

Respecting a controverted Election of the Sovereign and Recorder of Kilkenny and Thomastown.

SIR, Kilkenny, Oct. 26, 1686.

After several disappointments of my Lord Galmoy's and my meeting about the references, his Excellency was pleased to order our examination, as of Mr. Hueson's election to be Sovereign of Thomastown for this present

year, and two other petitions. On the 21st we got all parties together, and heard all they could say on both sides. On Mr. Hueson's part it was sworn by three of the burgesses that voted for him, that they did elect him after the usual manner, going into a house first to agree upon the nomination of three persons who were to be the candidates, of whom Mr. Hueson was one; which being done, the bell was rung, and they went into the Tholsell, and proposed the three to the election, where Mr. Hueson was chosen, no one burgess opposing it. Sir Henry Wemys, who had been sovereign of the town, was present, and affirmed that he was so chosen. Captain Meeres, a burgess of the town, and sometime sovereign, deposed that he had known the manner of election many years, and never knew it done otherwise. To this the other party objected, that they went not into the same house as usually they did to nominate the three; to which it was answered that they are not obliged to any one house, but may go where they please. The second objection was, that the portreeve was not at the nomination, as is required by the charter; to which it was answered, that nobody hindered him from being there; he was in the town, and might have been there if he pleased. To this they replied that the charter appointed him to be there, without him the election was void; to which it was answered that the charter doth not say that if the portreeve be not there, the election shall be void. The last objection was as weak as any of the others, which was that two of the freemen came in while they were at the election, and asked what they were doing, and were told that they were about electing a sovereign: they demanded who were in nomination, who being named to them, they were in a great heat, and said they would have my Lord Ikerine in nomination, and one of them, as is deposed, spoke very seditious words; however, they said they protested against the election, and one of them said aloud, that if they voted they should vote at their peril: whereas by the charter freemen have nothing to do with the nomination of the three who shall be in the election, but only the sovereign, portreeve, and burgesses. This is the true state of this affair in as few words as I could couch it; upon consideration of which, I am of opinion that Mr. Hueson was duly and regularly elected according to the charter and custom of that place, and I told my Lord Galmoy so this morning, and asked him whether he would join with me in the report: to which he answered, that he should go for Dublin to-morrow, and that he would make there his own report.

Concerning Counsellor Unicke's complaint, that Mr. Hueson, the sovereign

of Thomastown, hath ejected him out of the recordership of that place, the case is this. That corporation, some years since, chose Mr. Harrison, an attorney, for their recorder, who living at a great distance desired to lay it down, and that a friend of his might be chosen, which they not liking, chose Counsellor Unicke, who for some years, two or three, hath executed the place, but never took the oath required by the charter to be faithful to the corporation, nor the oaths required by the law; so that I am of opinion that at present that corporation hath no recorder.

Concerning the second petition, being Mr. Hueson's complaint against Mr. Reddy, clerk of the crown, that he obstructed the execution of his office, both parties were willing to refer their differences to Dr. Drysdall to end them.

As to the third petition, which is Mr. Hueson's complaint against Counsellor Unicke, that he did not deliver Sir Paul Rycaut's letter to him, as he was ordered by Sir Paul: Mr. Unicke acknowledgeth that he did open the said letter, and did not deliver it to Mr. Hueson, which he saith he did upon mistake, thinking the letter had been directed to himself; which I leave to your consideration, and shall ever be, Sir, Yours, &c.

THOS. OSSORY.

"For the Hon. Sir Paul Rycaut,
at the Castle in Dublin, these."

(Indorsed by Sir P. Rycaut.)
"Lord Bishop of Ossory. Received 29th, answered 30th."

CCL.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Trusts his letter of the 26th will give satisfaction, as it explains his conduct in regard to the election of Magistrates.—Has fully obeyed all the King's commands, and cannot charge himself with any unkindness or act of omission toward the Catholics.—Has seen a letter in which his own recall is said to be determined on; and that Lord Tyrconnel is to succeed him.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 29, 1686.

Yesterday we had two packets from England of the 19th and 21st instant. I had one from you of the first of those dates. I hope my last of the 26th* will give more satisfaction (if it be not resolved nothing shall satisfy), because it does what the Queen thought I ought to do, tell those elections of ma-

* The particular letter referred to, does not appear to have been preserved among Lord Rochester's original papers, nor was the copy of it among those from which Bishop Douglas printed.

gistrates which were respited when Lord Tyrconnel was here, how they came to be approved afterwards, and who signed the approbations. But it may be observed, this is a new way of inverting all order of proceeding; for whoever is accused of having done what he ought not to do, the charge ought to be made out, and it should not be expected for the party to accuse himself. But I will always be content to accuse myself to the King and Queen, and whatever they ask me of what I have done, I will tell the whole truth, and the grounds upon which I proceeded. And when all is done, it will be found, upon the strictest inquisition, that there is not any one command come from the King to me, which I have not fully obeyed; and that with as much expedition as was possible: and they who suggest otherwise, ought to assign the particular. That I should lie under a censure of not being kind to the Catholics, I confess I cannot but laugh at it; and I am confident the Queen will never believe such a report after what she knows of me, without some particular instance be given, and examined whether it be true or not. If I am bid in this case to give an instance myself, which may by some be thought reasonable, because I can have been unkind to nobody but I must know it myself, I do protest, according to my principle of concealing no action of my life, nor thought of my heart, from their Majesties, I would own it, if I were guilty; but I cannot charge myself with any unkindness, or even the least omission towards any of the Roman Catholics; and if any Catholic in Ireland will say that I have not done all he could expect from me, I will be contented to be judged by himself. I could tell you of the expressions Catholics of the best qualities and employments, and even their bishops have made of me, in their letters to one another, and upon the most public occasions; which I suppose they would not have done, (I am sure they needed not,) if they had thought me unkind to them. But I think it needless and below me to say any thing more upon this matter; and I hope no man's asserting a thing, and saying it is generally believed, without bringing any other proof than his own saying it, shall be sufficient to drive any man out of his Prince's good opinion. That man, whoever he be, would think it very hard to be so condemned himself. God's will be done! I must not conclude without telling you a little piece of news. I have seen a letter from Sir P. T—— of the 19th, wherein he writes to this effect:—"I came yesterday to town, and have had time enough to inform myself of affairs relating to Ireland; and do find there will be no alterations of any persons in office there, except in the Chief Governor; who, some believe, will be spee-

dily called home; but it is not yet resolved, nor who shall succeed him. If the Chief Governor be recalled, it will not be in disgrace, but the contrary." This letter I read myself; and you may easily imagine where Sir P. T—— had his intelligence: no doubt from the great man who sent for him over. Another person writes, "My Lord Bellew just now comes to me from court, and says it was resolved, last night, at a cabinet council, that my Lord-lieutenant of Ireland shall presently be recalled, and Lord Tyrconnel is to go in his room: and an express is sent to give my Lord Lieutenant notice of it. And Mr. Fitz-James* is to have my Lord Dartmouth's place of Master of the Horse." These are all fine stories, and may be all true, or all false. God keep you and all yours.

CCLI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Plainly sees that his recall is determined on; and is sufficiently prepared for it.—It would have been better for him if he had never come to Ireland; but his comfort is, that the King's affairs have been improved, and not impaired by him.—Riot at Kilkenny.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 30, 1686.

Yesterday I received yours of the 23d instant; by which I plainly see the decree is gone out against me, though it was not then published; that is, that the resolution concerning me as to this government is taken, though not owned. I do assure you I am sufficiently prepared to receive the news, whenever it comes; and had reason to be so from the time my Lord Tyrconnel went hence, both from what he said openly enough to several people here, and even to myself; which was the reason I wrote as I did to both their Majesties. If the King likes that any man in the world, how great soever in his favour, should declare that the representations he makes of men are sufficient to raise them, or destroy them, there is no more to be said; his Majesty knows best. As to the business of Dublin, and all the other particulars you wish me to hasten an account of, I think I have done all sufficiently in my two or three last letters; at least as fully as I can: but, if there be not an inclination to receive satisfaction, God's will be done. My comfort is, that whoever sees the exceptions which have been made to me, and my answers, will not judge my offences of that weight which is put upon them. If it be the King's pleasure to recall me, I am sure it had been better, for my own par-

* Natural son of the King.

ticular, I had never come hither: but however, I shall have this satisfaction, that the King's affairs have been improved, and not impaired by me. Pray do not think I want fortitude or patience, by the blessing of God, to bear any misfortune can come to me. I confess, I cannot help being surprised at the King's displeasure, because I have taken nothing so much to heart, as to give him satisfaction in every thing; and I am sure I will do so as long as I live, however he thinks fit to dispose of me. I had almost forgotten to tell you, that the other day, when I was giving orders that there might be no more arms taken from any of the men who should be disbanded, Major Macdonnel told me it signified nothing, for there were no arms in his regiment fit to keep: however, I have ordered them to be kept. I think I have nothing further to say in answer to yours of the 23d: God will govern the world his own way. There happened an unlucky accident at Kilkenny on the 23d of this month; of which I have given an account to my Lord President, and what I have done thereupon; than which, I am sure, less could not be done. I send you the enclosed intelligence, which comes from a very good hand, an ear witness, and a good Catholic; which you may use as you see cause. God keep you and all yours.

CCLII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Sir John Bellew created an Irish peer.—Accounts of the disturbances at Kilkenny, upon occasion of the celebration of the Anniversary of the Rebellion.—Course he has taken with the rioters.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Oct. 30, 1686.

At the beginning of this week I received the King's letter for making Sir John Bellew a peer of this realm; which was brought to me by his own agent, though it was dated the 19th of July. I despatched it immediately, and the patent passed the seal yesterday; and I beg leave upon this occasion to assure your Lordship, that I always execute the commands I receive from the King with all possible expedition; as I ever will do all that come to me. Saturday the 23d past, was celebrated here very solemnly, according to the act of Parliament, in memory of the late Irish rebellion, and all was very quiet in this city; nor have I heard of any disorder which happened any where in the kingdom, but only at Kilkenny; where fell out a very unfortunate accident, of which I shall give your Lordship as full an account as I can. On Tuesday morning I had a letter from my Lord Galmoy, who is quartered with his

troops in the town, acquainting me therewith: a copy whereof I here send to your Lordship: but on Tuesday night the Mayor sent up several depositions upon oath of the whole matter, which were to this effect:—That on the 23d of this month there was a bonfire at the Mayor of the town's door; which one Bourke, a servant to Adjutant Bourke, seeing, he went and extinguished it, and broke the Mayor's windows, calling him a fanatic dog, and other very ill names. It is likewise sworn, that Cornet Kaghane, Cornet to Colonel Hamilton's troop of dragoons, (there likewise quartered,) with a file of men, went to one Mukin's house, where was another bonfire, calling him fanatic rogue and dog for making a bonfire, and dragged the man out of his house: in the crowd a gun went off, and killed a young man, one Byrne, son to Major Byrne, a very honest gentleman, who lives in the country. It was positively sworn that no gun went off but that which killed the young man, and that there were no fire-arms but what the soldiers had. Hereupon the Mayor sent his warrants for the apprehending Cornet Kaghane, and Bourke abovenamed, which the Sheriff showed to Major Carrol, he being then in town; but he said, he hoped the Mayor had more wit than to expect the men should be delivered up; for, if any of the soldiers had committed any crimes, they were to be tried before him. All this being laid before me by the Mayor upon the oath of several persons, I immediately, that Tuesday night, sent an order to the officer commanding in chief, to deliver up the men demanded to the civil magistrate, that the death of the gentleman, and the riot, may be enquired into, as is done in like cases in England: but, when my order came down to Kilkenny, the officer commanding in chief was Cornet Kaghane, the supposed criminal; and in a word, a trooper drew his sword upon the Sheriff for offering to bring such an order; all which is deposed upon oath, and sent up to me on Thursday. Whereupon I last night sent an order to Lieutenant-colonel Butler, Lieutenant-colonel to Colonel Hamilton, who is quartered at Callen, within seven miles of Kilkenny, requiring him to deliver the men demanded to the civil magistrate. I think I could not do less; and I hope the King will approve of what I have done. If the soldiers are not kept in order, and delivered into the hands of the civil power for murder and breach of the peace, as they are in England, the King will have but an ill account of his affairs here. I have done nothing herein but with the advice of the officers of the army, as well the Roman Catholics as others; for I do upon all occasions advise as much with the one as the other. I have not had a word from my Lord Galmoy since his letter; but am informed he left Kilkenny on

Monday: his troop will be here to-night, being to come upon duty in this city. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to beseech you to believe, that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCLIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Is surprised at the King's displeasure, because he has so entirely devoted himself to his service.—Will study in all ways to give him satisfaction, which he hopes is in some measure done in his late letters.—Professes his resignation to whatever may happen.—Reports current of Lord Tyr onnel being intended to succeed him.—Mr. Ross has taken the oaths of Supremacy on his admission as a Privy Counsellor.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 2, 1686.

I write this purely to keep up the custom of writing; for I have written so full of late, that I can add nothing further upon the subject, which has so much discomposed both you and me. I do confess I was the more surprised at the King's displeasure, because I thought I had spent (and indeed I may say so) every minute of my time here very eminently in the King's service, and with wonderful satisfaction, in the opinion that I should please him; and I dare say yet, when he examines into the particular affairs of this kingdom, he will not be displeased with the account I shall lay before him. And I am sure I will study by all ways I can to give him satisfaction in the things he is dissatisfied in; which I hope is in some measure done in my late letters to you: or else, I doubt, resolutions are taken, which I dare but guess at. When I have done my duty, and not neglected any command I have received, I must be contented, and do most cheerfully submit to God's good pleasure, till time evidenceth what will not now be seen. And to show you that I am not quite overcome with the spleen, I cannot but entertain you with some of the tattle of this town. Yesterday came in a packet from England of the 26th past, which all people agreed brought no news. One sort were mightily disappointed, that Lord Bellew's intelligence was not verified: another sort do report, that at a private junto the King was very much pressed to make Lord Tyrconnel Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; but that it was much opposed by the Roman Catholic Lords, and so came to no resolution. These things, which are talked of in the most public places, serve to make some laugh; and that I may make you do so, I send you the enclosed account of a charge which

was given the last Michaelmas sessions for the county of Mayo, by one Mr. Stafford, a Roman Catholic Justice: you may depend upon the truth of it.* On Friday last my Lord Ross brought his letter to be admitted a Privy Counsellor: why he delayed it so long, he best knows himself. When he came to be sworn, the clerk of the council asked him, if he would take the oath of supremacy; to which he readily answered in the affirmative, with some dissatisfaction that it should be doubted; at which some persons seemed a little disappointed. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLIV.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Informs the Viceroy a certain Commission is bestowed to his request; and assures him some other of his recommendations shall be duly laid before his Majesty.

MY LORD, Whitehall, November 4, 1686.

I have your Excellency's of the 8th of the last month; and having represented what you wrote about Captain Caulfield to the King, his Majesty is pleased to give him the company void by Captain Ridley's death, and accordingly would have your Excellency direct, that the Commission, which was some time since sent over, but not delivered out, should be now given to him, and that he should not lose his rank which he had before.

I shall put his Majesty in mind of the other gentlemen you recommend, when occasion offers; and am, My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND, P.

* THE SUBSTANCE OF PART OF MR. STAFFORD'S CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY AT THE QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT CASTLEBAR FOR THE COUNTY OF MAYO, IN OCTOBER 1686; TAKEN BY A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE THEN UPON THE BENCH.

Taking notice of the several neglects and abuses suffered in that county, amongst other things, he said:—*First*, Gentlemen, the spoiling of your Garranes* in their infancy, so that they are not afterwards fit to do his Majesty any service; of this beware, gentlemen.—*Next*, Your burning your corn in the straw, contrary to an Act of Parliament. But perhaps this Lustrabane bread may palate your mouth very well; but you want the straw in Winter to lie upon yourselves, for you generally lie upon straw, and for fodder for your cattle, so that you are forced to lift them up by the tail; of this also beware, gentlemen. I shall not need to say much concerning rogues and vagabonds, the country being pretty well cleared of them, by reason his Majesty has entertained them all in his service, clothed them with red coats, and provided well for them.

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* The Irish Garron, however, is a strong horse, a hackney. *Garrane* or Garron. It imports the same as gelding. "Every man would be forced to provide winter fodder for his team, whereas common *Garrons* shift upon grass the year round; and this would force men to the enclosing of grounds, so that the race of *Garrons* would decrease." SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

CCLV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Comforted to find that the King is satisfied with his answers about the deductions.—Trusts he will be so about other matters.—Will explain the whole matter of the deductions in a letter to the Treasury.—Mr. Nangle arrived in Dublin.—Mr. Justice Daly returned from the North-west Circuit of Ulster: his opinion of the people.—Doubts whether it may not change.—The Major-general dissatisfied at the committal of an officer for murder, at Kilkenny.

Dublin Castle, November 6, 1686.

On Thursday in the evening we had two packets from England of the 28th and 30th past; by which I have one from you of the last date. It was, indeed, a comfort to me to find the King was satisfied with the answers I had given about the deductions from the new men, and the town of Galway; and I will yet hope he will be so as to other matters, if he will give himself leave to examine things. My next shall lay before you the whole matter of the deductions, which I will do at large in a letter to the Treasury, and will be very well content it should be laid before the King; and in the mean time, I will not fix my resolution concerning the deductions for clothes (which is all I am concerned in) till I have your answer to that letter. These last packets have brought no news of any changes here; which makes some believe all things are quiet for the present. Mr. Nangle came over with the last packet, and yesterday morning made me a visit; which was as soon as he could well do it: he was very brisk. We had no particular discourse, but only of general ordinary matters: he stayed not half a quarter of an hour with me.

Yesterday was a grand day; and all the company, of both religions, in town, dined with me.

Mr. Justice Daly is lately come to town, having been at his own house in Connaught since his circuit was ended: he went the north-west circuit of Ulster. He seems much pleased with the people, and says, he cannot imagine whence the people of that country came by so ill a character; for he believes there are not better men, nor more loyal, than the gentlemen and the episcopal clergy of those parts are. Whether he may not change his mind, and have a worse opinion of them, when he has thought of it, I cannot tell; for I find many men form their opinions upon the conversation they have with others, and not from their own experience and observations. The Major-general came to town on Wednesday: he is much dissatisfied, in the late dis-

order at Kilkenny, that the mayor should send his warrant for an officer in case of murder, without first applying to the officer commanding in chief upon the place. I told him, I had done just as is done in England upon the like occasions; but he will scarce hear reason, and says, it is not so in France: so that it is very possible I shall be complained of upon that score. I am sure I have done nothing but what became me; and whilst I have the honour to be here, I will support the Government both civil and military, each within its due limits, and will not suffer one to encroach upon the other. I have received a letter from you from the Treasury Chamber, dated the 28th past, with one from the King of the same date, concerning the payment of the arrears due to the Portsmouth yacht; of which I will give an account in a letter to the Treasury, with the reasons why the Plantation money has not been yet remitted into England.

CCLVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.*

Encloses the Account of the deductions from the pay of the Army, on account of clothing.—People who have of late forborne to come to him, now pay their court.—The Catholics compliment him, with expressions of pleasure that he is still to continue in Ireland.

Dublin Castle, November 9, 1686.

We have had no letters from England since those of the 30th past; and I have nothing of moment to inform you of: this is only for a cover to the enclosed abstract. An account of the deductions from the army for clothes, and the times which I think may be allowed for the making of them, you will certainly receive by the next, with some other matters relating to the army. Having had no letters from England, we are free from news; only this is observable, that some people, who have of late forborne coming to me, do now come, as they did at first: what the meaning of that is, truly I do not trouble myself to examine. Some have made me compliments that they were glad I was to continue here, for so they were assured by their last letters from England; and these were Roman Catholics: to all which I only answered, that I knew nothing of my being removed, and whatever the King thought for his service would be always thought best by me. I have no more to add

* Erroneously addressed "*To Lord Sunderland,*" in the edition printed by Bishop Douglas.

at present, and therefore will no longer divert you from other affairs. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

November the 11th in the morning. Last night came in two packets from England, which brought me yours of the 2d and 4th instant; to which I will return full and clear answers by the next. The weather has been so tempestuous, that the Tuesday's packet, which would have carried this, could not get off till this morning; and I always make what haste I can to acknowledge what comes to my hands. God keep you.

CCLVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Glad that the King is pleased with the answers he has made.—Remarks upon those who have lodged informations against proceedings in Ireland.—Cause of the misrepresentations.—The Queen will never repent affording him her protection.—Has reminded Lord Cornbury of what the Princess said, and hopes he will make his court better than before.—Has sent a long explanation of the deductions.

Dublin Castle, November 13, 1686.

In my last I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 2d and 4th instant; which I will answer as distinctly as I can. It is a comfort that the King is pleased with any answers I have made. He is very gracious to excuse those who give him informations: I hope my turn will one day come, when he will be pleased to excuse me too; as I am confident he will do, whenever he will vouchsafe to have my actions examined. But, methinks, those who send informations into England of things done, which they do not like, and which are done at remote distances, should first complain to me; and then they would have cause with a witness to inform of things, if I did not redress them: but they know that would not be. And there may be another reason too, why some might have a mind to misrepresent the people of Galway; for some of the Irish, who are now in credit, have no kindness for the people of Connaught: but no more of that; time will discover all things. If the King will but hear all sides, he cannot judge amiss; and then he will see, what is for his service, and what is said out of malice to others. God direct him, and grant that he may not lose a fine country, and make as industrious a people as any he has, useless to him.

Besides the great grace and goodness it will be in the Queen to support me from being run down without a due examination of every thing, she will

do herself no injury thereby, nor will she ever have cause to repent it. I shall be very glad to hear how the Queen receives my letter, if it be thought fit to be given her. I have put my son in mind of what the Princess said to him when he came away; and he intends to leave this place about the end of the next week. He seems to me to be more sensible, and I hope will make his court better than he used to do: I am sure he promises as much as I can desire.

I have by this post sent you a very long letter to the Treasury, concerning the deductions of, and subsistence to the army, and of some other particulars relating thereunto. I hope I have made it very plain: if not, I shall be ready to answer any questions, and further, to explain any particulars which shall be needful. I know my letter is too long, but I could not help it: it is a large subject, and much more may be said upon it. I ought to have sent it sooner, but I could not help that neither: the irregularities in the methods of making the alterations have been such, as have discomposed all offices. What I have written is all true, and shall be made appear when required. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Respecting Sir John Edgeworth, and his pretensions.

Dublin Castle, November 13, 1686.

I am very much solicited to write to you on the behalf of Sir John Edgeworth, whom I know less than most of the officers of the army. What his pretensions are, I know not; but if it be for a recompense for going into Scotland, I can tell you that it is true he was sent thither by the Lords Justices, after Argyle was landed there, and brought them what intelligence he could get; and he had 120*l.* gratuity by concordatum, when he returned: which I suppose was a pretty good recompense for that service. What hazards he may pretend to have run, and what other merits he may plead, I know not. God keep you, and all yours.

CCLIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Explanatory of the deductions from the pay of the Army.—Two indiscreet sermons preached before him. —He has caused the preachers to be suspended.

Dublin Castle, November 13, 1686.

I have received yours of the 4th instant, to which I will make you a very clear answer. I told you in mine of the 16th past, that none of the soldiers had cause to complain of the deductions which were made upon the account of clothing, for that no deductions had then been made upon that account. I told you true; and I do now positively aver to you, that there has been no deduction yet made upon the account of clothing; and I do further aver, that there has been no deduction made (not even the settled deductions) out of any money which I have ordered for subsistence: and this will be found to be true matter of fact. When Colonel Hamilton was here, he told me, some men did complain they had but nine-pence a week subsistence by reason of the great deductions for clothing. I told him that could not be, for there had not been any thing deducted from what issued for subsistence; and this I said I was very positive in, for that I knew in what manner every farthing was issued, and what deductions were made out of every sum, and for what. The Colonel seemed a little surprised to find me so positive, and said, he could not imagine then how it should happen that the men had so little subsistence. I told him, if it were true, it must be between the officers and the agents; I desired therefore to know, what men had so little subsistence: to which he only replied, that he heard some in the North say so; and he did not then think fit to name any. Sure I am, he mentioned nothing to me of Mr. Price: if he had, I would have examined it before he had gone for England, and in his presence. Really he seemed very well satisfied; and I am sure I have no concern for Mr. Price, but as I find him in the King's business; and when I find him tripping in that, (and I will hearken to all that I am informed of) I will fall upon him more violently than any body. You say, Colonel Hamilton tells you, that the men at Coleraine (and there are none quartered there but some of Colonel Russell's regiment) have but nine-pence a week: now the men are named, it is easy to inquire into the business. Since the receipt of your letter I have spoken with Colonel Russell (he is in town upon a dispute between him and the town of

Galway, which is to be heard at the Council board), who tells me positively, that the men at Coleraine never had less than twelve-pence per week; that, when he came thither, (which he says was six or seven weeks since,) he thought that sum too little, and has taken care that ever since that time they have had eighteen-pence a week. Though the Colonel tells me this, yet I have sent to Coleraine to know the whole truth of the matter. I have lately ordered 30*l.* a company to the regiments of foot, 50*l.* a troop to the horse and dragoons, and 100*l.* a company to the Guards; and I do as positively aver, no deductions are taken from any of these sums. The assignments are gone to the collectors in the country for the full sums which I have ordered; and I am sure the collectors pay the full sums. If the soldier then has not the money, the error must lie between the officers and the agents; of which I could lay open some mysteries, which perhaps are not fit to be enquired into. The agents do make many deductions, which to all reasonable men must seem very extravagant; some of which you shall know: but I have written so much for the present, that I will tire you no more by this post.

I believe you will hear a noise of two sermons, which were preached here before me on All Saints Day and the 5th of November: indeed they were indiscreet and impertinent sermons; and I do as little love to have preachers meddle with controversy or politics, as any body can do. I know neither of the men; but if I had, it had been all one; I would have done what I have done: the very next day I caused them both to be suspended, and silenced. I only tell you this, that if you hear the sermons spoken of, you may tell what I have done upon it. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLX.

BONAVENTURE GIFFARD (BISHOP OF MADAURA) TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends him that part of the Conference on the subject of Religion, which he wished to have in writing.

MY LORD, Monday, 15th November, 1686.

I here send your Lordship that part of our last conference your Lordship desired to have in writing.

I told your Lordship, that a person who is deliberating what Church he

shall adhere to, must consider which of the two appears to be the ancient, primitive, Apostolical Church.

Your Lordship replied, you had been taught that the Protestant Church was the ancient Church, and that it now teaches the same doctrine which the Church taught in the four first General Councils, held within the five first ages, and that the Roman Church had separated from that ancient Church, by bringing in these errors, transubstantiation, praying to saints, praying for the dead, &c.

I answered that to make this good to your Lordship, two things were necessary: 1st. That the doctors of your communion make appear to your Lordship, that in those five first ages, the Church taught not only the Articles in which the Church of England agrees with the Roman, viz. of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c., but also all the particular tenets upon which the Reformation was made, and from whence it takes to itself the denomination of a Reformed Church, viz. no transubstantiation, no praying to saints, no praying for the dead, &c.

2d. They must show that the Roman Church brought in these errors, for which it stands condemned by the Protestant Church; and to do this, they must show your Lordship when, where, and by whom these errors were first introduced, what fathers wrote against them, what councils were called to condemn them, what commotions and disturbances they occasioned in the Christian world? All which particulars can be clearly shown to your Lordship, as to the errors brought in by any of the ancient heretics.

Antiquity is what we both lay claim to; Novelty and schism is what we equally condemn: therefore, unless they can as clearly make appear to your Lordship, when the Roman Church began to introduce her tenets, (which they call errors,) and thereupon separated from the Protestant Church, as we can make appear when the Protestant Church began to oppose the tenets, (which the Roman Church esteems as Articles of Faith,) and thereupon separated from the Roman Catholic Church, the imputation of novelty and crime of schism will lie at their door; and consequently your Lordship will conclude that their communion is to be left, and that of the Roman Church to be embraced.

These things your Lordship will get transcribed, and propose them to some learned, candid prelate or doctor of the Protestant Church.

Also, I would desire your Lordship further to reflect upon what I said

for the necessity of some infallible authority in the Church, without which we cannot be certain of our faith, as I proved to your Lordship by several reasons, which I shall repeat the next time I shall have the honour to wait on your Lordship. I am,

My Lord, &c.

B. GIFFARD.*

Your Lordship will pardon these blots. I have written it in some haste, being desirous your Lordship should have it this day. I have no copy of this paper, therefore desire your Lordship will keep the original.

CCLXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Recommends the bearer, Mr. Stevens, to Lord Rochester's patronage.—Writes with security, because he is sure his letter will be safely delivered, but does not think any of his letters have been opened.—Reflections upon his present prospect of a recall.—Has endeavoured to conciliate all parties, so that it is not his own fault, but secret contrivances which will work his overthrow.—Guy and Duncombe; reason why he put Lord Rochester upon his guard against them.—Thanks Lord Rochester for having written to the Queen in his favour.—If he can once be recalled without disgrace, he shall be very happy in retirement.—Thinks that but for the Queen's interference, he should have been recalled before this.—Sir William Petty, his conferences with the King, and with Lord Tyrconnel.—His notions fallacious, and his surveys erroneous.—Will frame a letter to the King on the subject.—Nothing less intended than confirming possessions in Ireland.—The sober sort of Roman Catholics averse to these violent proceedings.—The Duchess of Beaufort.—The Widow Howland and Lord Cornbury's marriage.—Sir Josiah Child will be guided by his interest.—If he is recalled in disgrace, he must take other measures, for he will be honest, and out of debt.—The Roman Catholics adverse to Lord Tyrconnel's succeeding as Lord Lieutenant.

Dublin Castle, November 17, 1686.

This bearer, Stevens, came over with me one of my gentlemen at large: he is a very honest young man; his father is a Page of the Back Stairs to the Queen Dowager, and did formerly wait upon my father at Madrid. I in-

* Giffard was a Doctor of Sorbonne, who had been consecrated as Bishop of Madaura in Africa, and was one of the four Papal Vicars in England. It was this same person who was, upon the King's mandamus, chosen President of Magdalen College, twelve Roman Catholic Fellows having been previously made, and their form of worship set up in the Chapel of the College. It will appear from this singular paper, addressed to Lord Rochester, that no means were spared to make him a convert. See the subsequent conversations between Lord Rochester and the French Ambassador, and between him and the King, where Burnet's account of the transaction is given.

tended to have done something for him, but so little interest has a Lord-lieutenant at present, that he can provide for nobody, which makes men think a little of themselves. His father has sent for him over, in hopes to get him into something there; if he have need of your help, let me beg you to assist him. I am sure he will deliver a letter safe to you, and therefore I will write of such things as are not so fit to mention by the post, though I do not find that any letters that way have been opened, and methinks, by your being post-master, there might be a way found out, that your letters might certainly come untouched to you. I have again and again read over, and weighed, your letter of the 24th of September, brought to me by my son. To the representation you make so lively to me there is nothing to be answered; but I do assure you I am perfectly of your mind, that nobody will be long-lived in such a station as I am, especially who will not go thorough-stitch: God's will be done! If you had not so fully informed me, I should have been of the same opinion, when I saw that the very full and clear answers I gave to the objections the King was pleased to send me by you, and not by the Secretary, with so much grace and goodness, did not give him satisfaction. And you have found by several of my letters since, that I look upon the resolutions as fixed for my being recalled: and yet, I do assure you, it makes no impression upon my mind. I go on in the same temper, and with the same resolution I have hitherto done, and will do so to the last minute of my having power; and though I may have the vanity to say I have the luck to please one sort of people well, so the other sort cannot own the being displeased. Never any complaints are made to me of insolences committed by any of the natives upon the English, (which are very frequent, and intolerable enough,) but, by the advice of the Roman Catholic judges, I direct the justices of peace of both religions to examine the matters; of which I can give you multitudes of instances, when you and I hereafter talk together. So that I say it must be their secret contrivances which must overthrow me, (as no doubt they will,) and not any thing of irregularity or fault they can object to me. I believe, when you wrote yours of the 24th of September, you did not think either yourself or I was so long-lived, and I believed so from the discourses of some people here, who pretend to know much; and possibly the gaining of time may raise difficulties in carrying on the work, which were not at first foreseen. When people discourse to me of my being called home, as very many do of both religions, I answer them that I know nothing of it; the King knows his own business, and he knows he will be

obeyed by me wherever I am: and you may be sure I never take notice of any thing you have written to me. I think I have not more to reply to yours of the 24th of September, but to thank you for the pains you have taken in it to inform me. What I wrote to you formerly of Mr. Guy and Mr. Duncombe, was upon this account:—when the rumours were very hot (as they were when I wrote that letter to you) of your being to be removed immediately, a friend in England, writing to me upon that subject, has this expression:—"*If you saw what court Mr. Guy makes, not only to my Lord President, which is not new, but to others who are now in great credit, you would believe he were sure of keeping his place, when the staff is in another hand. I pray God he and Duncombe may not hurt my Lord your brother, by telling little stories of him.*" This was the occasion of my writing so to you. Perhaps I was too much alarmed by receiving this letter, just when those who pretend to be knowing men had spread the reports that the next letters would bring the news of your being set aside: and besides, you know I have ever had as ill an opinion of the integrity and morality of those two men as is possible; but I neither spoke nor wrote of them to any body but yourself; nor did I so much as make any mention of them to him who wrote to me. God preserve you from the malice of men of no principles.

I come now to yours of the 30th of September, brought me by Sayers. I know not how to thank you enough for the letter you wrote to the Queen: whatever the success at length may be, God knows; I am sure you cannot do more towards the doing me good. The greatest trouble I have upon my mind is, that I am not only uncapable of serving my friends, but that I am burdensome to them to support me; especially to you, who have enough to do to look to yourself: though, indeed, they are the same people who would destroy us both. This is really so great a trouble upon my mind, that if I can be so happy as to get well home after these storms, without a disgrace, (which, upon my word, I do not deserve,) I will never trouble any of my friends to support me in public employment; but do resolve to lead another course of life, in which I am sure I can be very happy, and well contented. When I am recalled, if the King be disposed to do any thing towards the repair of my fortune, I will speedily lay before you how he may do it with great ease; but I will not press him, and much less you in it: I will only tell it you, and not be at all dissatisfied if you do not like it. I do verily believe it is the Queen's interposition which has hitherto put some stop to my being recalled; and who can tell what the gaining of time, and examining into

things (which were but just,) may do? I know I should say something to her Majesty; but I think it best to do nothing till I hear more from you. I have again and again considered what you have said of Sir William Petty's access to the King, and of his private conferences with Lord Tyrconnel, which have made much noise here: and I am very glad, as you say, that any man or accident whatsoever will make some people think; consideration will, in all probability, do good, and can do no harm. Though I am well with Sir William Petty myself, and know he means well in the main, (it being his interest to have the settlements continue here undisturbed,) and does desire that you may privately be informed of all he does, yet I must tell you nobody here (even those in his own circumstances) has any reverence for his notions or calculations, they being in truth most of them fallacious. His surveys, upon which much of the settlements are founded, are most abominably erroneous; and if ever the acts or possessions of men are ravelled into, remember I tell you it will be as much upon advantages will be taken of Sir William Petty's false foundations, as upon any thing else; but, upon my word, I have not said one syllable of this to any one but yourself. I have not yet been able to contrive such a letter as you would have me write to the King upon some such notion, which I will do as soon as is possible, if I find I am like to have any continuance here; and I shall be glad to hear more from you of Sir William Petty. I think it very plain, from what the Roman Catholic lawyers and judges do publicly discourse since Mr. Nangle's return, that nothing less is intended than the confirming possessions; but that, when a Parliament is called, an act shall pass to appoint commissioners to enquire into the letters patent and certificates passed by the Court of Claims, pursuant to the Acts of Settlement, that so it may appear whether any one hath more acres of land than he ought to have; and that the old proprietors may have encouragement to make discoveries: this will make brave work. If I may believe what some Roman Catholics tell me, who are very sober men, they have endeavoured, by some letters they have written into England, to put a stop to the violent proceedings here, pretending they are as much afraid, as any can be, of their countrymen's getting too much power. I think I have said all that is needful upon your two letters, and do assure you I will follow the advice you give me as well as I can.

I have lately had a very kind letter from the Duchess of Beaufort, (whose friendship never failed me,) concerning the Widow Howland; she tells me she intended to speak with you about it, for she believes you can say more to

Sir Josiah Child than she can, inasmuch as she finds the widow has made over all her concerns to him. I know not what to say to you upon it, more than that I would be very glad to have my son settled; and, if I am not too partial, I think my son much improved since I left him; that is, that he is grown very serious, and sensible of our interest: and I believe you will find him much more easily persuaded to do what you would advise him than ever he was. Sir Josiah, you know, will be guided by his interest.

If I am recalled in disgrace I must take other measures; for I will be honest, and out of debt. If there be any way to avoid being disgraced, you will be able to discover sooner and better than I. The general belief here, among sober Roman Catholics, (and I have it from one who corresponds with the principal of that religion there,) is, that the Roman Catholic Privy Counsellors, most of them, do oppose Lord Tyrconnel's coming hither Lord-lieutenant, and that the Queen joins with them. God's will be done! I thank God my mind is at ease, and so long I shall hold up, in the same evenness, and with the same resolution; which, between you and me, I may have the vanity to say has not been to be blamed. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Proceeds from the Bishopric of Elphin.—Nothing yet received from Cashell.—Report that Lord Tyrconnel is appointed Lord Lieutenant; but that he will not come to Ireland until he has larger powers granted him.—Sir Philip Trant to be Receiver-General; Mr. Hackett and Mr. Sheridan, Commissioners of the Revenue.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 19, 1686.

This is to send you the enclosed abstract, wherein you will find 391*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* received from the Bishoprick of Elphin; which is the first has been answered upon that account: nothing has yet been received from Cashell; but by the end of the term you shall have a perfect account of those two sees. I wrote so much by the last post, that I should scarce have written now at all, but to tell you a piece of news, which came out of England with the letters of the 4th; for we have had none since: it was brought me within these two days by a Roman Catholic, a very honest man. He names another Roman Catholic, who told him he saw a letter from Lord Tyrconnel, dated the 4th instant, to a person of quality; wherein he says that the King has declared him Lord Lieutenant, but that he will not come away, till he has full power to do every

thing for the interest of his countrymen, and the good of his friends; which he hoped might be before Christmas. This I thought fit to tell you, that you may make what use you please of it: possibly it may be true, but it is not likely it was declared, because I had no mention of it in any of my letters; and I had one from you of the same date. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours. I have written to you by a servant of mine, who goes hence to-day for Chester; one Stevens, who will deliver it safe to you within a few days after this.

I have received another piece of intelligence from a Roman Catholic. It is written out of England, in a letter of the 4th likewise, to a man in employment here of that religion, that Sir Philip Trant is to be Receiver-general; and that Mr. Hackett and Mr. Sheridan are to be in the commission of the revenue: take it as I have it.

CCLXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends him his letter to the Queen, altered according to his advice.—Affair between the officers of the Revenue and the merchants of Limerick, respecting contraband goods seized.—Arrival of Sir Robert Hamilton and Sir William Wentworth in Ireland.—The first brings reports of great alterations intended.—Justifies himself against a report that he did not duly celebrate the King's birth-day.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 20, 1686.

On Thursday came in four packets together from England; which brought me yours of the 9th and 13th instant. I am very well satisfied with what you say concerning the fees for the money, which I mentioned in mine of the 26th past; and you may be sure, till I receive further directions in that matter, he who received the money shall not be called upon for the fees. You need not make excuses for writing so short letters to me: I know very well you write when you have leisure, and when you think it needful; and I have no reason to think your answers short; but, on the contrary, to thank you extremely for them. I here send you my letter to the Queen, altered as you advised: I wish it may do good. Her Majesty formerly commanded me, even since my being here, not to write with ceremony: but considering my present circumstances, I have not thought fit to take that liberty; and therefore have done it in form. I gave you an account in mine of the 23d of September from Limerick, how the officers of the Revenue there had

been arrested, by writs out of the Common Pleas, at the suit of the merchants who were concerned in the fine goods some time since seized and condemned. I can now tell you, that on the 15th instant, Mr. Baron Rice, by order of the Barons, went down with the Black Book of the Exchequer (according to the ancient practice) to the Court of Common Pleas, and there in the name of the Court of Exchequer demanded the privilege of their said court for some of the officers of the Revenue; who, though recorded in the Exchequer as officers of that court, were impleaded in the Court of Common Pleas, and had been arrested upon actions out of that court by some merchants of Limerick; which privilege after some debate was allowed. The next day Mr. Macnamara, one of the merchants of Limerick, who had so arrested the King's officers, came to the Custom House here to the Commissioners of the Revenue, and said, "he came to tell them, that he intended to have a trial at law for those silks, which were condemned at Limerick:" to which the commissioners replied, "that he might take his course." I have all along been the more particular in informing you of this matter, because I think it of more importance than perhaps is at first apprehended: and if the King loses this point, it will be a loss to his Revenue 20,000*l.* a-year, besides the greatest discouragement imaginable to his officers, who, by the grace of God, shall, as long as I am here, be countenanced by all lawful means. In this last dogger from England arrived Sir Robert Hamilton and Sir William Wentworth: they both came immediately to me. The first, who you know is usually full of the politics, told me, there had been much talk in England of great alterations to be made here, but that he did not believe any were resolved on; that I had had my share in the reports to be removed, but he believed it would not be; and then told me, how he had declared in all companies how well I served the King, &c. and then fell into great professions and protestations of service and respect to you and me; and said he waited on you the day he left London. To all which I only said, that the King knew best who was fit to serve him in every station; and that all honest men ought to be very well pleased with whatever changes his Majesty thought fit to make. I cannot yet tell you what intelligence these last packets have brought to the confiding persons, for they do not use to divulge what they have in three or four days after the letters come. I have received a letter from an old correspondent, which I think fit to send you, that you may know all that I know: the hand, I believe, you may remember, for I gave you several advertisements from him

four or five years since, which in the main proved generally true. All that I will say to this is, that his acquaintance lies wholly among the Roman Catholics. You may do what you please with it; but I would not have it seen by too many, lest the hand should be known. I have seen a letter by this last packet out of England, from a person of quality who wishes me well, saying that the Irish there report, that I did not observe the King's birthday here, and that there were but two bonfires in this city. If I must justify myself in all these little trifling matters, I can only tell you, that I did not go to church indeed, for no public office can be made without the King's command, nor was it kept a church-day in England the last year; but in all other respects it was observed with all possible solemnity. I publicly sent my Lord Mayor orders some days before, that the King's birth-day should be observed, that nobody might pretend ignorance; and accordingly my Lord Mayor kept a great feast; and I am assured, and it can be proved, that there were hundreds of bonfires in the city. And in the Castle I made it a state day: twenty persons were at my own table, besides the ladies who were with my wife, and at other tables in the house. In a word, it was observed throughout with as much solemnity as any other state day, and as the place is capable of since the fire. Good God! can any body imagine me capable of being in the least remiss in what I ought to do in honour and duty to the King? I think I have no more to say at present, but my prayers for you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends an Extract from a letter written by Sir Philip Trant, asserting that Lord Tyrconnel is to be Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, though it is not yet publicly declared.—Lord Tyrconnel writes to the Primate to the same effect.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 20, 1686.

Colonel Fairfax going for England, I must not let him go without a line to you, though I have but little to say, having written so much of late upon all subjects. I shall not trouble you or myself with saying any more of my being to be removed; no doubt that matter is determined before this, not to be altered. But it may be a little for your entertainment to tell you what some of the last letters from England say, which are of the 13th current.

Sir Philip Trant writes to the Lord Chancellor thus (which letter I have seen): "All things now are very quiet with reference to Ireland, no changes spoken of: but I can assure you Lord Tyrconnel is to go Lord-lieutenant, though it be not yet publicly declared; nor can I yet tell your Lordship the time, but depend upon it he will be the man. The King is very well satisfied with your Lordship, and you are to continue. I am endeavouring to make Lord Tyrconnel kind to you, which I hope I shall compass, though he is not yet satisfied with you; therefore, for God's sake! my Lord, resolve to make your application to him as much as you do to the present Lord-lieutenant, and in the mean time be kind to his friends, and get into them, particularly Mr. Baron Rice and Mr. Nangle: the King is not angry with my Lord-lieutenant, and when he returns will be very kind to him." The same person writes to Baron Rice thus:—"My Lord Tyrconnel will certainly be Lord-lieutenant, as he assures me; but when he is to set out, I cannot yet tell you, possibly my next may." The Roman Catholic Primate says he has had a letter of the 13th from Lord Tyrconnel himself, wherein he tells him that though things seem to be quiet for the present, and no talk of changes in Ireland; yet he does assure him that the King has promised him he shall go Lord-lieutenant, and he hopes to get every thing to his own mind by Christmas; but that he shall go, he desires him to believe, whatever may be written from England to the contrary. This honest bearer will tell you what Sir Thomas Newcomen said to him last night upon that subject.

Colonel Garret Moor assures me he has written very plainly into England more than once, and that his letters, he is sure, have been shown to the King; and he believes they will put a stop to the violence of Lord Tyrconnel: he says, what he writes is not his own sense alone, but that of the most sober Catholics. The truth is, that gentleman and those of his sort are very respectful to me, which does not please others: he tells me you see his letters, and he has written very freely by this last post. I could write volumes of the differences among themselves, which will do good. God keep you and all yours.

CCLXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Captain Caulfield's arrival.—Has delivered to him the Commission appointing him to Captain Ridley's Company.—All now quiet at Kilkenny, by the prudence of Lieutenant-colonel Butler.—Outrages of the Tories.—False rumours of plots and risings in various parts of Ireland.—Has taken measures to repress all such reports.—Alarm at Athlone;—believes it without foundation.—Has caused a narrative of the circumstances to be drawn up, and placed the town under the care of the King's soldiers.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, November 20, 1686.

Captain Caulfield arrived here with the last packet, and brought me your letter of the 4th instant, signifying the King's pleasure that he should have Captain Ridley's company: accordingly the Commission, which was formerly sent over, is delivered to him. My last to your Lordship, was of the 30th of the last month, wherein I gave you an account of the disorder at Kilkenny: all things now are very quiet there, and every body good friends; to which nothing has contributed more than the prudence of Lieutenant-colonel Butler. The Tories are out again in several parts of the kingdom, and have committed several robberies of late, both in the counties of Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, and other parts of the kingdom. I have given all necessary orders for redress thereof, and have dispersed several parties of the army into the most proper places; which has already had a very good effect. This last week five rogues were taken, and sent to prison; and I doubt not but the country will very quickly be quiet again. There have of late been great rumours in the counties of Waterford and Cork of plots and designs of rising. Sometimes it was pretended, that the English would cut the throats of the Irish; and, sometimes, that the Irish would do the same to the English; which caused great fears amongst the poor people, insomuch that many of them left their houses and lay in the fields. Several informations were brought to me of great meetings in the night of armed men; which I caused to be strictly examined, and several to be bound over to be prosecuted, who were informed against: and being well satisfied by the officers of the army, who were quartered at the places where the night meetings were pretended to be, that they could find no probability nor footsteps of any such meetings, I directed the justices of the peace at the Michaelmas Sessions to give it in charge to the Grand Juries to present all those reports of risings, as spread with a malicious intention to disturb the peace of the kingdom; and, if it be possible, thereby

to find out the first broachers of those reports, that they may be proceeded against according to law. This had a good effect: several persons were indicted; and people have been very quiet, as to that matter, ever since in Munster; the troops having orders still to watch whether there are any night meetings, and to give an account of them. The like alarms are now again very warmly spread in other parts of the kingdom, especially at the beginning of this month in the counties of Westmeath and Longford. I should not have given your Lordship the trouble of an account thereof, but that the alarm lately spread at Athlone makes a great noise here, and probably may be written into England; and therefore I think it fit to give your Lordship the state of it, that you may know the truth, in case you hear of it otherwise. It is originally grounded upon a letter from Father Ambrose Fitz-Gerald to Mr. John Malone, a Justice of the Peace; which Mr. Malone sent to Mr. Fallon, sovereign of Athlone, who transmitted them to Sir Paul Rycaut; copies of all which three letters I here send to your Lordship. I believe, never were people alarmed upon slighter grounds: however, though I was assured by several honest gentlemen, both Irish as well as English, who came to town through that country at the same time, that there was not the least colour for those reports, and that the good friar, Father Ambrose, was too easily frighted, as an honest Roman Catholic gentleman told me; yet I thought it fit for me to make the utmost enquiry into the whole matter, both in my duty to the King to preserve the peace of the country, and likewise to satisfy the poor frighted people, that there was no cause for their fears. I therefore sent to several Justices of the Peace, of both religions, to make all possible search into the grounds of the reports, and to find out the first broachers: several examinations have been taken, and no proof made of the numbers of armed men which were said to have appeared in particular places, nor the grounds of the frightful reports yet discovered. I have caused a narrative to be drawn out, of the most material examinations which are yet taken, that your Lordship may give the King an account of the whole.* Such persons as are therein

* A NARRATIVE OF THE REPORTS RAISED AND DISPERSED AMONGST THE PEOPLE, TO THEIR GREAT TERROR AND AFFRIGHTMENT, IN THE COUNTIES OF WESTMEATH AND LONGFORD; AS IS EXTRACTED OUT OF THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL LETTERS AND EXAMINATIONS, WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUSTICES OF PEACE THEREUPON.

The beginning of these reports seems to be grounded on a letter from Father Ambrose Fitzgerald, Prior of Roscommon, wherein he suggests the many fears of the people caused by night meetings lately discovered, which took such impressions in the minds both of the gentry and

mentioned, and who have not yet been examined, I have ordered to be examined; and as soon as they are returned, your Lordship shall have an account thereof.

rabble, that they slept abroad and concealed themselves by night in woods and ditches. All which is expressed in general, without naming persons, time, or place, in a letter dated the 1st of November, from Corevelt, directed to John Malone, Esq., one of the Justices of the Peace in that county, as appears by a copy of that letter hereto annexed:—

John Malone, on the 2d of November, writes to the sovereign of Athlone, named Edmond Fallon, and sends him a copy of Father Fitzgerald's letter. The sovereign of Athlone takes the alarm, and by his letter of the 3d of November, writes to Sir Paul Rycaut, and acquaints him that he had desired Lieutenant Ely, who commanded Major O'Connor's troop of dragoons in that town, to secure his Majesty's castle and magazines. And that he, the said sovereign, for preventing farther disorders, had commanded a watch of sixty men, consisting of freemen, to guard the town and themselves, and so to continue until farther orders from the Lord-lieutenant.

In like manner, Lieutenant Robert Ely writes in his letter of the same date, and repeats to him the foregoing story; and tells him that he had made search for arms and ammunition in several houses, and that he had found quantities of arms and powder, and fowling pieces, and taken them away. And that when he was asked for his order, he says that he told them he would search without order.

For better enquiry into the truth of these reports, letters were written, by order of the Lord-lieutenant, to several justices in the County of Westmeath; namely, to William Hancock, Charles Rochfort, Robert Choppyn, Edmond Nugent, H. Packington, and John Malone, Esqs. all justices of the peace for the County of Westmeath, as also to Edmond Donellan, justice of the peace for the County of Roscommon, and to Edmond Fallon, sovereign of Athlone, signifying unto them the reports which were spread abroad, of meetings, assemblies, and cabals, tending to mischievous designs. And for better information therein, copies of the letters of Father Ambrose Fitzgerald and Mr. Malone were sent to them, with orders of the 6th of November, directed to the persons aforesaid, requiring them forthwith to make enquiry into the truth of those reports, and with all care and diligence to transmit them to the Lord-lieutenant. And that in case they should find them false and groundless, that then they should trace them to the first inventors and broachers of them, against whom they were to proceed according as the statute in that case directs.

In pursuance of these orders, Robert Choppyn, Esq., one of the justices, bound over Teague O'Bryen to prosecute Edmond Twynan at the next assizes, for reporting without just grounds that William and John Robinson did keep night meetings with Scotch and English in the night-time, as appears by Mr. Choppyn's letter of the 8th of November, which inclosed an examination taken the 2d of this month.

November the 10th, from Twyford, Edmond Donellan and William Hancock, Esqs. write that Father Fitzgerald's relation depending on the information of a gentleman who was then in the army, and a soldier in Captain Aungier's troop, they could not proceed farther therein because the warrant of a justice of peace could not oblige him to an appearance. And in fine they conclude, that by the enquiry they had hitherto made into this affair, they found the reports to be wholly groundless.

I have appointed the sovereign of Athlone to dismiss his watch, and to believe the town safe under the care of the King's soldiers: Major O'Conner's troop of dragoons is quartered there. I doubt not but this close examining

The said Edmond Donellan, William Hancock, and Charles Rochfort, do by their letter of the 16th, signify that Mr. Fitzgerald, whom they esteemed the most material witness, not appearing at Athlone according to their summons, they could not proceed farther that day: howsoever, they sent the examination of one Hibernia Scott, of the King's County, gentleman, sworn before Charles Rochfort, Esq. and taken the 12th of this month, the contents whereof were these:—

That the High Constable of Kincora was, in the hearing of the examinant, charged by one Mr. Coghland, a justice of the peace, to go in all haste and provide sufficient men to have watches in all places, for fear of Scots and disbanded soldiers, and others that were coming to destroy the Irish. Farther he saith, that the same night, there were several watches by Mr. Coghland's order; and much shooting every night at the houses of Mr. Terence Coghlan, Francis Coghlan, and Edmond Malone, Esqrs., justices of the peace, until the 10th instant. Farther he saith, that on the 4th and 5th instant, one Murtagh Murray, with some Irishmen, come to the house of one Farrell Ginan, a labourer, and terrified him and his family in such manner by crying in English "Kill the rogues!" that they all ran naked out of their house into a bog.

During these affrightments in and about Athlone, Captain René de Carne, captain of a troop of horse quartered at Mullingar, writes that on the 10th instant, about nine o'clock at night, several people came running into the town with haste and fear, crying out, that there was a body of one hundred horse just entering into the town; wherewith the said Captain de Carne, being alarmed, mounted on horseback, and with his troop went round the town, and tarried abroad until two o'clock after midnight: but meeting none of those apparitions, he returned back with his troop to their quarters.

Upon these informations, the Lord-lieutenant gave farther orders to the justices of the peace, to enquire into the truth of these reports; and pursuant thereunto on the 16th instant, examinations were taken before John Phillips, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Westmeath.

The persons examined were, first Margery Moran; and she saith that on the 10th instant, at night, her mistress sent her out to see whether the noise she heard was of droves of cattle passing by; that she went forth, and saw nothing; that half an hour after she went out and saw a number of horsemen passing by, but whether they had arms or not she knows not.

Katherine Cahill being examined the same day, saith that coming from Portlemon, she met about sixteen horsemen, with their colours tied up in a bag, their cloaks behind them lined with yellow, and also some men with caps like Grenadiers.

James Mellaghein, of Mullingar, saith that he was on Wednesday, at 10 o'clock at night, called out of his bed by John Caby, with three others of the watch, who said that they were all undone, for that three hundred men were just entering the town; whereupon the examinant got up and gave account thereof to Captain de Carne.

Cornelius Hanman, John Caby, and Raghteene being in like manner examined, say that on the 10th instant, at night, they were alarmed with a report of great numbers of men on the Green of Mullingar, but that they saw none.

Patrick Donnelly, being in like manner examined, saith that on the 10th instant at night, hearing

of every body will quickly make them quiet, and put an end to these false alarms. I likewise send your Lordship a copy of Father Ambrose Fitz-Gerald's examination, which I ordered to be taken after I had seen his letter to Mr. John Malone. I beg your Lordship's pardon for the length of this letter, and am with great respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

the trampling of horses on the Green, he opened his door to see what they were, and he saw that they were country people on garrons, or little Irish horses.

Peter Coghlan being examined saith, that on the 10th instant at night, hearing a noise on the Green of Mullingar, he went forth to see what the matter was, and found some Ulster men there, who had brought timber for the market of Mullingar. And this is the substance and contents of the examinations sent from Mullingar.

Now to return to the farther examinations taken at Athlone, before Edmund Fallon, sovereign, Edward Donellan, William Hancock, John Malone, and Charles Rochfort, Esqs. justices of the peace of the county of Westmeath, taken the 17th instant November,—the contents and substance are as follows:—

In the first place, Father Ambrose Fitzgerald being examined, his answer is hereunto annexed at large, by reason that he having given the first intimation of these reports, his testimony ought to be esteemed of chiefest credit, and therefore not to be contracted.

Patrick Keegan, constable of the parish of Killala, saith that one Roger Coggovan, a tailor, told him that there was a stranger in his house named Gormelly, who reported that there were sixty horsemen within a mile of the moat; and therefore charged the said constable immediately to inform John Malone and Edmond Malone therewith; which he accordingly did, at the instance of the said Coggovan and Gormelly, and took care to set a watch; but that he never knew or heard that any of the inhabitants lay out of their houses at night, though they were affrighted with reports spread abroad by troublesome people.

Roger Coggovan, tailor, being examined, saith that he told John Gormelly, servant to one Mr. Ormesby, a lawyer, how that he and his family were afraid to lie in their beds at night, by reason of some flying reports, that some disaffected persons to the King and government ranged up and down the country in the night, with design to do mischief to the King's loyal subjects; whereunto Gormelly replied, that the night before, about two hours in the night, about a mile eastward of Mosey, he met a footman with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, and followed by above thirty horsemen, who directed him in his way to Mosey. And farther the examinant saith, that he was told by the said Gormelly, that those horsemen (as he really believed) would have taken away his horses, had they not had a kindness to his master.

John Gormelly being examined, confesses and acknowledges all to be true; and in part, confirms the above examination of Coggovan.

Thus far are the examinations taken by the justices of peace in the county of Westmeath: there are the like orders given to the justices of the peace for the county of Longford, of which returns are not yet made.

CCLXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends him the Narrative and Papers respecting the false alarms of Plots, &c.—Strict search after the first originators, the only way to repress these reports.—Affair at Athlone, grounded upon a letter of Fitzgerald.—Conduct of Lieutenant Ely;—and of Mezandrier, who is a mischievous man:—will have him examined.—If he is let alone, will soon have every thing quiet.

Dublin Castle, November 23, 1686.

Here enclosed I send you a copy of my Lord President's last letter to me, and my answer to it, which was sent on the 20th instant. I did not send it to you at the same time, because the narrative and other papers were not then transcribed, which now go herewith. You see I have recapitulated to his Lordship what I had formerly written to him, that he might have before him the history of the rumours of plots, and likewise an account of what I had done to quiet those rumours, and the effect the orders I gave have had in some places in Munster; and I do not doubt, but I shall have the same successes in the North in a little time. The close driving the matter, to find out the first spreader of the reports, is the only way to make that sort of people have a care how they talk: when men see the Government will enquire, and find out the truth, they will be more careful how they report what they cannot prove. You may perceive by these papers, what some men have a mind to be at, and how they labour to put jealousies and fears into men who are quiet. This matter of Athlone, which has alarmed the whole North, is entirely grounded upon Father Ambrose Fitzgerald's letter to Mr. John Malone, dated the first instant, which Malone sent to the sovereign of Athlone; and whether that letter was sufficient to put his worship and Lieutenant Ely, the lieutenant of the troop of dragoons there quartered, into that consternation, you can very well judge. Ely, without any further information, ransacks about, breaks open houses without any civil magistrate with him, searches even cabinets for arms, and takes away even fowling-pieces from people of the best condition: but I doubt not, this close pursuit in examining will quiet every body. Every one of the persons mentioned in these papers, who have not been examined, I have ordered to have their examinations taken; and as soon as they are returned, I will give an account thereof. I doubt not but this matter is represented in England in the colours some men would have it appear in, and therefore I have thought fit to make a state of the truth. Whether

my papers will be read, or thrown by, as some others have been, God knows: I have done my part. Mezandrier, who was formerly *valet-de-chambre* to the Duke of Ormond, (and for that reason much made of by all honest men,) is now cornet to Captain Aungier, and proves a very mischievous man; a great countenancer and spreader of these frightful reports, and harasseth his troop by making them watch, and sending parties abroad to find night-walkers, without so much as taking notice of his Captain, who is in the same town and never from his troop; and gives out that his Captain is cashiered, and so thinks he may do what he pleases. I have sent for this man to town, and will have him examined here. If I am let alone, I will undertake every thing shall be quiet; but if there be not a vigorous course taken to put a stop to these reports, there will not want oaths to prove every body on horseback, armed, and caballing about the Lord knows what, when they are all in their beds: and indeed, do all we can, some people cannot bear what is put upon them; and though they are resolved to be dutiful to the King, and even not to give offence to those who injure them, though they are in authority, yet many upon these last alarms are packing up, and will go into England. I have no more to add at present, but my prayers for you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE QUEEN.

His distress and mortification at hearing of her displeasure.—Supplicates in the most humble manner her pardon.

MADAM, Dublin Castle, Nov. 24, 1686.

It was so great a mortification to me to find, by a letter I received some time since from my sister Rochester, that your Majesty is displeased with me, that, though it was my duty to have begged your pardon upon the first notice of it, I could not suddenly recollect myself sufficiently out of so great an affliction, that was come so unexpectedly upon me. Afterwards I was of opinion, that I paid some duty to your Majesty in lying still under your displeasure; and especially, since it happened to fall upon me at a time that I had most need of your Majesty's favour with the King. I thought it would show to you some sorrow and sense of my misfortune, if I restrained myself for a time from seeking your powerful intercession: and if I have contributed thus long to my own ruin, in not hastening with earnestness to

beg the assistance I might have hoped for from your Majesty's goodness, only because your Majesty thought me guilty towards you, I beg of your Majesty to believe, if I could condemn myself, I should never have the confidence, either now or hereafter, to speak or write to your Majesty. What I have further to say on this subject is, with all humility to allow me to tell you, that if your Majesty could see the thoughts of my heart, you would find there the justest sense and highest gratitude a man can be capable of, for all the innumerable favours and benefits I have received from you and by you: and on the other hand, if it were worth your pains to look back upon the outward behaviour of myself, your Majesty would find that it hath never been such as to give any ground for a report of me of such a nature as hath caused this displeasure in your Majesty. And now, if neither my thoughts nor actions can justify me, but that by the representation which hath been made of me, your Majesty judgeth me faulty towards you, I do most humbly beg your pardon for whatever I have done that offends your Majesty. I did truly think myself innocent; but, if your Majesty judgeth otherwise, I had rather submit to your sense of me, and obtain your pardon, than plead my innocence. Forgive me, therefore, Madam, I most humbly beseech you, because I did not offend you maliciously, and because I am very heartily sorry for it; and to these prayers, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, that I add those I offer every day to God Almighty for your Majesty's long life and prosperity.

Madam,

Your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCLXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Encloses a copy of a letter of high importance, respecting the conduct of young Henry Fitzjames.—Thanks Lord Rochester for letting him know that the King is satisfied with the explanations he had given of his conduct.—Adverts to the subject of his removal.—Various reports on that subject.—Probability of a permanent state of the revenue.—Is glad the King approves of what he has done at Kilkenny.

Dublin Castle, November 27, 1686.

The enclosed* is the copy of a letter to a very honest gentleman: when you have read it, you will know as much of the matter as I do. The subject

* This enclosure has not been preserved.

of it is of such a nature, that I think it no way fit to be put up, but ought to be enquired into: I have therefore directed the gentleman, from whom the letter was written, to send up both his own affidavit, and of as many more as were in the company, when that discourse happened; which will be done without noise. As soon as I have them, I do think to enclose them in a letter to the King, and to beg his directions what he will have done in it. I will send my letter open to you, that if you do not approve what I write, you may take out the papers, and do what you think best in the matter. In the mean time I send you a copy of the letter, that you may know the truth, and think of it. One illegitimate young man has given us too much trouble already; and to be alarmed with another so soon would be very uneasy.* I here send you the copy of what I have written to my Lord President, with the continuation of the narrative of our supposed plots;† which, I think, do now

* The allusion is to Henry Fitz-James, second natural son of King James the Second, afterwards known by the title of the Grand Prior; and in France by that of Duke of Albemarle.

† THE LORD PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

MY LORD, Whitehall, December 4, 1686.

I received, some time since, your Excellency's letter of the 30th of October, concerning the late disorders at Kilkenny; and I now have that of November 20th, enclosing the copies of certain examinations taken in the counties of Westmeath and Longford, with an account of the occasion thereof, which I shall give your Excellency a further account of. I am with great respect, my Lord,

Yours, &c.

A CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE RELATING TO THE SEVERAL REPORTS RAISED AND DISPERSED AMONGST THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTIES OF WESTMEATH AND LONGFORD, AS THEY WERE SENT IN BY THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, SINCE THE 19TH OF NOVEMBER, 1686.

November the 20th. Robert Choppyn, Esq., one of the justices of the peace aforesaid, sent up a letter from René Mezandrier, cornet to the troop of horse under the command of Captain Ambrose Aungier, wherein he declares, that the reason why he said to Mr. Garrett Fitzgerald, that if he loved his reputation he should stay at his colours, (as in the former examination specified,) was grounded on the report of Corporal Connor and Mark Farrell, who told him of meetings in the night, of which the Government had taken notice, and examinations were taking thereupon.

And particularly, that Mr. John Nugent being upon the Horse Guard, about ten o'clock at night, saw about forty or fifty horsemen passing before him.

That after midnight, about one o'clock, being the 24th of October, an alarm was given, and a crying out upon the bridge, which caused him to arise and run to the bridge; but before he could get thither the noise ceased, and so he returned to his chamber.

The next day Corporal Connor told him, that he had been upon the guard all night; for that a great number of disbanded officers and soldiers lodged in his quarters all night.

By other examinations of Margaret M'Kanly, Mary Reily, and Katherine Teague, taken the

begin to vanish, there being several people upon whom the reports are fixed, and who cannot or will not tell where they heard them, bound over to the next assizes by Roman Catholic justices.

16th of November, before the justice of the peace aforesaid, it appears that one Jane Farrell declared openly at a burial, that she heard that one John Robinson was two nights abroad, and after his return home, told his wife that he had been at a meeting where they had resolved to destroy all that came in their way; but whether Irish, Scots, or English, she knew not.

And saith, that the nurse of the said Robinson heard the said Robinson declare so much to his wife.

Mary Shinnott, nurse to the said Robinson, being examined on the 17th of November, deposed on oath, That she knows nothing of her master, John Robinson, to have been abroad two nights together, or any night lately, or of any questions demanded of him lately by his wife, in relation to the contents of the aforesaid examinations.

Edmund Nugent, Esq., one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the County of Longford, returned these following examinations, taken at Mullingar, November 22, 1686.

James Duffy, of Mullingar, swore that one William Cooper told him, that on the 29th of October, about ten o'clock at night, he saw about one hundred, or one hundred and twenty horsemen pass by the town of Mullingar, with carbines mounted in their hands, and curb bridles.

Timothy Gaynor, of the said place, saith that on the 29th of October, about ten o'clock, he saw about one hundred horsemen march in rank and file, as our troops use to march, and passed over the ford called Frier's Mill.

John Martin, of Russell's Town, saith the same, and that he and others believed they were Presbyterians, for honest men did not use to march in that manner, nor at that time in the night.

Bartholomew Cooper saith the same, and that he informed the High-constable thereof in presence of Captain Smith, who asked Cooper whether he heard that those people did any hurt where they passed in the country: to which Cooper made answer, that he heard of none. "Then," said Captain Smith, "they must be fairies." "No," replied Cooper, "that cannot be; for fairies are not seen by more than one man at a time."

James M'Laghton, High-constable of Mullingar, doth confess that Bartholomew Cooper informed him as above; and that Captain Smith asking him whether he heard that they did any hurt to the country, he answered, that he heard of none: and that thereupon Captain Smith said, that they must be fairies, which Cooper said could not be, because fairies are not visible to more than one or two at a time.

Morris Collo, of Mullingar, saith that on the 29th of October last, about ten o'clock at night, he saw about forty horsemen pass over the ford called Frier's Mill, and he believes that as many more passed, and that they marched four abreast; but what they were, or what their design was, he knew not.

William Cooper saith as before related by Collo; and that in their discourse together what these people might be, Collo concluded that they were Whigs, because that in Monmouth's time they did use to meet and march by night.

John Walsh saith, that on or about the 6th of November last, being in Mullingar, near his own dwelling house, he saw about twenty horsemen, in the dead time of the night, travelling through the town, and soon after about twenty more followed them.

I come now to acknowledge yours of the 18th instant, more fully than I did in the postscript of my last. I am infinitely obliged to you for the pains you have taken in telling me how gracious the King was to be satisfied with the explanations I made in my letter to you of the 23d past. I will venture to say, that I have been so circumspect in all my actions, that I doubt not I shall be able to give a very satisfactory account of all I have done since my being here, if I am but heard, to the representations which are made of me. It is the greatest satisfaction I can have in this world to please the King in any thing I do: I never offended him, and never will, knowingly, while I live; and I will not be guilty of doing any thing here which shall occasion him to recall me in displeasure. For the rest, though I had much rather stay here than be yet removed, if it were in my own choice, yet no man's private content ought to interpose in the King's affairs. His Majesty is the best judge by whom he will be served; and as I am very desirous to serve him here, because I know I can do him service, so, if he determines otherwise, I acquiesce with all duty, and shall be ready to serve him wherever he pleaseth: nothing can be grievous to me but the King's displeasure, which I am sure I do not deserve; and I cannot do any thing to deserve it, but I must know it, which is enough to make me avoid it. I do assure you, I think every day upon what you wrote to me by my son; and I thank God, my mind is enough prepared: and so God's will be done.

As to the digression you make, and the notion you have of the revenue continuing, whatever may happen, so long as peace continues, I will say nothing; because whatever arguments may be used of things to come, are at best but men's opinions; in which, by one accident or other, either side may be deceived: but I do assure you, I preach the same doctrine, as if I were entirely convinced by your notion, and as if I were sure I were in the right; and I will do the same to the last moment of my being here. And now, as to my stay here, for entertainment I will only tell you, that the reports the last letters of the 18th brought, are very various, even among the Irish themselves; some saying, I may stay as long as I please; others, that Lord Tyrconnel is to succeed me, and will be here by Christmas: and I am

All the aforesaid persons were examined before the said Justice Nugent, and bound over by him to the next general assizes, in a recognizance of 40*l.* each man.

It is here observable, that the troops mentioned as aforesaid to march in the night, were no other than the troops of Mullingar and Athlone; who, upon the rumours and reports aforesaid, did often march in the night upon discoveries, as appears by letters from those places.

assured, the Major-general offers to lay five hundred to one, that he will be here before March.

I am very glad at what you tell me, that the King does not disapprove of what I did in the disorder at Kilkenny: my Lord President has not said one word to me of that matter, nor so much as acknowledged the receipt of my letter: but that is not strange at this time of day. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Ensign Stewart killed in a duel.—Captain Hamilton's account of the accident enclosed.—Has ordered Ensign Salkeld to be placed in the hands of the civil power.—Encloses a continuation of the report about plots, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, November 27, 1686.

Last night I received an account from Youghall, of Ensign Salkeld's having in a quarrel killed Ensign Stewart, who was as hopeful and brave a young gentleman as any in the army. I send your Lordship a copy of Captain Frederick Hamilton's letter, which brought the account of this unhappy accident, together with copies of the examinations taken thereupon. I have ordered Ensign Salkeld to be delivered up to the civil magistrate, to be proceeded against according to law. If the King thinks fit to remove him, (he was Ensign to Lieutenant-colonel Lundy,) I beg your Lordship humbly to move his Majesty, that the colours may be bestowed upon one David Lundy, whose brother was Ensign in my Lord Dunbarton's regiment, and was killed in the service against the late Duke of Monmouth. I believe my Lord Mountjoy, who is Colonel of the regiment, will move the King for the same reason.

I herewith send your Lordship a continuation of the Narrative concerning the reports, &c. drawn out of the examinations sent up to me by several justices of the peace.* Mr. Joseph Nugent, in the margin of the Narrative mentioned, his examination is not yet sent up. Upon the whole, I believe Mr. Edmund Nugent's (a justice of the peace) having bound over so many persons to the next assizes, has put an end to all these alarms: when men see they are to give an account of what rumours they spread to the disquieting

* See p. 81, *ante*.

of their neighbours, they will be more careful. Whatever happens further, your Lordship shall be sure to have an account. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCLXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further enquiries into the deductions made from the pay of the soldiers.—Insubordination of the inferior Officers.—Desires to know the King's pleasure about the appointment of Sheriffs.—Objections to the list furnished.—Account of the Repairs, and state of the Buildings at Chapel Izod.

Dublin Castle, November 30, 1686.

I told you in mine of the 13th instant, that I had sent to Colcraine to know the truth concerning 9*d.* a week subsistence money to the soldiers there. The answer is brought me by Colonel Russell, and it is positive, as I told you then, that they never had less than 12*d.* a week, and have had 18*d.* a week ever since the time I mentioned in that letter of the 13th; and yet Colonel Russell seems to insinuate as if he doubted some officers did not pay their men that allowance. When I pressed to know who those officers were, he seemed shy, and said some men were very poor: I still bade him name them; to that he said, he was unwilling to do any honest man an ill turn; he was going to his quarters, (now his business with the town of Galway was over,) and he would enquire further into the business, and give me a full account of the whole truth. If you will have my opinion, men are afraid to tell truth, lest those who are faulty should prove to have the best interest; for there has been that encouragement given to inferior officers to affront their superiors, and they do talk at that rate to them, and of them, that it is to my thinking a wonder there comes no mischief. Several officers come to me, almost every day, to beg me to take off the checks which were put upon their companies: my answer is, that I am very willing for the September muster to take off the checks which were put upon any particular officers; for though they ought to have been at their quarters at the muster, yet many of them, being newly come into the service, might have business to equip themselves, &c. and therefore upon that consideration, I tell them, I have remitted several, and am willing to gratify any officer who shall give me any reasonable excuse for his having been absent. But as to the removing the checks imposed upon the private men, I am very stiff, and have not taken off one,

only told them I would consider of it; whereupon some of the officers have been so ingenuous as to tell me they shall be then undone, for they have borrowed money, and have no hopes of paying it but by those little advantages, which was pretty plain dealing, and you may be sure did not work much upon me. Though I have taken off several checks imposed upon officers, and shall do more for the reasons I have mentioned, yet the checks upon the companies and troops (which is the principal thing) will remain, as I told you in mine of the 13th present, to be 3505*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*; for the checks upon the whole army, the officers included, amount to 4711*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* This puts me in mind to tell your Lordship, that if the King be prevailed upon to put down this method of checking absent men (which I find all the officers aim at), without being much of a prophet, I will venture to say his Majesty will have a very ill account of his army here. I shall lay before you an account of the deductions made by some officers from the companies, which are wonderful; and if that matter be once well looked into, what the settled deductions are for clothing, and every thing else which can be thought of as necessary; and, after all that, to see what deductions some officers make, is a most abominable thing, and must make it impossible for poor men to live without committing outrages. I will remedy these things as fast as I can, and will be able to do it in a great measure, or make some men ashamed, notwithstanding my being threatened that I am not long to be in the Government: but while I am here, I will do the King all the service I can, and I will not suffer him to be wronged by any, nor the soldiers to be deprived of more of the money the King allows them, than is of absolute necessity for their own use; and whatever becomes of me, it shall be in nobody's power to charge me with any thing than an honest man ought not to have done.

I could wish I knew the King's pleasure about the sheriffs. Now I know his Majesty's resolution that Roman Catholics should be admitted into those offices, I did intend to have put them into several counties where it had been most proper: and I would have put in men known to be good men: but upon my word, in the list which was given me here, and which I have reason to believe, by what I am told by Roman Catholic privy-counsellors, is sent into England for approbation, there are several men, even of both religions, not fit to serve the King in that station: and if that list be sent me hither for a guide, I must be forced to represent some of them back again to his Majesty for my own vindication, that it may not be said hereafter, that if I had given an account of those men, they would not have been put into em-

ployment. I have nothing more to add, but my prayers for you, and my sister, and all yours.

I ought some time since to have sent you an account of the buildings at Chapel Izod, and the repairs about the Castle. I now send you an abstract thereof, drawn up by Mr. Robinson, surveyor of his Majesty's buildings in this kingdom, from the 25th of March, 1685, to the 29th of September last; which is from the beginning of the building at Chapel Izod. I beg you to procure the King's letter for the payment of the balance, being 626*l.* 8*s.*, which is due to several workmen, who are poor, and will be clamorous. I will presume to say, that the building at Chapel Izod is the cheapest that has been erected; and nothing has been laid out but what was of absolute necessity to make it habitable: many things have been done for convenience, and which are fixed to the freehold too, which I thought were not fit for the King to pay for; and therefore they are not placed to his account. Possibly it may be thought the repairs of the Castle may be very great: I can only tell you, that as it is the worst lodging a gentleman ever lay in, so it will cost more to keep it in repair than any other. Never comes a shower of rain, but it breaks into the house; so that there is perpetual tiling and glazing; but, I do assure you, not so much as a chimney or any thing done new upon the King's account. My Lord Tyrconnel was pleased to tell me, in a style something extraordinary, that he wondered I had not laid out a thousand pounds or two to make a good lodging at least, which he would have done. I told him, I would never lay out the King's money without his orders: his Lordship might do what he pleased, when he had it in his power. I know very well how he discoursed of it abroad, which I will not now mention; and thank God, it does me no harm. I am sure I have not managed ill for the King, which I assure you is a great ease to my mind. God keep you.

CCLXXI.

MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR (BARILLON) AND LAURENCE HYDE EARL OF ROCHESTER ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS CONVERSION TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.

From a MS. in his Lordship's hand-writing.

Friday, Dec. 3, 1686.

The French Ambassador, who had not been in long time before to see me, told me that he thought he ought to speak to me, *à fond*, in consideration of the long acquaintance that had been between us, of the importance of the

affairs that for some years had been managed entirely by us, and of the good that he thought it would be to the King his master, that I should continue *en place;* and therefore, without entering further into any man's private affairs than it was fit for him, or he was invited to, he thought it was no news to tell me, and he doubted not but many of my friends had already done it, *qu'il étoit fort douteux:* and then he took himself up, *qu'il n'étoit presque point douteux, que je quittois ma charge.* When I told him, that I knew very well there had been reports for a long time that I was to be turned out, and that I had never regarded them, and did not still; but yet, when he should say such a thing as this to me, I knew he took not up reports slightly, it would make me reflect more seriously upon them: and that therefore, if he thought fit to communicate to me the grounds he had received of such reports, it would be an obligation on me, that I could but only desire, and not exact of him. And he replying nothing, but that if he had my secret trusted to him he would not reveal it, neither could he that of another to me; I added then that I had no more to say by way of answer, than that I looked upon this intelligence like the other reports I had met with. The ambassador, with some emotion and after a little pause, cried out—"*Monsieur, je scai bien que vous avez été exhorté, je ne vous dis point si ç'a été par des prêtres, ou par le Roy, mais enfin je scai bien, et vous ne me celerez pas, que vous êtes exhorté de vous faire Catholic:*" I answered: "*Soit; que voulez vous dire la-dessus? La consequence en seroit elle, que je ne garderois point ma charge, si je ne deviens Catholic?*" He answered—"I speak of no consequences, but I come as a friend, to wish that you may keep your place; do not you remember," added he, "that I was speaking some time ago to you of your quitting the Court, in the late King's time, and that you told me, but you would not quit it now; and now remember you do not quit it:" which I confess was, methought, as plain as telling me, that if I did not become Catholic I must quit it. I told him *qu'en Anglois cela vouloit dire autant.* I then told him, that I would speak to him with all truth and freedom: "Oh!" said he, "pray do not tell me that you will or will not become Catholic; keep that answer for the King, and not for me." I continued, "But I will speak to you with freedom, and that firmness, that you have owned yourself I have usually had: and that is to tell you, that whether I become Catholic or no, it shall be by the conviction of my conscience, and not for my place; and I tell you again, that the King *ne me veut point chasser, et je ne le veux point quitter.*" He seemed, at least, I know not whether he was or no, a little startled, and

answered me—"*Je suis bien aise que vous me rasseurez, au moins vous devez croire, que cela me rejouist, et que je ne viendrai point parler comme cela à un personne, que je ne souhaitasse de demeurer en place, et de conserver la dignité et le credit qu'il a ;*" and so going from me, I added, as we went down, that I knew the King, and I knew he knew me, and I feared nobody ; and so we parted.

Indorsed " 3d of Dec. 1686 :—
" Minutes of Conversation between the French Ambassador and Laurence Earl of Rochester, tending to induce his Lordship to change his religion : wrote by my Lord's hand."

CCLXXII.

MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE KING (JAMES II.) AND LAURENCE HYDE, EARL OF ROCHESTER, ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION. PRINTED FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN HIS LORDSHIP'S HAND-WRITING.

[The particulars of this affair are thus related by Burnet, who had the first part from Lord Rochester himself. " He told me, that upon the Duke of Monmouth's defeat, the King did so immediately turn to other measures, that though before, the King talked to him of all his affairs with the greatest freedom ; and commonly every morning of the business that was to be done that day ; yet the very day after his execution, the King changed his method, and never talked more to him of any business but what concerned the Treasury : so that he saw he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on as so much united to the clergy, that the Papists were all set against him. He had in a want of money procured a considerable loan, by which he was kept in his place longer than was intended. At last, as he related the matter to me, the King spoke to him, and desired he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered, he was fully satisfied about his religion. But upon the King's pressing it, that he would hear his priests, he said he desired then to have some of the English clergy present, to which the King consented ; only he excepted to Tillotson and Stillingfleet. Lord Rochester said, he would take those who should happen to be in waiting ; for the forms of the chapel were still kept up. And Dr. Patrick and Dr. Jane were the men. Upon this a day was set for the conference.

" But his enemies had another story. He had notice given him, that he would shortly lose his white staff ; upon which his lady, who was then sick, wrote to the Queen, and begged she would honour her so far as to come and let her have some discourse with her. The Queen came, and stayed above two hours with her. She complained of the ill offices which were done them. The Queen said, all the Protestants were now turning against them, so that they knew not how they could trust any of them ; upon which that lady said, her lord was not so wedded to any opinion, as not to be ready to be better instructed. And it was said that this gave the rise to the King's proposing a conference : for it has been observed to be a common method of making proselytes, with the more pomp, to propose a conference ; but this was generally done after they were well assured that, let the conference go which way it might, the person's decision for whom it was appointed should be on their side. The Earl denied he knew any thing of all this to me : and his lady died

not long after. It was further said by his enemies, that the day before the conference he had an advertisement from a sure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his post, and that the King had engaged himself to put the Treasury in commission, and to bring some of the Popish lords into it. Patrick told me, that at the conference there was not occasion for them to say much. The priests began the attack; and when they had done, the Earl said if they had nothing stronger to urge, he would not trouble those learned gentlemen to say any thing, for he was sure he could answer all he had heard: and so answered it with much heat and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, were these grounds to persuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence. The King seeing in what temper he was, broke off the conference, charging all that were present to say nothing of it.

"Soon after this he lost his white staff; but had a pension of 4000*l.* a year for his own life and his son's, besides his grant upon the Lord Grey, and another valued at 20,000*l.* So here were great regards had to him: no place having ever been sold, even by a person in favour, to such advantage." *Burnet's own Times*, vol. i. p. 684.

It is, however, stated in the Memoirs of King James, vol. i. p. 100, that the thing was suggested by Lord Sunderland, and that it was a contrivance to remove Lord Rochester and pave the way for his own advancement. He therefore persuaded the King, "that Lord Rochester had great dispositions to change his religion, and when once that was done he might be more freely consulted with." At the conference, the same work relates, that "before any point was thoroughly handled, or so much as entered upon, he rose up abruptly, and said he was more confirmed in opinion than before: upon which the assembly broke up."]

On Saturday, Dec. 4, 1686, I told the King that I thought it was fit for me to give him an account once in three or four days, that the business he recommended to me did not sleep; that I had had one meeting since with Dr. Patrick and Dr. Jane, and one other with Dr. Gifford, which last desired that I would send Dr. Jane to him, that they might together look on some books he had in his house, and afterwards that these two together might speak with me. This account I gave, as I said, that the King might see that I was going on to give him all the satisfaction I could; but while I was doing this, I must needs acquaint his Majesty that the thing was not kept secret; that there was a rumour of it spread about; that there was I know not what whispering of it, that one could not tell what to make of: and more, that it was gotten amongst very considerable people, whom I would not name yet, and which was more, if it were to be believed, which I would never do, that it was whispered, if I did not what his Majesty would have me in this point, that I was not to continue about him in the station I was. The King answered me, as near as I can remember, to this effect, and this method: "I cannot imagine how any thing of this sort can be talked of; you heard how I recommended it to be a secret; but it may be, the other day, when people saw you so long within in my closet, and might find Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick had gone in at

Mr. Chiffinch's, that it might give some occasion for these rumours; but do not alarm yourself, my Lord; you see I have spoken very freely to you, and that I have a great deal of kindness for you, and you shall always see that I will have as much kindness for you, and as much reliance upon you, as I have for any body, and let nothing alarm you." I answered, "Sir, indeed I think nothing should, and to all that speak to me to this purpose, I seem extremely to undervalue it; but I assure you it is gotten amongst very considerable people, and they are Catholics: it is from amongst them that this spreads." "I believe it," says the King; "and I know there are some very indiscreet amongst them; but pray, my Lord, do not be alarmed." I answered then, with some emotion in my spirits, and trouble, that "Your Majesty, I hope, sees that I do all that I can to obey you in every thing; I will do every thing that you command, and serve you your own way:* I will do what I can to believe too as you will have me; but while I am doing this, if I am to apprehend that the consequence of all must be, that if I do not as you would have me in that point, I must lose all: I must needs tell you, I shall have quite other considerations to attend me in this matter." The King answered, "Oh! Lord, oh, you must needs!" I added, "Sir, I hope it does not offend you, for certainly you must think as I do of any man that deserves your esteem; that is, that he ought to do as I say." The King replied, "I am not at all offended, and you say very well; and pray, my Lord, be alarmed with nothing that any body says to you; you see I have always spoken very freely to you, and will do always in every thing that concerns you; and when you and Dr. Gifford and Dr. Jane have met together, pray let me speak with you again."

Indorsed "4th of December, 1686:—
"Minutes of Conversation between the King and the Earl of Rochester, on the Subject of Religion: wrote by his Lordship's hand."

* Sir John Dalrymple asserts, that when James first proposed the conference to Rochester he received it with marks of aversion and contempt; at which James fired; Rochester stood firm, and they parted with minds irritated against each other. Rochester having imparted this adventure to a few of his friends, they agreed in opinion that his disgrace was determined; that the King had chosen this way to finish a want of confidence with which for many months he had behaved to him; and that it now only remained for him to secure an interest with the people. Rochester therefore, with all speed, made his apology to the King, pretended he had altered his mind, and agreed to be present at a conference of divines. It was however hardly begun when he declared that the Popish arguments had only served to confirm him in the truth of the Protestant religion; and then took care it should be spread abroad that he had incurred the King's indignation for the sentiments expressed at this conference.

CCLXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Congratulations on the birth of a daughter.—Trusts that time will justify all that he has done since his coming to Ireland, to the King.—Narrative of a conversation with the Major-general of the army, respecting the deductions from the pay of the soldiers, &c.

Dublin Castle, December 4, 1686.

Yesterday came in four packets from England, of the 20th, 23rd, 25th, and 27th past; among which I had yours of the 23rd and 25th; for which I do give you many thanks; and I have done so to Almighty God for my sister's being happily brought to bed of a daughter, of which I do heartily wish you joy. I hope my sister will take so much care as not to catch cold in this lying-in; and then I shall be in great hopes that she will be cured of her other terrible distemper; which I do constantly pray for. I do not propose any happiness to myself in this world more than in your and her welfare and prosperity: God bless Lady Charlotte, and all the others. I am very glad so many of my letters were come to your hands, and that those two of the 13th past were so satisfactory to the King. I dare say all I have done will be so, when looked into; and a little patience will bring all truth out. Colonel Hamilton knows I told him of all the several proportions of subsistence money which I had appointed for the army, and that I had allowed five shillings a week to the horse at his request, when the horse officers themselves asked but four shillings a week. I told him further, that this subsistence money could not be paid weekly, (considering how the revenue comes in here), but that it should not be failed every month.

When I first came hither, I resolved the King should be informed of every thing which came to my knowledge, any way relating to his Majesty's affairs, and then he might have directed whatever he thought fit; and upon that account I should have been very well content the King had seen every letter I have written since my being here; and I am sure if he did know every word has been said to me, and what I have answered, he would not be displeased: and upon this account I think fit to tell you a story, which you may acquaint the King with, if you please.

On Wednesday last, Sir Thomas Newcomen being with me upon some affairs relating to his regiment, when he had done what he came about, (the Major-general was present) I told him I heard there were complaints that his men wanted subsistence. He answered, that he was sure no officer of his

had made any complaint. I said I did not tell him who had made the complaint, but I was satisfied his men wanted; that I knew what money was issued for subsistence, and I would know how it was disposed of, and why the men had it not. Upon which he seemed much confused, and looking about said, "There is the Receiver-general, (for he was appointed to be there) all the deductions are made by him." To which Mr. Price replied, "You know, Sir, there have not been any deductions made by me out of any money which has been advanced for subsistence; and the last assignments I gave into your own hands, and you took them away yourself; and you know they were for the full money ordered by my Lord-lieutenant." To which said Sir Thomas, "How then shall the deductions be made for clothing? for we must make the constant deductions for clothing out of every muster." "Why," said I, "have you stopped any thing upon that account from the men out of their subsistence?" "I have only," replied he, "detained 30*l.* a company." Upon which the Major-general said, "all deductions were to be made out of the warrants for full pay, and that the soldiers ought to have all their subsistence money." To which Sir Thomas answered, that he did not know that. I confess, I was almost provoked to be angry: I directed him immediately to send down the 30*l.* to each company, which he had stopped; which he promised to do. I knew this particularly, but he confessed it thus to me, as I have told you, without my charging him directly: this would have been counted a great fault in another man. The very next morning, this Sir Thomas came to me again, and without saying one word of what had passed yesterday, he said, "he could not but tell me how sensible all the officers of the army were, that I had done more for them than any Chief Governor had done before me, in giving them subsistence for their men." I think nothing so loathsome as flattery; and this was so very gross, that I made him no other answer, but asked him if he had sent down the 30*l.* a company to his regiment? He said he had taken order in it; but I have taken care to be otherwise informed of the truth of it than by his saying. This gentleman does shark most abominably upon his men; the particulars whereof shall speedily be laid before you. Some officers seem much disappointed to find their commands of no more advantage, and say, they were assured a company should be worth 400*l.* a-year. I tell them, a company can be honestly worth but very little more than the King allows: to which the answer is, "It is not so in France." God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Compensations for clothes to the disbanded soldiers.—Checks of the last September muster to be remitted.—Explanation of his conduct in regard to the deductions made from the pay of the army, in answer to Colonel Hamilton's and the Major-general's representations.—Gives an account of his conference with the Major-general on the subject.—Advances of arrears of pay refused by the agents, &c.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, Dublin Castle, December 7, 1686.

Yesterday I received your Lordship's of the 30th past, and you will believe I could not let much time pass before I answer it. I will begin with the latter part, concerning the compensations which I have thought fit to allow for the clothes of the disbanded men: your Lordship does understand me right; by making those deductions at five gales,* I mean in five three months, so that the whole will be paid in fifteen months. And thus, by the King's approbation of that proposal, I look upon this matter as settled. I have given orders for preparing the warrants for taking off the checks which were imposed the last September muster; and I have remitted them ever since my being here, upon application, except where it has visibly appeared that the taking them off would have been to the prejudice of the King's service; as where by evident neglect there have wanted ten or fifteen men in a troop, and more in some companies. What the checks will amount to this present muster, shall speedily be laid before you, as soon as the commissaries return. I am sure the officers need not have the same plea now they had the last time. Many of them are much dissatisfied that I sent the commissaries out sooner than ordinary; but I am sure it is most for the King's service the musters should be never at stated times. And I beg leave to say again, with all submission, if the practice of imposing checks for not returning due certificates be not preserved, the King will run a great hazard of being much abused in his army here. My only aim is, that the King should have as many men as he pays, and that those men should have as much of the money the King allows them as possible; and if I fail of either of these ends, by the grace of God it shall not lie at my door.

I come now to the first part of your Lordship's letter; and if any thing in this world were strange, I should be surprised at what you tell me the Major-general has written to Colonel Hamilton. I must certainly be the greatest fool, as well as worse, to be found in an untruth in matter of fact, which, I

* *Gales*, i. e. *Gavels*, or *Gabels*. Exactions or levies. Lapel, AS. This word has escaped the indefatigable editor of Johnson's Dictionary, even in his augmented edition of 1827.

thank God! I shall not appear to be, in any thing I have written upon the account of the deductions. And I think it will be a little clearer that I have told truth when you read my letter which I most luckily wrote on the 4th instant; wherein I told you a story of Sir Thomas Newcomen's having deducted 30*l.* a company from his men's subsistence money; which I do earnestly beg may be read to the King; and then it will appear by what means that regiment, at least, is ruined, if it be ruined, for want of subsistence. I shall therefore beg leave to aver positively again, that there have been no deductions whatsoever made from the Major-general's, or Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiments, but what have been done by themselves or officers, or their agents. I mention those two regiments because your Lordship instances them in your letter, though I can say the same thing of the rest. And now I am upon those regiments, I shall acquaint your Lordship that the subsistence money to a regiment, according to the proportions mentioned in my former letter, amounts to 822*l.* 18*s.* for three months, and each of those regiments has received upon the account of September pay, the sum of 1040*l.* which is 217*l.* 2*s.* more than their subsistence. But to come closer to the business, I sent this morning for Major-general Macarty to come to me. When he came, both my Secretaries and the Receiver-general were with me. I asked him whether any of his regiment had made any complaint for want of subsistence; to which he very readily answered "No." I desired him to recollect himself, for it was necessary to examine into those complaints, if there were any, that the grounds of them might be discovered, and the faults redressed, in which I must make use of his help. He then said he did now remember Sir John Fitzgerald and Captain Nugent, two officers in his own regiment, had complained to him some time since of the very little money they had received. I told him, if he had acquainted me with those complaints (which I am sure he never mentioned to me till this morning), they should have been enquired into, or it should have been his own fault. I then told him the reason of my sending for him at this time was upon the account of some letters I had received in the yesterday's packet from England. I first acquainted him that upon Colonel Hamilton's complaint in England, how little subsistence money the army here had, by reason of the great deductions made for clothes, (which was by his Majesty's command transmitted to me,) I had sent over a true state of that whole matter, with a positive assurance that no deductions whatsoever had been made out of any money issued for subsistence; that I had yesterday received a letter from your Lordship of the 30th past, upon that subject, which I read to him. He then said, that he had written a letter to

Colonel Hamilton, which he believed followed him into England, or might overtake him here just upon his going; but if he were to be crucified, he could not tell the time exactly, nor what he had written, for he had no copy of his letter: that he did confess that expression "by the living God," had been better left out, which was a certain sign his letter was not intended to have been shown: that it was strange he should write the army would be ruined for want of subsistence, for he knew they had subsistence: that he was not a good writer, and did not know how he might place his words; but he believes he wrote, that if there were not some care taken, that the deductions for clothes might not be made at two gales, according to my order, the troops would be reduced to so great straits, that it would be very hard upon them; and this, he repeated, he was confident he had written upon a supposition that the deductions would be so made. I asked him why he would not speak to me in the matter, if he had those apprehensions. He said he did speak to me before he went into the country, and told me that if those deductions were made as I had at first directed, it would be very hard upon the men. I asked him what answer I made him? He says, I told him that I would make the deductions as easy as was possible. And indeed, it is true, I did tell him so; but I added further, that I could not then well come to a resolution in how many payments the deductions should be made, because I could not see clearly what had been advanced upon the account of clothes; but that in the mean time subsistence money should be constantly paid, and no deductions made from thence, upon any account whatsoever; as he had found by experience to be true: which he owned. "Why, then," said I, "what cause could you have to apprehend that the deductions would be made according to the first order, since you had received subsistence money even to this day, and no deductions yet made?" To which he only answered, he apprehended it, because I had said nothing to him of it since. I told him if he feared what I did not imagine, certainly he might have spoken to me before he had written; for if he would consider, as I had no occasion to speak to him upon this matter, I could not do it, in regard he came not to town till the 3rd of November. I then asked the Major-general if he knew what the subsistence money for a company came to: to which he answered, he could tell when he spoke with the agent. I then told him that it came to 58*l.* 10*s.* for three months: that every company in his regiment had received 50*l.* upon September pay for subsistence, before he went to Cork, which was the very beginning of September, so that they could not be in danger of ruin for want

of subsistence. To all which he said, that he could not imagine why this business should be so much discoursed of in England, or here, since he only wrote upon a supposition, in case my first order was observed. I told him it was of the greatest importance to me that the King should know there were no deductions made, when I had averred it so positively to him; and therefore I had appointed the Receiver-general to be there, to give an account of his part, that there were no deductions made by him: in which the Major-general said he was very well satisfied. "Then, Sir," said I, "I do require you, (and pray that it may be done with all speed,) that you direct your agent to give an account in writing, of all the money he has received for your regiment upon the account of subsistence, since June. And likewise, that you send to every Captain of your regiment by this night's post, to give an account in writing, of what they have received since that time, and how they have disposed of it." This he has promised to do, and I will take care it shall be done with all speed, and sent to your Lordship. By this means the whole mystery will come out; and, in God's name! let those suffer who are faulty. And here I leave the matter for the present. As we were parting, the Major-general told me I need not be concerned about the petition from him and the officers of the army, (mentioned in your letter to be written by him to Colonel Hamilton,) for that matter was at an end, and if it had gone on, I should have seen it. I assured him he was extremely mistaken if he thought I was in the least concerned about it, for I was most confident of the King's goodness and justice, upon which, and upon nothing else, I would ever depend for all things in this world: that he would hear what I could say to it, before he condemned me, which was the greatest security an honest man could have. I then desired the Major-general to remember that the army in this kingdom had been most commonly six months in arrear; that when I arrived here (which was the 9th of January) they were six months in arrear the last of December before; that those six months were cleared by the middle of March following; and since that time the army has never been two months in arrear. I desired him likewise to take notice that subsistence money was never advanced to this army till my time, and that I have done it since the beginning of June last, which will prove no ill piece of service, when all circumstances are thoroughly considered. And I do assure your Lordship this is most certainly true.

Before I conclude, I must tell your Lordship one particular more. About three weeks since, I ordered 100*l.* a troop, and 50*l.* a company, to the army

for subsistence (for it will now go currently every month); this day Mr. Price came to me, and told me he could scarce prevail with two of the agents to receive it, they saying they wanted it not, &c. I bade Mr. Price give it me under his hand, or the hands of those to whom the agents said it, with the circumstances; which he has done in two certificates; and I here send them both to your Lordship. I have directed, notwithstanding, that the money shall go down to the several troops, and your Lordship shall speedily have an account of this new whimsey. By the grace of God, I will examine the whole affair to the bottom, and the King shall know the whole truth, and then his Majesty may direct what, in his great wisdom, he thinks best.

I am, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCLXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further particulars of the conference with the Major-general.—Is rejoiced at the King's letting him know what is urged against him, that he may justify himself.—Account of a conversation on the 7th, in which the Major-general attempts to explain his conduct, in regard to a letter he had written to Dick Hamilton.

Dublin Castle, December 7, 1686.

I have sent a full answer to yours of the 30th past to the Treasury-chamber, which I hope is very plain: I am sure it is entirely true, and I think is without reflection; which, upon my word, is no easy matter to avoid, all things considered. But I thank God, I can live well with every body, though they have no mind to do so with me; but they shall be in the wrong, and not I. I have but little more to say upon your letter, only to desire you will let me know the date of the Major-general's letter to Colonel R. Hamilton. I do assure you, I was not in the least passion nor heat during the time the Major-general was with me, as can be proved by those who were present: he was sometimes a little warm, when I pressed him in saying, he had no reason to fear the deductions would be made according to the first order, because he owned that I told him I would make them as easy as was possible, and because that order was made in July, and that he had received all his subsistence money ever since, entire, without any deductions whatsoever. He then fell a swearing that he intended no ill to me, nor any body else; and then made professions of respect and service to me: to which I answered, I knew not what he meant; that I was sure he had no reason to intend me

ill; that I must confess, considering how he and I had lived, if I had had any apprehension of his doing any thing which I did not like, I would have acquainted him before I had made a complaint into England: to which he had nothing to say. Good God! what shall I think of men? The Major-general was present the last week at the conference between Sir Thomas Newcomen and me, seemed to blame his proceedings, and said he would dine with me: being a private day: (for it is necessary sometimes to have those days) he did so. I told him he was as welcome to me at all times as any man in the kingdom. He told me, that he saw I minded the King's business, and would not suffer his men to be abused; that he was resolved to show me the accounts of his regiment, and what every rag of their clothes had cost, that I might justify him the money had been well laid out. I answered, that he and I knew one another, and understood each other so well that it was impossible there could ever be any dispute between us. He then fell a railing at Sir Thomas Newcomen, called him a thousand idle fellows: that every body knew him, and knew how he came to be in this employment. In a word, I have used him, setting his station aside, as a person for whom I had a particular esteem upon the account of his family; for which many of his friends knew I had great honour and respect, and who, I am sure, loved me very well. I cannot but reflect upon Colonel R. Hamilton: when he was here, and mentioned to me the great want of subsistence, by reason of the vast deductions for clothes, I told him, as positively as I have since written, that none had been made upon any account whatever out of any money which had been issued for subsistence; which he seemed a little to startle at, in regard of my being so positive. I told him, whatever was of that kind must be between the officers and agents; and therefore I desired him, if he were not perfectly satisfied in what I said, that he would stay and see it examined. But he had extraordinary business, such as, it seems, the Chief Governor was not to know of; and if he had stayed, he would have found what I said to be too true, and then he would have had no occasion to have complained, nor to have insinuated in England the causes of the complaints; which he would not mention here, for fear of being confuted. The truth is, I was then in pursuit of Sir Thomas Newcomen's affair; which, I think, I have made sufficiently appear. Whether I am to believe these two gentlemen, the Major-general and Colonel R. Hamilton, my friends, or that they intended me much good, I leave you to judge: however, I assure you my carriage shall be the same to them it has always been. I do bless God for the King's great goodness and

justice in letting me know of these things that are said, that I may justify myself; and whenever I tell him an untruth, I will never further expect his favour. I resolved to serve him to the utmost of my capacity, and I will say it, I have spared no labour nor industry; and I thank God, the fruit of it does appear. I have no end but his service, and every thing I know shall be laid before him, that he may direct what he pleaseth; which shall ever be obeyed by me: and whenever it be found that I get any thing directly or indirectly, but what his Majesty gives me, let me be used, as I think those ought to be used who abuse their trust. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours. Pray remember the date of Macarty's letter.

December the 8th, in the morning. The packet not being yet gone, I think fit to acquaint you, that last night the Major-general came again to me: we were then alone together. He desired me to read that part of your letter again which concerned him: I did so. "Lord!" said he, "if Dick Hamilton has showed all my letter, he has made brave work; for I wrote a great deal of stuff in that letter concerning Madam Mazarine, and other people: besides, my Lord, if I had written any thing as a complaint, I would have done it to my superior, and not to an inferior, as Hamilton is; and not with such an expression as 'by the living God' in my letter." And so he begged me not to think he meant any thing ill towards me, for whom he had all the respect, &c. He then told me, he was sure he had set all right in England by what he wrote the last week; and he would write now by this post that he had been mistaken in what he wrote before, and that I had appointed him to take the accounts of his agent and his several captains, of what money hath been received for subsistence, and how it had been disposed. I told him, that he must give me leave to say (whatever his intentions were) that it did not look so kind as I did expect to have been used by him, and as he should have been used by me. "By G—, my Lord," said he, "there is something in this business that I do not understand, there being so much stir about it:" to which I answered, that I knew nothing, and that my business was only to find out truly who had made deductions when none ought to be made, and what was become of the King's and soldiers' money, that his Majesty might know all, which I was resolved he should do; and so we parted, he being to my thinking much concerned. He said I should see him again to-morrow, that is, this day. I have sent to the several colonels of the army to send me an account of all the money they have received for subsistence,

and how it has been disposed of: by this means the whole mystery will be laid open, and the King will see who has abused him. I am sure I shall be very tender of misrepresenting any man. God keep you.

CCLXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Conversation with Sir Thomas Newcomen, in which he denies having written to Lord Tyrconnel that the army wanted subsistence.—Encloses his written declaration to that effect.—Has sent the long expected reports by Mr. Deane.

Dublin Castle, December 9, 1686.

Wednesday the 8th. This afternoon Sir Thomas Newcomen came to me to acquaint me with some intelligence he had received concerning some Tories, who were upon their keeping in the county of Fermanagh; which when I had heard, and done what he desired, I asked him if he had sent the 30*l.* a company to his regiment, which he had so long detained from them. He answered, "Yes." I then told him it was a wonderful thing how he could detain 30*l.* a company from his men, and write into England that they wanted subsistence by reason of the great deductions for clothes. "Who? I write into England," said he, "that we wanted subsistence! by G—, my Lord, your Excellency has done that which was never done before: you have given us subsistence; and we have been so well paid, that there is scarce any thing due to us; therefore I must be very much wronged, if any body informs you that I have written so into England; and I will give it under my hand." I told him, "I hoped I did not need a certificate; but I must tell him, that upon complaint made in England of the want of subsistence, I had given an account of that whole matter; and that in my last letter from court I was told, that notwithstanding I had written so positively that no deductions had been made for clothing, yet my Lord Tyrconnel had said, he had letters from Sir Thomas Newcomen, averring the direct contrary." "My Lord Tyrconnel letters from me!" said he: "before God, I never wrote so to him in my life;" and upon that, he steps to the table, sits him down, and writes a declaration; which he leaves there, and says "This is not well, to say I have written, &c." My secretary was present all the time; and another person of worth came into the room whilst we were together, and heard most

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of what passed. The declaration I here send you ;* and I do earnestly beg you to show it and this letter to the King. I do desire nothing in this world more, than that his Majesty should know every thing I do. By the grace of God, if I live till the first week in February, I will send you over, with the state of the revenue, a true account of what has been paid to the army, under the hands of every colonel or officer commanding the regiment in chief; and then let the King see what is due to his army here. I believe he will not find them a month in arrear. And before Christmas yet, I shall make you some very plain discoveries, who has made the deductions: and in God's name, let the faulty suffer. I have no more to say at present upon this subject.

Thursday the 9th. This morning Mr. Deane, the late Farmers' agent, went hence in a Chester ship: by him I have sent the long-expected Report; which I hope will give satisfaction. I have endeavoured to make it plain; and though I have been long about it, I can say it required time to understand all the intricacies; which I will now venture to say I do thoroughly. I have never yet sent you any Report upon the credit of others, but have fully examined every thing myself; which I confess takes up more time: but I will never grudge my pains in the King's service, as long as I have health; which, I thank God, I have hitherto most perfectly enjoyed. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXXVII.

TO MR. RICHBELL AND MR. STANYAN.

On their account of the state and administration of the Revenue.

GENTLEMEN, Dublin Castle, Dec. 9, 1686.

I received your letter of the 24th of September by Mr. Deane: and though the paper you gave in to my Lord Treasurer of the state of your account, which his Lordship transmitted to me, is very perplexed, and in some points unintelligible; yet I have at last attained to the understanding of your whole affair. I have formed a state of your account in a plain me-

* DECLARATION OF SIR THOMAS NEWCOMEN.

"I do declare I never wrote to my Lord Tyrconnel that the army was in want for want of subsistence money in my life. Dated the 8th of December, 1686.

"THOMAS NEWCOMEN."

thod, beginning with the balance charged upon you at the foot of your account declared before the Barons of the Exchequer to the last of April, 1682, by which you must be bound; that is, there can be no looking back or ravelling into what was then done by the Barons. I have taken the discharge from Mr. Stone, and I have (as my opinion) allowed of every sum, for which he could give me a reasonable or equitable voucher; for I must tell you, there are very many vouchers wanting for considerable sums. I have sent a report of the whole matter to my Lord Treasurer; but there are several of your cravings, to which I cannot in my reason think fit to make any allowance: but whatever papers Mr. Deane has given me to support those demands, though he could not convince me, I have sent to my Lord Treasurer, that they may be there examined. I will own that you have much improved the revenue, which has been expensive to you; but you must remember likewise, that your enjoyment of those improvements did recompense the charges you were at: and this particular, for which you crave 10,000*l.*, being perfect matter of bounty, it is not fit for me to say more than represent it as such. The King knows best how to dispense his favours; and I wish you may taste of them. I am, Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCLXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The Major-general's attempts at reconciliation.—Sir Thomas Newcomen's conduct.—Roman Catholic Primate going to England; promises to speak well of Lord Clarendon to the King; but tells others that he shall speedily return with Lord Tyrconnel.—Probable motives of his journey, &c.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 14, 1686.

I wrote so much to you the last week, both in my own hand and to the Treasury chamber, that I am almost weary of writing; there having of late happened no new occurrences to give you an account of. The Major-general comes to me almost every day to give me an account of one thing or other; and he makes great professions of respect, and says he is confident, when we have returns to our last week's letters, it will appear that the expression in his letter was mistaken, and that he wrote it upon a supposition; though at the same time, when he is told by those he discourses with (as he had done to

several) that, as he represents the matter himself, he had no reason for the supposition, he knows not what to say. Sir Thomas Newcomen runs about the town telling every body what I said to him, of which I gave you an account in mine of the 9th: in which, I think, he has done himself more mischief in the opinion of men, than I should have done him; but he is such a sort of man, that none of any party care for him.

Yesterday the Roman Catholic Primate made me a visit: he told me he had left England before he had settled all his own little affairs, and therefore he intended to go over, if I would give him leave. I asked him when he designed to go? He told me there was a Chester vessel now in the harbour, which would sail with the first wind, and that he would embark in her, for he designed to keep the holidays in England. I desired him to present my humble duty to the King and Queen; which he said he would not fail, and would give the King an account how all things were here, and how well I lived towards them: whether he will do so or no, will quickly appear. He told a servant of mine, a Roman Catholic, that he would speedily return with Lord Tyrconnel. The weather is at present so tempestuous, that no vessel can go out, or come in; which, I suppose, is the reason we have had no letters from England, since those of the 30th past. You cannot imagine what various reports are occasioned by this Roman Catholic Archbishop's going into England, even among their own party; many of whom, I believe, are not trusted with the most secret counsels; as if my Lord Tyrconnel's coming Lord Lieutenant were not secure, and that this bishop's journey over is to give undeniable reasons, whereby to fix him. Some report, that Lord Tyrconnel will be here quickly after Christmas, but that he comes with no other character than he had before, and that a commission of Lord Lieutenant will be sent him two months after he is here; which, in my opinion, is ridiculous: but Mr. Aylmer, a Roman Catholic lawyer, gives out, that he saw a letter from Lord Tyrconnel written in his own hand, that he had been offered the government of Ireland, but that his health is so very bad, that upon that consideration he had waived it: this, methinks, is as ridiculous, knowing his Lordship's temper so well as I do. And though I believe no reports, yet I cannot but tell you these for want of other entertainment, to make you laugh. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCLXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Detail of the origin of the report of the imaginary plot.—Many counties infested with rogues and robbers.—Some ringleaders have been taken and sent to the prisons of Trim, Longford, and Dundalk.—The Judges are gone to try them, and a proclamation has been issued to suppress further offences.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Dec. 14, 1686.

I think I shall now give your Lordship no further trouble about our imaginary plot; for having taken above forty examinations, I find they all centre with Father Ambrose Fitz-Gerald, from whom the rumours first began; that is, he took the alarm from Captain Oliver Fitz-Gerald, and Captain Oliver from his son, who rides in Captain Aungier's troop: who was ordered by his captain to go to his father for a better horse; and just as he was going away in that errand, his cornet, one Mezandier a Frenchman, tells him, if he regarded his honour and his reputation, he were better stay with his colours than look after a horse in this time of danger, when a rising of the English was expected. Upon this, young Fitz-Gerald stops his journey, and writes to his father Oliver what his cornet had told him: Captain Oliver presently tells it to Father Ambrose; who, being really afraid, writes to Mr. Malone, a justice of the peace, and to several other persons. And thus two counties were alarmed, that there was a rising intended; and it must be true, because it came from an officer of the army. Finding this to be the only ground, I sent for Cornet Mezandier to town, that he might be examined. I spoke with him myself, and asked him, whether he had spoken to young Fitz-Gerald, who rides in his troop, to the effect above-mentioned? He confessed he had. I asked him, upon what grounds he apprehended a rising? He said, the night before young Fitz-Gerald was to go to his father, in the night he heard a cry of murder, murder! upon the bridge of Longford (the town where he was quartered); that he rose out of his bed, called up his servant and landlord, and went upon the bridge and about the town, but found nobody; that he went to bed again, and in the morning his corporal came to him, and told him a great many disbanded officers and soldiers were in town, and had sat up all in a room together in the house where he lay, and that he did suspect they had no good design. This, Mezandier said, did so startle him, that about nine that morning, meeting young Fitz-Gerald

in the streets booted, he spoke to him to the effect I have told your Lordship above, and at night he ordered all the troop to sit up, that they might be ready in case of an alarm; but he thanked God, there was none. I asked him whether he did not enquire after those disbanded officers and soldiers, how many they were, and what they did? To which Mezandier replied, that he made the best enquiry he could, and found there were only seven men; that they came into the house about four in the afternoon, and stayed there all night; that they had shut themselves up into a room, were very quiet, and had had fourteen bottles of wine. I asked him, why he did not secure them, if he had any suspicion of them? To which he answered, that he could have the men when he pleased: four of them had been disbanded out of his own troop, and lived in the town, and the other three lived three or four miles off; and he knew no harm in any of them. Then seeing me smile, which it was impossible to avoid, to hear a fellow so gravely tell the cause of his apprehensions, and could give no other than what I have here told your Lordship, he said, if he had done any thing amiss, or had been the occasion of giving any disturbance to the country by what he had said to young Fitz-Gerald, he was very sorry for it, and did not intend ill. I hope he will be wiser for the future: but really these great frights the people in those parts took, are principally to be imputed to the grave advice this Cornet Mezandier gave to young Fitz-Gerald; and what reason he had for it, your Lordship can very well judge after this account I have given you. But this matter is now well over, and the country, God be thanked, very quiet; and the justices of the peace, Irish as well as English, fully satisfied that there was no fear of any rising, or other disorder. I wish I could tell your Lordship the country were as free from rogues and robbers: indeed, many counties have of late been much disquieted by that sort of people. Many of the ringleaders have been taken, which have filled the prisons of Trim, Longford, and Dundalk; and in regard it is yet a great while to the next assizes, upon discourse with the Judges, I have thought fit to issue special commissions for the trying those malefactors, which will be a great encouragement to the poor country people; and in order thereunto, Mr. Justice Nugent is gone to Dundalk, and Mr. Justice Daly to Trim and Longford: they open their commissions this day, and will have despatched before the end of the week; of which your Lordship shall have an account in my next. Upon advice with all the Judges, and upon my acquainting the Lords of the Council with the accounts I have received of the frequent robberies which are committed in the counties, notwith-

standing that his Majesty's troops are dispersed into the most proper places to meet with the offenders, it was thought advisable by the whole board to issue a proclamation for the further security of the country; a copy whereof I herewith send your Lordship, and hope the King will approve thereof. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this long letter, and am with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCLXXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further remarks on the subject of the Deductions from the pay of the Soldiers, and the irregularity with which they were paid.—Embarkment and sailing of the Roman Catholic Primate for England.

Dublin Castle, December 16, 1686.

Yesterday came in four packets together from England, viz. of the 2d, 4th, 7th, and 9th instant, by which I had letters from you of the three last dates: I return you many thanks for them. I will here apply myself to answer the last of the 9th, that being, as I think, of the greatest importance at present, and I hope I shall do it to full satisfaction. What I wrote to you in mine of the 16th of October, and 13th of November, and in all my other letters concerning the deductions, that there were none made for clothes out of the money issued for subsistence, is true; and yet I will own, that Major Barker's abstract, which you sent me, is true too; that is, that 20*l.* was deducted out of the three months' pay, ending the last of June, for the moiety of 40*l.* paid by order to Lieutenant Allen, in lieu of the clothing money allowed to twenty disbanded men; the case of which stands thus in truth. The copy of my order which my Lord Tyrconnel showed you, was dated the 30th of July last, and directs in these words, that the said 824*l.* should be deducted out of the next two warrants that shall issue for pay to the said regiment, by equal portions. The warrant for deducting the clothing money from the other regiments of foot (a copy whereof I herewith send you) is dated the 4th of August last, and directs in these words, that what shall be paid pursuant to that order, shall be deducted out of the six months' pay, ending the last day of December next. The warrants for full pay to the whole army, issued, that is, were signed by me, on the 30th of July, but were not paid till the end of October; the reason whereof I will tell you before I end this letter. In

November, Lieutenant-colonel Dodington and Major Barker came to me, and complained that the Royal Regiment of Guards was in worse circumstances than the rest of the army, half the clothing money having been deducted out of June pay, and none from the other regiments. I told them it was very strange if it should be so, for I had both declared to several officers, and given orders to the Receiver-general, that no deductions for clothing should be made, and that I would settle that whole affair when the warrants for September pay were issued, as I have told you formerly; but I said I would examine into it, and in order thereunto, bade them be with me the next morning, which accordingly they were, as I had likewise appointed the Receiver-general to be. As soon as we looked upon our books, we found the cause of the mistake; and pray be pleased to mind the nicety: the warrant concerning the regiment of Guards, directs the deductions to be made out of the two next warrants that should issue, and by that means (or rather there being many accounts between several officers of the regiment and the Receiver-general) that moiety of the clothing came to be so deducted. And now, since these gentlemen complain, they should have been so ingenuous as to have told the whole truth, for at this moment that we were together I told them, if they had complained sooner, they should have been sooner redressed: to that they said, the June pay was newly completed, and till then they did not know they should have occasion. I then told them, the moiety which had been deducted should be repaid to them, and the whole deducted hereafter in the same manner as to the other regiments of the army; with which they seemed very well pleased, and fully convinced that there was no design to put any hardship upon them, as I can prove by several persons. I gave order for repaying of that moiety to them, and the not being done was their own slackness, for I have discoursed several times with them upon it; and some time ago, when I made the rule of deducting the clothing money from the other regiments at five gales, I asked Lieutenant Dodington and the Major, how those times of payment would suit with the convenience of their men, for I would make it as easy as they could desire: to which they replied that they were extremely obliged to me; that they were sensible the moiety which had been deducted was by a mistake, but since it was done, they had rather it should so continue than be repaid to them, and if the remaining moiety, or twenty shillings, might be deducted at four equal payments, the first to be made out of the three months' pay which will be due at the end of March next, it would be extremely easy to them. This being their own

proposition, I agreed to it. This is the truth, and the whole truth of this matter relating to the royal regiment. As to the other regiments, the case stands as I have told you in my other letters: not one farthing has been deducted for clothes out of the June pay, nor out of any money which has been since advanced for subsistence. And now pray give me leave to observe, that this deduction of the moiety for clothes, (if it had been designed to be made out of the June pay) would not have been felt by the common men; the places of the four hundred and twelve disbanded men not having been supplied till the end of July, besides many more vacancies which have been since made, and that there are not less yet than two hundred empty places in the regiment. And now that I have remitted all the checks imposed at the September muster, I am sure the officers will have no cause to complain. The checks upon the Royal regiment alone come to 552*l.*, besides the 3505*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* which I mentioned in my former letter; and pray take notice likewise, that they do not pretend any deductions have been made for clothes out of the subsistence money, which was the first great objection, and which has been constantly advanced to this regiment, as well as to the rest of the army. I said I would tell you why the June pay was not issued till towards the end of October, since the warrants were signed the 30th of July. The true reason was the sending the disbanded men to town for their pay. They came up in droves, many hundreds I may say: they brought certificates that they were disbanded, some on the 16th of July, others on the 10th, 19th, and 27th of August, and others on several days in September; that there was due to them their June pay, and all the time since, to the days they were disbanded, notwithstanding the month's pay advanced in the beginning of June, and all the subsistence money which has been issued since. And this is the true reason why the warrants for September pay have not yet issued, there having been very many men disbanded, who come to town with certificates of four months pay due to them, even to the 6th of this instant December; so that really it was impossible to issue the pay sooner than it was done. I might urge the difficulty of having money to pay all the disbanded men in town, which came to a great sum; but, I thank God, none went away dissatisfied, and every thing was done as it ought to be. The warrants for completing September pay are signed, and assignments for the pay shall issue to-morrow: there is already advanced to the army above 15,000*l.* upon account of this December pay, and warrants for the completing of it shall issue, and assignments for the pay before the 20th of January; so that

I do say, in the beginning of February, when I send you a state of the yearly account, you shall at the same time have an account, that there is nothing due to the army for the year ending the 24th instant. And then I hope I shall have still leave to brag, when you see eighteen months pay really paid to the army within the compass of a year; for that will be the case, there having been six months due when I arrived here. Certainly this is no ill service; and if the King be but pleased, I shall be as happy as I need be, and care not much what happens to me. I have tired you sufficiently for the present. God keep you and all yours. Whether this mistake in making the deductions from the regiment of Guards out of June pay (as every body was satisfied it was a mistake) be so great an error, must be submitted, when rightly considered, and that it was offered to be repaired again. God grant no man may commit greater mistakes.

The last night Sir Neil O'Neil came to me about seven of the clock, and told me, the Roman Catholic Primate, who had designed to go in a Chester ship, had altered his mind, and designed to go over in a dogger, which was to set sail with the packets this morning: he therefore desired me, because he said he was in haste, that the dogger might have orders positively to sail to-night. I asked Sir Neil whether he would have it mentioned in the warrant to carry the Primate: to which he said, it was not needful; that all that was desired was, that the vessel might sail to-night. I presently granted the warrant, as was desired, to sail that night for Holyhead: when it came to Ring's-end, where the Primate expected it, he grew very angry that his name was not in it; and that it was not directed to sail to Chester. I have told you why his name was not in it; and for the going to Chester, it was never mentioned, as, I verily believe, Sir Neil O'Neil will own: and truly, if I should allow the doggers at this time of the year to go to Chester, it would be very inconvenient, and prejudicial to the public service in carrying the packets; for they could scarce be back in less than six weeks or a month in the winter time. So the Primate went in the Chester ship, which sailed immediately. I trouble you with this story, that you may know what to say, if you hear any thing of it.

CCLXXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Concerning the fees for remitting of checks.—Thinks those who know him will acquit him of avarice.—Honesty and excellence of his Secretaries.—He sells no offices, and wishes the officers of the Army sold none.—The enormous fees upon commissions an excuse for the necessitous sharking of the officers.—Has ordered the fees on taking off the checks at the September muster to be remitted.

Dublin Castle, December 18, 1686.

I come now to answer yours of the 4th instant; of which I could only own the receipt in my last. As to what you say concerning the fees for remitting of checks, which you tell me you do not mention by the King's command, but at the desire of my Lord Tyrconnel and Colonel Hamilton; pray give me leave to reply, that I will take as much pains to clear that matter, as if you had written by the King's command; for, by the grace of God, nothing shall be done by me, or by any under me, in whatever station I am, which I will not be very well content the King should know. This affair does in truth concern none but one of my Secretaries, Sir Paul Rycaut; whose merit and virtue have gained him a very good reputation in most parts of the world. He is not a needy man, and was never taken, by those who know him, to be griping, or sharking upon people he had to do with: he is a man of conscience, and will not hazard his reputation at this time of day for the trifling gain this matter of the checks brings him. I did at my first coming direct that there should be none but the ancient fees taken; which I dare undertake he hath observed, and that he hath remitted, and given away upon charitable occasions, near as much as that perquisite hath produced since his being here. Thus much I thought became me to say in defence of an honest, worthy gentleman, who scorns to do a mean thing, as much as any man. Now to come to the matter: I am very glad always to see a particular instanced by those who have a mind to complain; which cannot always be obtained, because it cannot be found; and then the complaint can have no voucher but common fame, an evidence which, I am sure, no conscientious man ought to believe. Though this instance you have given me, of one of the Dempseys having paid extravagantly for removing his check, be indeed very blind, yet I shall clear it fully. Be pleased to know, there are but two of that name officers in the army, Laurence and James: I have ordered Sir Paul Rycaut to search his books; (and I have examined them with him) and he has given me

under his hand an account of all the checks which have been imposed and taken off both these gentlemen, either for themselves or any of the troops under them, which I herewith send you.* And when you observe, that the checks imposed on Colonel Laurence Dempsey came to 58*l.* 16*s.*, and those on his troopers to 25*l.* 4*s.*; and that the fee the Colonel paid for himself was but 12*s.* 6*d.*, and that the like sum was paid by his troopers among four of them; and that Colonel James Dempsey paid but the same fee of 12*s.* 6*d.* for removing his checks of 12*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*; which are all that have happened concerning either of those gentlemen: I say, when you consider this, then you will be able to judge how true the assertion is, that the fees for taking off the checks come to more than the checks; which, in truth, one would wonder should be alleged, for certainly the parties concerned would not give money for nothing. Both the Dempseys are at their quarters, and have been so a good while: Lau-

* SIR PAUL RYCAUT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Certificate respecting the checks and the fees taken upon them.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, December 17, 1686.

In obedience to your Excellency's command, I have examined the books in which, upon petitions made to your Excellency, by officers and soldiers, the checks are taken off which are imposed by the Muster-master-general.

And I find, that by an order from your Excellency, dated the 13th of February 1685-6, a check for three months' pay ending the last of December 1685, imposed on Colonel Laurence Dempsey, Captain of the troop of Grenadiers, was removed. The which check for three months, at 19*l.* 12*s.* per month, imported the sum of 58*l.* 16*s.*

And I certify, that the fees required in my office for the abovesaid order, are no more than twelve shillings and sixpence: and I do aver that no more was taken for the same. I further find, that at the request of the said Colonel Laurence Dempsey, an order from your Excellency, dated the 26th of March, 1686, was granted to remove a check from four of the said Colonel Dempsey's men, for three months' pay ending the last of June 1686, which at forty-two shillings a man per month, makes for three months 6*l.* 6*s.* per man.

For all which four men, no more was taken in this office than twelve and sixpence, according to the usual rate of our fees

I further find, that at the request of Colonel James Dempsey, an order was granted by your Excellency, dated the 26th day of July last, to remove a check of 12*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* imposed on his troop for three months' pay ending the last of June, 1686; and I aver that twelve and sixpence were taken for the same, and no more.

Besides which checks above-mentioned, I find none imposed, either on Colonel Laurence Dempsey or Colonel James Dempsey, or on any of their officers or soldiers under their or either of their commands. To the truth of which, I have hereunto set my hand, this 17th day of December, 1686.

PAUL RYCAUT.

rence is to be in town upon duty the next week, when he shall be enquired of as to this matter. If he had felt the grievance, I should wonder, considering how well I have known him, and how very frequently he comes to me, and what he has thought fit to say of me too (which he needed not to have done, if he had been so hardly used by any of my officers), that he should not complain to me, as well as to Colonel Hamilton; and I must say, it is very strange Colonel Hamilton should believe such an exorbitancy was committed, and that he did not speak to me of it, which, I can solemnly protest, he never did; for if he had, I do assure you, he should have seen the matter examined as fully as had been possible, even in the presence of the party aggrieved; which would have convinced him there had been no cause of complaint. I think I have given clear satisfaction in this particular; and though you did not write to me by the King's command, yet I do now beg that his Majesty may know of the complaint, and see this letter; or else I shall hear of the complaint again three or four months hence, from third or fourth hands by common fame, which never reports the justification. I think I shall not need say any thing on my own behalf; for those who know me, I believe, will acquit me of any avaricious appetite after money; and it is enough known, that, in the employments I have had the honour to bear, I was never greedy of fees; nor shall I mention the several advantages other men have had in this station, which I have not; and yet, whether I have not been as well attended as most of my predecessors, I leave to others to say, but I will take the liberty to aver, that no lord-lieutenant's secretaries had so ill places, and so little profit as mine. And if my secretary does take no greater fees than what he found established, which I aver he does not, it were worth enquiring, why these gentlemen (whoever they are) do think that a grievance now, which was always practised, and never complained of before. How little soever they think me to be (and what their thoughts are, their actions sufficiently showed by their contempt of me,) I thank God I have as honest and as good men for my secretaries, without disparagement to any, as any of my predecessors have had at any time. I sell no offices: I wish the officers of the army did not; then there would not be so much sharking from the poor soldier, as there is; some particulars whereof shall very speedily be laid before you. But pray assure my Lord Tyrconnel and Colonel Hamilton, that if any thing shall concern them, I will first transmit it to themselves, before I lay it before the King or you, however they think fit to proceed towards me. Now I am upon this subject of fees, I cannot help giving this hint, that the great fees which

are demanded for the commissions to the officers, are made use of as one reason why some officers are so poor they cannot afford to give their men the subsistence money which is assigned them. What those fees are, I suppose, is known and allowed of; but I am sure, they have been three times as much as was paid in England, and many of the men in few months after were disbanded; which, perhaps, may by some be thought hard. What fees my secretary had upon those commissions, my Lord Tyrconnel can best tell; for they were just what he thought fit to allot, though the pains in the office is not less than before: and how much of them Sir Paul Rycaut hath remitted, and what other relief he hath given to them, because the "poor devils," as my Lord Tyrconnel was pleased to call them, were in want, can be proved when requisite. And now to conclude, to show you how careful I have been, I do assure you, I have given the Muster-master-general order to prepare the warrants for taking off the checks which were imposed at the September muster, without any charge whatsoever; which is actually performed: but believe me, if every thing else which is a charge were taken off, so that the money were paid without any fee whatever, the poor soldiers would not have one farthing more than they now have; which I shall demonstrably make appear to you very speedily. This letter is grown to a greater length than I intended: I shall only add my earnest request, that the King may see both this and my last of the 16th: none of my actions shall ever be concealed from him. I would to God he could see every thought of my heart: I flatter myself there are none would be displeasing to him. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours. I pray God send you a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

CCLXXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Excesses committed by some of the Officers of the Army; and by the Soldiers.—The Officers dissatisfied when they are punished by the Civil authorities.—Outrage of Lord Brittas upon the Sheriff of the county and one of his officers.

Dublin Castle, December 18, 1686.

On Wednesday we had four packets together from England, with which I received your Lordship's of the 4th instant. I have not much to entertain your Lordship with at present, but only to acquaint you, that there are sometimes excesses committed by some of the officers of the army; as particularly

men being taken into pay as common soldiers, who are in execution for just debts:* some are taken in committing felonies four or five miles from the town, and carried before the next justice of peace, and, upon the examination of two or three undeniable witnesses, are committed to the county prison. These things some of the officers are much dissatisfied at, thinking, that men once in the King's pay must upon no pretence be taken hold of by the civil magistrate. I never allow a soldier to be prosecuted upon a civil action without leave, that men may not be liable to be arrested upon every slight occasion; but I am sure, no protection is allowed in England to the soldiers in case of murder or felony; but the men are taken up if they are found straggling in the country. That which has made most noise is what happened the last week, which is this:—the High-sheriff of the county sent an injunction out of chancery to my Lord Brittas, to quit the possession of another man, with whom his Lordship has a suit: my Lord beat the man most terribly who brought the injunction, and not being satisfied therewith, he took a file of his men with him, found out where the Sheriff himself was, dragged him into the streets, and caused him to be beaten most cruelly, saying, he would teach him how to carry himself towards the officers of the King's army. I have sent down to examine this particular, and shall do right, as soon as I have a perfect account of the matter; as I do redress all these other matters upon complaint. I only give your Lordship this account, that you may know something of the matter of fact, in case any other representation should be made to you. I am with great respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

* The utter abandonment of all regard for the character of those who were admitted into the army, and indeed, into civil offices, at this period, appears from Bishop King's account:—"Those that were infamous, whilst the government was in the hands of Protestants, for forgeries, perjuries, robberies, and burglaries, were all indifferently employed by them. That some such should be admitted into the army is not so much to be wondered at; but that honest gentlemen should be turned out to make room for them, was intolerable; and yet here, not only the army, but even the courts of justice, were filled with such. One of the new Examinators of the Chancery was formerly detected of a forgery. Several of their burgesses, nay sheriffs, were notorious thieves, and some burnt in the hand. The speech of one of their new justices of peace gave some diversion:—it was one Mr. Stafford, for whom the Master in Chancery, his son, had procured a commission of the peace; it was soon after the Earl of Tyrconnel came over governor; and it fell to the new justice's turn to give the charge at the quarter sessions; in which he set forth the happiness of the kingdom under the new government: '*Amongst other conveniencies that we reap by it,*' said he, '*it has rid us of Tories; for all those are taken into the King's army.*'"

Bishop King's State of the Protestants in Ireland, p. 35.

CCLXXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complains of Lord Sunderland's answers to his letters.—Will speedily send an account of the subsistence money.—Conduct of the Major-general upon this subject, and of Sir Thomas Newcomen.

Dublin Castle, December 18, 1686.

I am now to answer yours of the 7th instant; and then I shall have none from you to reply to. I find you misapprehend my meaning in what I said upon the letter I sent you upon a business, as I thought, of great consequence: but I will explain myself upon that matter by a safe hand within these two days; so that this letter will not be very long, which, you will say, may be the better borne with, considering how much I have written already by this post. Since my Lord President had not read my letter (you mention) to the King, when your last of the 9th was written, I suppose it has been since forgotten. I here send you a copy of his Lordship's last letter to me: whether those two, he is there pleased to own from me, might not deserve another kind of return, you may judge. As fast as I can, you shall have a clear view, how the subsistence money has been disposed of; and then it will plainly appear where the fault lies. This account I shall speedily have; but, whatever you think, it is made as difficult as is possible: there are such mysteries between the officers and agents, which are not easy to be unfolded. In truth the agents govern, and, between you and me, scarce a Colonel in the army knows any thing of his regiment: the Major-general himself knew not what money his regiment had received, till upon these late debates I told him; and he has run about to several people since, enquiring—"Have you had so much money?" and to another, "Have you had so much?" And, when he finds they have, the next word is—"Swounds! what is become of it?" But I shall quickly lay true matter of fact before you, whereby truth will appear; and then let others make the reflections. But I suppose, what I have already written of Sir Thomas Newcomen has made some discovery, if he be not too great a man to be punished. I shall end here, for fear this letter should grow as long as my other. God Almighty preserve and protect you and all yours.

CCLXXXIV.

MINUTES OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE EARL OF ROCHESTER ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION, WRITTEN BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HAND.

Sunday night. December the 19th, 1686.

The King having appointed me to come to him after his supper, began with telling me, that he must declare to me, that he found it absolutely neces-

sary for the good of his affairs, that no man must be at the head of his affairs that was not of his own opinion; that I might have observed with what concern he had begun to recommend that affair to me, some time since; and that I might have seen the warmth with which he afterwards proceeded in it, was on some other account than even the persuading me to change my religion: to wit, to prevent his doing a thing which would be so uneasy to him, as putting me out of my employment, where he confessed I had behaved myself throughout to his satisfaction, in my integrity, in my honesty, and ability; and that if he should be forced to part with me, he was satisfied it was not fit to put so great a trust again into any one man's hand, neither would he ever have a Treasurer again. That he acknowledged his inclination to me; and he added, his obligation too was such, that there was nothing so uneasy to him as his coming to this extremity: that he exhorted me therefore to think again, and pressed me to it, and to read over again his brother's papers; and that he would give me some little time more to consider of it, that if it were possible, I might yet prevent him, for there was nothing that went more against him: but Kings were to look to the general good of their affairs, and were not to have the natural affections that other men might; they were to do any thing in order to their great designs, and not consider any body that could cross them; and that it was impossible to keep a man in so great a trust, in so eminent a station, where there was so much dependence, that was of an interest so contrary to that which he must support and own and advance.* But whatever I did, he would be my friend; and would show his kindness to me, in that which should be a support both to myself and my family.

He wept almost all the time he spoke to me; and said all this, and much more, without giving me time to put in one word. He put me in mind

* This is pretty unequivocal evidence that the King's intentions were at any rate to depress, if not to subvert, the established religion. The large pension which was assigned to Rochester upon his removal, shows that the King was sincere in his expressions of attachment. Indeed Rochester had been a very faithful and useful servant.

The Catholic Lords, according to Barillon, had represented to the King that nothing could be done with Parliament so long as the Treasurer caballed against the designs of his Majesty. James promised to dismiss him, if he did not change his religion. The Queen had been previously rendered his enemy by the arts of Sunderland, who persuaded her that Lord and Lady Rochester had favoured the King's intimacy with the Countess of Dorchester, in order to thwart the Popish intrigue."—*Mazure Hist. de la Revolution*, vol. ii. pp. 149, 170.

"If Rochester had gone over to the Romanists (says Mr. Hallam), many probably would have followed; on the other hand, his steadiness retained this wavering. It was one of the first great disappointments with which the King met. But his dismissal from the Treasury created a sensible alarm."—*Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 411.

of two advices I had given him: the one at his first coming to the crown, not to make a public profession of his religion, by going to the public exercise of it; and the other after the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion was ended, not to take any more persons into employment of the Catholic religion;* in both which, he said, no man of sense could have been of my opinion, but a Protestant; and setting that consideration aside, it could not have been possible that I should have been of that mind; and from hence, he argued and concluded, that in all his other business * * * * *

Cetera desunt.

Indorsed, " 19th of December, 1686:—
Minutes of conversation between the King and Earl of Rochester on the subject of religion: written by his Lordship's own hand."

CCLXXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Account of the Finances for the year.—Pay of the Army.—Begins now to understand the Revenue of the country.—Abuses in farming the hearth-money.—Proposed improvement in the mode of collection.

Dublin Castle, December 21, 1686.

Though I have not at present much to say to you, yet I think you will not be displeased when I repeat to you what I wrote in mine of the 16th, that I shall, at the same time I send you a state of this year's account, (which shall be at the beginning of February) let you see likewise, that the army is completely paid to the last day of this month; which will be with the money of this year: and if the doing that, and, which is more, the paying eighteen months' pay to the army in the compass of twelve, will not be attributed to my pains and diligence, I must for ever give over the hopes of having my industry approved; and I will say no more of this matter, but that the army was never in so good a condition, let who will have the credit of it. If I shall not be thought too vain, I will venture to say, I do now begin to understand the revenue here; and of all the branches of it, I am the least satisfied with the method I find the hearth-money in. The commissioners have hitherto farmed the several counties from year to year: a man, or two perhaps in partnership, take a county for a certain sum of money; for the paying of which they give as good security as they can. These original farmers presently let out this county to any other people who will give them any ad-

* This will account for the change in the King's conduct, and the withdrawing of his confidence, which Lord Rochester told Burnet, he perceived immediately subsequent to that event.

vantage; and these sub-farmers do again divide the county, and let the several baronies or parishes to six, eight, or more persons, who will give them any gain. Thus, two or three sets of men must gain by this bargain, and the poor people are miserably harassed; which takes up above half the business at the quarter sessions. The Commissioners of the Revenue are as much troubled at this as I am, but know not well what remedy to offer: they tell me it has been tried to put this revenue into the collection of the sheriffs of every county, but it came to nothing: that is, that whole branch did not yield above 15,000*l.* a-year: that the constables have been tried, but then it came to less; they would always so much favour their neighbours, that they made very short returns. I, who am no friend to farming any part of the revenue of the crown, would fain have this branch put into collection, as well as the others; and I was so earnest in it, upon my first coming over, that I ordered it to be collected in this city, and at Drogheda; and it has been very successful, to a considerable improvement. The Commissioners agree with me in it, that it would advance the revenue considerably; but they think it necessary that first a survey should be taken, there being no perfect account of the hearths in the kingdom as yet; and they apprehend the taking such a survey would cost near 3000*l.* Now I propose a way to do it, which shall be of very little charge, if any; and which, I think, will be as exact as can be; and that is, if I write to the several bishops to send me an account (without giving the reason why) of every tenement in their several dioceses, they will immediately send to their clergy to do it in their several parishes, and to transmit the same to them: this, I conceive, will be a means of having it very exactly done; and if there should be any error, it may easily be corrected. I will set about this as soon as you please; but I would be glad of your opinion in it, and that the King may know of it before I go about it; lest, it being a new thing to make such a strict enquiry after all the tenements in the kingdom, it should be misrepresented to him. I do verily believe if this branch were in collection, it would advance the revenue at least 7000*l.* a-year, besides the charge of collecting. And I am sure the subject would pay more cheerfully and willingly, when they saw all they did pay come into the King's purse. Thus I have scribbled more than I intended upon this subject; and the sum of all is to desire that you will only tell me that the King will not be displeased that I take such a survey as I have here mentioned, which will cost very inconsiderably; and I dare undertake, his Majesty will quickly reap the advantage of it. God keep you and yours.

CCLXXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Has never failed in kindness or civility to the Major-general.—But it is apparent that he has withdrawn his confidence.—Nevertheless will still continue the same conduct towards him.—Allusion to the attacks made upon himself and Lord Rochester.

Dublin Castle, December 21, 1686.

I have received yours of the 14th instant, and am very glad to find by it that you have received mine of the 4th. As to what you say of the Major-general, I do assure you he has not wanted courtship from me. I will venture to say, if he had been my most intimate acquaintance, and the man in the world upon whom I had most desired to build, I could not have applied more to him: which I did upon the principle of honest sincerity, in memory of his father, and his excellent brother; both of whom loved me very well, and of whose kindness and esteem I can give some instances. I thank God, I was never ungrateful: and I think it is known I love an old friend, and all that belonged to him. Upon this score I entered into this gentleman as if he had been a brother; which ought to have gained the friendship of a generous man. Whether ever I have had a reserve towards him; if I ever had a complaint of any of his officers, I presently referred it to himself, and left it entirely to his own determination. In a word, if ever I have failed in any tittle of friendship, kindness, or civility towards him, I leave it to himself to give the instance. But I confess it has been apparent for some time, and observed by others, that he has withdrawn himself from me, for what reason I will not imagine at this time; of which I have never taken the least notice, but continued my frank open way to him. And even since our late *eccleircissement* upon your letter of the 30th past, from the Treasury Chamber, being invited to a private entertainment, which does seldom happen, I spoke to him to be of the party; which he thought fit not to accept of, pretending to be ill, though every body knows he went abroad. But I do assure you I will never alter my way of living towards him, whilst he and I serve the King together. It may not be amiss to tell you upon this occasion, that I have never yet had any private meetings for select companies; but every body, Irish as well as English, have been equally invited and admitted: and there is scarce a day but both are at my table, whether a public or a private day. As to what you say of the heavings against you and me, God's will be done.

Let them heave: we shall still be found honest men, and to have discharged our duties as such. God Almighty bless the King: he will quickly see who serves him best; and he is sure by experience what you and I shall always be. God keep you and yours.

I am very lame at present: my drudge, poor John Knight, having been very ill these last ten days, but I hope he is out of danger.

CCLXXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Lieutenant Salkeld's trial.—Trials of malefactors in Dundalk, Trim, and Longford.—Extreme illness of Mr. Justice Gorge;—names of those most fit to succeed him.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, December 23, 1686.

I have received your Lordship's of the 13th instant; and shall take care, if Ensign Salkeld should upon his trial be found guilty, that he shall be reprieved till the King's pleasure be known; and your Lordship will be pleased to take notice that he cannot be tried till the Lent assizes. I acquainted your Lordship in mine of the 14th instant, that Mr. Justice Nugent and Mr. Justice Daly were gone with special commissions, to try some malefactors in the country: I can now tell your Lordship that the first is returned. He went only to Dundalk, where he found a very full prison: he tried near threescore persons; none were condemned, and most were discharged, after having been whipped, or burnt in the hand; and some are turned over to other prisons. But this commision has been a great relief to the county of Louth; for otherwise all these persons must have been kept in prison till Lent assizes; which would have been very grievous to the county, which must have maintained them. Mr. Justice Daly went to Trim and Longford: he has ended his business, and is gone to keep his Christmas at his own house in Connaught, and will not be here till about a fortnight hence; but he has sent me word that he condemned three persons at Longford for burglary, and five at Trim for murder, and a boy for stealing a horse: to the last I have extended the King's mercy; but all the rest are executed, the judge not thinking any of them fit to live. I am now to acquaint your Lordship that Mr. Gorge, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, is dying: he has been speechless these two days. I shall take the liberty to inform your Lordship of those who are the most considerable lawyers at the bar, and fittest to be

judges. There are Sir Richard Ryves, Mr. Ecklin, and Sir John Mead; these are Protestants: the two first are the King's sergeants; the third is in so good practice, that I believe he will have no mind to come upon the bench. There are likewise Mr. Garrett Dillon, Mr. Nangle, and Mr. Browne; these three are Roman Catholics: Mr. Nangle, I know, has no mind to be a judge, nor, I believe, will Mr. Dillon, he being in very great practice: he is a very honest gentleman, and it is not fit for me to omit the best men. Mr. Browne has a very good reputation, though he be not in so much practice as some of the rest. I beg your Lordship to lay these names before the King, and let me have his Majesty's pleasure thereupon. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCLXXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD FEVERSHAM.

Has referred his petition to the Lord Treasurer.—Advice how he should proceed.—Will do all that depends on him in the affair.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, December 23, 1686.

I should be much out of countenance to have kept your Lordship's petition so long upon my hands, without making a report to it, but that I have a very good witness it was not my fault,—my Lord Chief Justice Keating, who, I am sure, has given your Lordship an account that it was his own want of health which delayed the despatch of it. I have proceeded in it by my Lord's advice. I have enclosed your Lordship's petition with Mr. Stone's report (to whom I referred it) in my letter to my Lord Treasurer; which I here send to your Lordship open, that you may read it before you deliver it; whereby you will find that my opinion is, that what is due to your Lordship is a just debt, and ought to be paid. I would therefore advise your Lordship to get the King's letter, directing me to pay you that sum out of the revenue at large; which I rather mention than out of any particular branch, because it will be sooner money: and I dare undertake to your Lordship, it shall be paid where you appoint it, within a week after the letter comes to me. I have no more to add at present, but to assure your Lordship that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCLXXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Has received the King's four letters, the contents of which shall be attended to.—Wishes Sir William Talbot had been ordered to deliver all the writings respecting the King's private estate to the Commissioners of the Revenue.—Reports of Lord Rochester having been attacked on the subject of religion.

Dublin Castle, December 26, 1686.

I believe this will come to you as soon as my two last, for the winds have been so contrary, that no ships have gone out of this harbour these five days; and considering the time, that we are just entering into the holidays, I should now scarce have given you the trouble of a letter, had it not been to send you the enclosed copy of a letter, (which I received the beginning of the week) and my answer to it. On Thursday we had two packets from England, of the 16th and 18th instant, but I had none from you; which I only tell you, not that I wonder at it, for I rather wonder you can find time to write as often as you do. I have received by the last four letters from the King, countersigned by you; viz. for the repairs of the castle, &c.; for a little pension to Colonel Fitz-Simmons; concerning the Duke of Ormond's prisage; and the fourth for committing the management of the King's private estate to the Commissioners of the Revenue; all which shall be executed. I wish you had sent me an order for Sir William Talbot to deliver into the hands of the Commissioners all counterparts of leases, contracts, accounts, and other writings whatsoever, which are now in his custody, or in Mr. Pleydall's. I intend on Wednesday to send for him, and will direct him to deliver all those things as I mention; which in truth ought to be done upon oath, and by inventory: and if he refuseth to do it, I will acquaint you with it. It will be very hard for the Commissioners to state matters with the tenants, if Sir William Talbot does not deliver over the proceedings, which have been between him and them. Our late letters have been full of stories of your having been attacked in the point of religion; and that you were obliged to be at a conference, at William Chiffinch's lodgings, between Father Peters and Dr. Patrick.* I confess, these are

* See the minutes of a conversation on the subject of religion between Lord Rochester and the King, December the 4th, p. 89. The conference was held with the Apostolical Vicar Gifford; and Dr. Jane, and Dr. Patrick, were consulted by Lord Rochester. Though the King's conscience would not let him conform to the established religion of his country to save his crown and benefit the state,

things to laugh at; and I can be very merry with them, because I believe you are so: and they are wise people, in the mean time, who think you will whistle your religion for an office, though never so good a one. I have no more to add at present, but my prayers for you, and my sister, and all yours. God send you a happy new year, and many.

CCXC.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Discourse of a priest about Mr. Fitz-James.—Has taken informations on the subject.—Profound ignorance and bigotry of the Irish.—Some exceptions, but all such are excluded from employment.—Stupidity of the common people illustrated by a story respecting the taking the Oath of Fidelity.—Intemperate language of Lord Tyrconnel about the people dictating to the King.—Reflections upon the prospect of the dismissal of Lord Rochester.—Observations upon the conference of Lord Rochester on religion, with Gifford, &c.—Rumours about his dismissal.

Dublin Castle, December 26, 1686.

I did not mean, when I sent you the copy of a letter to a very honest gentleman concerning the discourse of a priest about Mr. Fitz-James, that this young man was like to give as much trouble as the late Duke of Monmouth had done, by any imagination that men could pretend of his mother's having been married to the King, she being at present alive and married to another man. And if you cast your eye upon the letter, you will find the priest said he was legitimated by the Pope: and I confess, I was very desirous to have that proved, which is fully done by the oaths of several persons then present, men of worth and integrity, who will stand by what they have sworn. Their informations are in my hands, and shall be safe against the time comes, which possibly may yet happen, that the King may think it fit to call those people to an account, who pretend to dispose of his kingdoms. It is scarce possible for any, that have not been here, to believe the profound ignorant bigotry the natives here are bred in by the priests; who, to all appearance, seem to be as ignorant as themselves: but the generality of them do believe, (as much as they can believe the articles of their faith) that this kingdom is the Pope's, and the inheritance of St. Peter's chair; that the King has no right, further than the Pope gives him authority; and that it is lawful for them to call in any foreign power to help them against those who oppose the jurisdiction of the church,

he thought that his minister might be induced to become a convert to the Catholic faith, rather than lose his place. Lord Rochester told the Princess Anne, that the conference was held at the pressing instance of the King.

as has evidently appeared by the late rebellion: and I do assure you, the same principles which carried on that rebellion, have been since carefully propagated, and are now too publicly owned. True it is, there are many Roman Catholics who declare against these principles, and upon my conscience, do detest them; and would upon occasion stick as steadily to the crown as any men; of which some have given full proof in the late rebellion, and even priests too: but these two things are observable; first, that those who do detest those principles, and will not allow the Pope to have so great an authority, are at this time (when Roman Catholics are put into all employments) scarce taken notice of, and upbraided with the name of Whigs and Trimmers; and the children of the most active in the rebellion, and those who profess to set up the Pope's authority most against the King's, are in the employments. My other observation is, notwithstanding the moderation of those Roman Catholics I mention, who do really take pains to decry those principles which all good men do detest, and will venture their lives to oppose them, yet not one of those will suffer any of the others to be prosecuted for any offence they commit, though at the same time they will not converse with them; many instances whereof can be given, when needful. To prove the wonderful stupidity of the common people, I will only tell you this story. When any new men are listed, they are sent to the commissary to be sworn: the first thing they say is, that they will not take the oath of supremacy; he tells them, he is not to tender it to them, therefore they need not fear; that they are only to take the oath of fidelity, which is the oath mentioned in my instructions, and taken by the Roman Catholic judges: that they swallow, and being asked whether they understood what they had sworn, the answer was yes, they had sworn to be true to the Pope and their religion; and being told by some that they had sworn to be true to the King, they replied, their priest had told them they must take no oath but to be true to the Pope. Judge now of the rest by what I have told you in this letter: and if the King cannot be brought by his own interest to be sensible of these impositions, without the spirit of prophecy one may say, his Majesty will be in great danger of losing this kingdom. My Lord Tyrconnel did discourse here very publicly, and even to me myself, that the King was bound in conscience to relieve the poor Irish; that the nation had been long oppressed, and that his Majesty would leave them in a better condition than he found them; that they might make terms for themselves:—to which I answered, that I did not know what the King had told his Lordship he was bound in conscience to do; but that I was sure the King did not like that subjects should capitulate with their lawful prince. His

Lordship then perceived he had gone too far, and said, he did not know what I meant: to which I answered, if he would tell me his meaning, I would tell him mine. It is not amiss you should know these things: I could fill a volume with this sort of extravagancies, which will be preserved, if ever there be a proper time to take notice of them. I have a little eased my mind to you by the opportunity of this bearer; who, I am sure, will observe your advice in all things: he will entertain you with many particulars of this country, when you are at leisure, which can be more properly discoursed than written. I am very sorry he has been so long from his duty; but, in good earnest, his health has been so very ill by reason of a most violent cough, that he could not stir; and, since he has been pretty well, for some days past the winds have been contrary. He promiseth to be very diligent for the future; and I doubt not but he will be so, and deserve the kindness you shall show him. God keep you and yours.

December the 30th. The wind still continuing cross, I have the opportunity of acknowledging yours of the 21st instant. And, though I have been enough prepared to expect the worst, yet, I confess, I cannot but be extremely troubled at what you tell me: God's will be done. It is a great comfort you are not removed for any fault, and that the King cannot so much as pretend to be dissatisfied with you.* For myself, I shall not be half so much troubled when my own doom comes, as I am for this upon you: and, as poor as I am, I hope God will give both you and me the grace to beg, rather than that we should falter in the religion wherein we have been bred, and for his steady adhering to which my father was ruined, which

* The dismissal of Lord Rochester seems to have excited no small degree of attention. It was considered simultaneous with a declaration that James no longer thought it necessary to keep any measures with those who did not conform to his views in favour of his religion. Barillon, in a letter dated the 12th of December, 1686, thus adverts to the public sensation which the conference awakened:—"Cette affaire est si importante, et doit avoir des suites si considerables, qu'elle tient toutes les autres en suspence." The mine had been long sapping, for the same acute observer had remarked a twelvemonth before:—"Les Catholiques sont fort mécontent de Milord Rochester, qu'ils croyent trop zélé pour la religion Protestante, et opposé à tout ce qui est des avantages de la religion Catholique. Cela cause un grand division dans la Cour." It appears that attempts were also made upon Lord Godolphin, for in one of Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's History of his own Times, he says, "Sir Thomas Dyke told me, in King James the Second's reign, Ellis, one of the four Popish bishops, told him, that Lord Godolphin was in doubts, and that there were masses said every day in the King's chapel for his conversion:" to which he answered, "If he is in doubt with you, he is out of doubt with me."

can never be forgotten by me. I am so full at present that I cannot say any more. God Almighty preserve the King.

The last letters of the 21st have filled this town with many relations of the conference which I mentioned to you in one of my last letters.* The accounts they give are very particular, the names of the champions on both sides, &c.; but I know nothing but by common fame. I shall be glad to know hereafter, how the conference came to be, and what induced it: some letters say, the King appointed it and commanded you to be there, and seemed to pity you for being in such a strait; and they give you wonderful encomiums, that you supported yourself so bravely in choosing rather to quit your station than to change; for which, I do assure you, I give my humble and repeated thanks to God, and do not doubt but he will give you constancy to persevere. Other letters say, the conference was at your desire; and upon that they make very malicious reflections, as, why should you submit to a conference, but with a design to yield to a change? Many letters speak of your being to be removed; but they mention it only as a report, in the same manner as they have done, off and on, all this last summer. Sir Robert Hamilton, who presides at the coffee-house, I am told, shows many of these letters, and says, most certainly you must out if you do not change; and if you do change, that you will not continue long: but he says positively, you will not be removed yet, and, when you are, that the Treasury will be in commission. One pleasant report we have, that my Lord President appears very zealous against your being removed. I could tell you a hundred stories of the politic reflections that are made here, which I cannot avoid hearing; though I shut myself up as much as I can, that I may play the hypocrite the better, and look cheerful when I come into company. God preserve and protect you and yours; and give me courage to be a comfort to you in suffering in the same cause with you.

* "The Lord Treasurer told me the other day, the King commanded him to hear a dispute: and that he heard one between two of their priests, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick of our side; and by it, that he was the more confirmed in the truth of our religion." *Princess Anne to her sister the Princess of Orange, December* 29, 1687.—*Dalrymple, Appendix* 298.

"The dismissal of Rochester," says Mr. Hallam, "who had gone great lengths to preserve his power and emoluments, and would, in all probability, have concurred in the establishment of arbitrary power under a Protestant sovereign, may be reckoned the most unequivocal evidence of the King's intentions, (to depress and discountenance the Established Church), and from thence we may date the decisive measures that were taken to counteract them.—*Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 411.

CCXCI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. EVELYN.

Excuse for not writing.—Reports of his recall.—Has shewn that he can serve the King in Ireland, but will only do it upon Church of England principle.—The Kingdom might be easily raised to double its value.—Sends Boate's Natural History of Ireland.—Allusion to a newly invented Dial; has endeavoured to persuade the inventor to write the Natural History of Ireland.—Mentions a wonderful young girl, described in a future letter by Lady Clarendon. [See p. 149.]

DEAR SIR, Dublin Castle, Dec. 26th, 1686.

I am now to pay you my thanks for your kind letter of the 1st instant, and for another of an older date, which has lain too long upon my hands unanswered; for which I have no excuse to make, but the multitude of business which some people have, I think needlessly, brought upon me. As for the reports you tell me, of one being talked of to come over to succeed me, I hear a great deal by common fame, but nothing from those at Court, who ought to inform me. As for that matter, the King is master of his own affairs; he knows what is best for his service, and he knows he may do what he pleases with me; he will find me obedient and faithful, but he will never find me guilty of a fault towards him, no, not in thought. He sees, by what I have done that I can serve him here, but it must be upon the English principle of the excellent Church of England; and if I may not serve him upon that principle, I can pray for him in spite of all the swaggerers, and that I will never cease doing while I live. If ever you and I meet, I will entertain you with the observations I have made in this country, which would be too long for a letter; but they are not altogether useless if they were permitted to be improved: and certainly, if the right method were taken, this kingdom might easily be raised to double the value it is of at present, the King's revenue in a few years trebled, and England gainers thereby. But I doubt it is not now seasonable to enter into those affairs; what the King pleaseth will be always best.

I have sent you by my son Dr. (Gerard) Boate's Natural History of Ireland; possibly you may have it already: it is all that has been written upon that subject, and though it is far from complete, yet what he says of the rivers, ports, and harbours, is worth reading. I have likewise sent you a little pamphlet of a new-contrived dial, in which the author has done me too much honour, not only by his dedication, but by presenting me with the dial itself, for which I hope you will rebuke him: he has the honour to be of your Royal

Society, which he worthily deserves. I have endeavoured to put him upon writing the Natural History of this kingdom, in which he hath already taken much pains, and collected many curious materials towards it: possibly a letter from you would encourage him in so noble a design. Whilst I have the honour to be here, he shall not want any countenance or convenience I can give him. I am very glad you are come to pass the winter nights in town, you will find it very agreeable. Besides the two good sisters, I doubt not but you will sometimes confer with pious Dr. Tenison, who is a perfect worthy man, and from whom I hear sometimes, though too seldom. I should say something to you of a wonderful young girl here, but I doubt not you have an account of her from better and more skilful persons. I beg my most humble service to your excellent lady; I wish to you both, and to all yours, a happy new year, and many more. I do likewise beg the continuance of your prayers. I do, indeed, receive daily provocations and affronts, but I hope God will enable me to bear them with that patience and temper I ought. I am with very great esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your most affectionate humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C.P.S.

When you can spare time, your letters will be very welcome.

CCXCII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Account of a conversation with Colonel Laurence Dempsey, about the fees for taking off checks.—Defends his anger at the misrepresentations on this subject.

Dublin Castle, December 30, 1686.

In mine of the 18th instant I gave you as full an account as I then could, concerning the fees taken by my secretary for remitting of checks, which Colonel Robert Hamilton had complained of. What I then wrote is to a tittle true; and what I have now to tell you is, that Colonel Laurence Dempsey is come to town, and yesterday, in the presence of Sir Paul Rycaut, I acquainted him with the complaint Colonel Robert Hamilton had made to you, that the fee which was demanded of him (Colonel Laurence Dempsey) for taking off his check, came to more than the check; at which Colonel Dempsey stood amazed, and said, he knew not where he was, nor with what

sort of people he had to do. "In the first place, my Lord," said he, "in my life I never spoke with Colonel Robert Hamilton of any thing relating to the checks: in the next place, I have known Sir Paul Rycaut so long, and am so well acquainted with him, that, if he had asked me any thing unreasonable, I would have debated it with him, and would have told your Excellency of it, without saying any thing to Colonel Hamilton. Jesus bless me!" continued he, "what ways men take for I know not what! that I should say so or so to Colonel Hamilton! I have been obliged to Sir Paul Rycaut in twenty things: I have been present when, at my recommendation, he has remitted several fees. I never did speak a word to Colonel Hamilton of the checks, and I never had reason to do it, for I never paid Sir Paul one farthing fee in my life." "Yes," said Sir Paul, "I have had 12s. 6d. for taking off your check." "Why, then," said the Colonel, "you had it from my agent; for, in good faith! I never heard it till now you tell it me; for I have not taken my agent's accounts since I came into the kingdom: Colonel Hamilton does me a great injury. Let them brew as they will, I will be always found a man of truth: by G—! my dear Lord, here is not fair play." Judge you now, whether Colonel Laurence Dempsey speaks truth or not. I have known him many years, and always for a man of honour and a good officer; and I do not in the least doubt his integrity and sincerity. For Colonel Hamilton, I have all the respect imaginable for him upon the account of his relations: his father, and some of his brothers loved me well; but, for his truth, I desire to be well satisfied in it, before I defer to it. This matter of the fees for remitting checks is as true as what the Major-general wrote, that the army was in such want of subsistence, that, by the living God! they should be all ruined. I thank God there is scarce a man in Ireland but can prove the falsehood of both. Perhaps you may think me too angry by what I write; but, in good earnest, to have men who would pass in the world for men of honour, report and write what they know themselves to be false, would provoke a greater man than I; and if they have no way but by these little arts and mean devices to compass their ends, whatever they are, in God's name they will have no great cause to brag of the success. I shall take no more pains to clear myself, nor my secretaries, of this matter: God grant other men, even those that complain, do not exact greater impositions from the soldiers than these fees. Possibly Colonel Hamilton's great indisposition makes him fancy things have been complained of, which were never thought of: he pretended, when he went hence, that he was so very ill, that he must make haste into France,

or he should die; but common fame (an author which gains too great credit) says, that he goes into France upon other designs, and to perfect the negotiations which others have begun. This is given out chiefly by his countrymen: let them brew as they bake. God Almighty keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXCIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAIT.*

Apologies for neglecting to correspond with him.—Particulars relating to the Army.

SIR, Dublin Castle, December 30, 1686.

I know not what excuse to make for having so long intermitted a correspondence I have taken so much pleasure in as yours; and which I yet hope I shall not lose, though I will own I have been negligent on my part; but I will endeavour to repair it for the future. I could with truth enough allege a great deal of business; but that would let me into a discourse of the cause of it, which would be too long for a letter, and perhaps not agreeable neither. I do give you many thanks for the orders you sent me for the attendance of officers in their quarters with their men, which I put into practice here, and do keep them pretty well to it; though some men have no mind to live within rules, many of the officers here thinking they are in stations beneath their merit, which will hinder this army from being in so good order as it was, and as it ought to be. I here send you what I have so long promised, an account of the particular pay of the officers and soldiers here, together with an account of the Office of the Ordnance, the train of the Artillery, and all the salaries of the officers thereunto belonging; and the full charge of all that may properly be said to come within the military list. I think it is very plain; but, if it prove otherwise, I will easily clear whatever you shall ask me. I had lately sent me a new treaty between our King and the King of France, concerning the trade in the West-Indies. I shall be glad to hear how things are in the Plantations:

* Evelyn records in his Diary, that he dined with Mr. Blathwait on the 18th of May, 1687, near Hampton, upon which he observes:—"This gentleman is Secretary at War, Clerk of the Council, &c., having raised himself, by his industry, from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, and very dexterous in businesse; and, besides all this, has married a greate fortune. His income by the army, council, and Secretary to ye Committee of Forraine Plantations, bring him in above 2000*l.* per annum."

it is not long since I heard from Jamaica by a ship which came directly hither. Colonel Molesworth complains much of the imposition laid upon sugars in the first session of this Parliament. I would be glad to know whether the King has had the real fruit of that Act; and whether, in truth, the weight of the imposition does not fall upon the planter, and thereby discourage him from planting: by this time, methinks, the truth should be known. I wish you a happy new year, and am very really,

Sir,

Your's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCXCIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Reflections and observations upon receiving the news of his brother's removal from his office of Lord Treasurer.

Dublin Castle, January 4, 1686-7.

This morning we had three packets together from England, with which I had yours of the 23d and 28th past; which though they did not surprise me, yet they filled my heart and head; but the wisest of men said, nothing was new under the sun. I am sure nothing is to be wondered at in this world. Of all men living, I hope I am best prepared to receive misfortunes, having been most acquainted with them; but still I confess, I could better have borne any thing upon myself than this, which, methinks, I see by this time come upon you. The pleasantest prospect I have is, that I do not think my being here will be long; but I shall the sooner enjoy the comfort of your conversation, and learn to resist temptations. My constant prayer is, that I may have constancy to follow your example, and to suffer with you; and I do every day bless God for the grace and courage he has given you to persevere in the right, and to tread the steps my father went before us; than which I am not capable of a greater satisfaction and consolation. As I am always ready to follow your advice in every thing, so I take it in this to take no notice of any thing, but will follow my business just as I did: and, in truth, I have no reason to do other upon the account of any thing that has been said to me; for you have seen all the letters I have had from my Lord President, and not one word in them as if there were the least thought of removing me: God's will be done in all things, and the King's. I heartily

pray his Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign; and if he has at any time need of such instruments as you and I, I thank God he knows what we will be; and I am sure, how low soever I am cast, I will always serve him with my life, with all possible zeal. As long as I am here, I will, for my own content, continue these constant letters to you. I here send you Mr. Price's last abstract of the last year; and, whoever else I am to send them to hereafter, (while I stay) I will still send duplicates to you of what I send to the Treasury. Sir Nicholas Butler told one whom I know, in the beginning of November, that you should certainly be displaced about Christmas. Notwithstanding all my philosophy, I am so full I cannot write more at present. God Almighty preserve you, and my sister, and all yours. I am very much afraid lest this change should make impression on my sister's tender health; but she has seen such variety of changes in our own poor family, that I doubt not her wisdom and resolution, if her strength do not fail her.

CCXCV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Having been in Ireland a year, he adverts to his own exertions in the King's service.—Whatever may happen, his consolation will be that he has done his duty.—Does not expect a recompense to repair his fortune, but will yet apply himself to the payment of his debts.—Rejoices to hear that the King has been so kind to Lord Rochester.—Has received his own letter of recall;—does not expect the least bounty, for he has never yet had any.—Requests his brother's advice as to the mode he should pursue in laying down the sword of authority.—Mode in which he purposes to proceed.—Promises the payment of some lady's pension.

Dublin Castle, January 8, 1686-7.

To-morrow I shall have been here a year, and therefore I begin a new number to my letters. Though I have not much to say at this time by reason of the season, when all people are at play, yet I must write to you as often as I can; and for want of other matter, let me brag how perfect a drudge I have been all this year. There is no office I have not rummaged into, and, I think, can give a good account of. I am sure the revenue never was in so good order, the effect whereof would have appeared by the end of this month. This has been laborious enough, but I thought I could never lay out myself too much to serve the King, and to show him more than ever he knew yet: and if I were to continue, I might now have had some pleasure; but that I have been never used to, and know not why I should think of it at this time of the day. Indeed, I think it is time to leave off the thoughts of having to

do with the world. I thank God, without practising the greatest villany, I cannot be charged with any fault in my administration here; which, though it will not preserve me, is a great comfort. I do no more expect to keep the Privy Seal, than I do to have a recompense, whereby to repair my fortune, but shall apply myself to the payment of my debts, which, by the blessing of God, shall be done, whatever I part with; and what will be left (how little soever) will prosper the better, besides the tranquillity of mind I shall enjoy. God Almighty keep you and yours.

Since the writing of this, two packets are come in from England of the 30th past and 1st instant. Of the first of those dates I have one from you, and do heartily rejoice that the King has been so kind to you:* an account of the particulars I have from other hands, by which I doubt not but your family will be more happy than with the burden of a great office.

I have by this packet received the signification of the King's pleasure from my Lord President, a copy of whose letter and my answer you have here enclosed.† I am of opinion his Lordship, if he had so thought fit, might have given me longer warning; but it may be it is decreed I am to be worse used than ever any man was before me; but upon my word, this I write or say only to yourself. I will take your advice in every thing; but as for

* He had given Lord Rochester, when he displaced him, a pension of 4000*l.* per annum, for ninety-nine years, if he and his eldest son, the Viscount Hyde, should live so long. It was charged upon the revenue of the Post-office, which was settled upon James, when Duke of York, in fee simple, with the power of granting, by warrant under the Privy Seal, any sum or sums thereout, not exceeding 5,382*l.* 10*s.*, to whomsoever he might choose.

† Lord Clarendon's answer to the letter of Lord Sunderland is not among the original papers.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Letter of recall.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Jan. 1, 1686-7.

The King commands me to acquaint your Excellency, that he intends you should forthwith come into England, and constitute the Earl of Tyrconnel Lord Deputy for the Government of Ireland; he will be despatched so as to be there before the end of this month, and his Majesty's intention is, you should give up the Government of that kingdom to the said Earl, a week after his arrival.

I am, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most faithful
And most humble servant,
SUNDERLAND, P.

"To the Lord-lieutenant."

yet writing to the Queen I cannot do it, that is, upon so short warning; and it may be those applications may be as well made when I am there myself. I will think more after this night's sleep; but I do not, when all is done, expect the least bounty, for I never had any in my life. I would be very glad of your advice as to my journey, whether I should go publicly, and receive the compliments which will be made me upon the road; for not being disgraced, and my successor being a deputy, (for though he will have the same power and appointments as a Lord-lieutenant, yet his authority does not take place whilst I am upon this shore; and though I do no more doubt my being superseded before I get to London than I do of his coming hither,) yet people in England will look on me as Lord-lieutenant still, and upon that score (it being usual) will be apt to make me compliments. I do not put these questions to any in England, nor will I ask advice in the matter of my Lord Sunderland, who has never given me any yet, besides I will not put any thing into his head; but I would be glad to have your advice. I know what my own inclinations are: I purpose to land at Chester, and then to go out of the road to some friend's house, so to shake off some of my loose train, and after a day or two rest to come up quietly to some lodging, which I will appoint to be taken for me for a week, in which time I shall see my fate, and may then go into the country for further repose. I would beg your advice in this matter as soon as you can, and do ask you a thousand pardons for putting you to any trouble, when you must have already so many thoughts in your head. If my Lord Tyrconnel arrives here this month, I doubt not but I shall embark the first week of the next, for I will stay no longer here than is of absolute necessity after his arrival. There is no more due to the lady you mention of her pension than half a year at Christmas last, which is no more than is due to every body else; and I did order, it is true, that no pensions should be paid till the army were cleared; but I do assure you, her agent shall be paid on Monday, and my letter on Tuesday shall tell you it is done. I would to God I could do any thing else that you desire me. God Almighty keep you, and my sister, and all yours, and send us a good meeting.

There is one thing more I would be very glad to have your advice in, which is what to do with my unfortunate sister. She is at present in the North: I have no mind to have her continue in this country: if you think it proper, I will bring her over, and leave her with a friend in Wales, till we can think further.

CCXCVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Payment of some Lady's pension.—The yacht ordered to Beaumaris for Lord Tyrconnel.—Arrangements for his own return.

Dublin Castle, January 13, 1686-7.

I told you in my last, that the Lady's money should be immediately paid; I can now tell you that her agent had an assignment on Tuesday, which will be paid upon sight; there was due to her for half a-year at Michaelmas last, and the pension is payable but half yearly. On Monday, Sir P. Rycaut had a letter from my Lord Tyrconnel, telling him that the King had commanded him to make haste into Ireland; and therefore he desired I would order the yacht to be at Beaumaris by the 15th instant; for which I signed a warrant to the Captain immediately, but the winds have been so cross ever since that he cannot yet get out; but I have done my part. I ship my horses for Chester on Saturday, that they may be fit to travel against I come thither, for there, God willing, I design to land. My goods are packing up, and shall be left here to be sent by long sea with the first shipping; and I myself and family will embark within three days after my successor's arrival, so that you see I lose no time; but indeed my warning has been very short. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXCVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends an abstract of what he has written to Lord Sunderland.—The wind fair for the arrival of his successor.—His goods are packed and his horses embarked.—Assignments issued for the payment of the Army to September.

Dublin Castle, January 18, 1686-7.

I have but little now to say to you, more than to send you the enclosed abstract and copy of what I have written by this post to my Lord President. The wind is now fair from England, so that we may every day expect my successor. All my goods, that is the bulk of them, are packed up, and my horses embarked for Chester yesterday, so that I shall not be many days here after his Lordship's arrival. The assignments for completing the pay due to the army, for the quarter ending the 25th of December last, are this day issued, so that I have made good my undertaking. God Almighty preserve you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXCVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

A murder committed in the County of Meath.—Justices of the Peace unwilling to examine where the Army is concerned.—The murderers secured.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, January 18, 1686-7.

I have not had any thing from your Lordship since your letter of the 1st instant, but I think it my duty to inform your Lordship of all things which happen here as long as I stay. There hath lately happened a very barbarous murder in the county of Meath, a poor man and his wife and his son being all killed; some soldiers of the army were suspected to have done it, and the justices of the peace are very unwilling to take examinations where any of the army are concerned; though I have signified to them that they need not fear doing their duty, especially where the lives of any of his Majesty's subjects are concerned. I caused the matter to be fully examined, and do here send your Lordship copies of Sir Edward Tyrrell's letters, the justice of peace whom I employed; whereby your Lordship will see all that is found out as yet. Burke, who confesseth to have committed the murder, is in Trim gaol; and the two Connors are secured at Galway: I doubt not but justice will be done upon them. The last week a great robbery and murder was committed in this city; but the parties are detected, and two of them taken.

I am, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCXCIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Contrary winds have prevented Lord Tyrconnel's arrival.—Wishes he was come, being unsettled, and desirous of being with his brother.—Arrival of Officers of the Army in Dublin to meet his Successor.—Emigration of the Merchants and others through fear of what may happen.—Prays that the King may find benefit from what is doing.—An easy matter for him to make the Country happy.—Reports of persons appointed to some considerable offices.

Dublin Castle, January 22, 1686-7.

The wind from England hath been contrary these three days, which I suppose is the reason my Lord Tyrconnel is not here, for he was to leave Chester upon Tuesday last. I would now be very well content he were come, for to be as I am at present, so unsettled, my horses and part of my

goods being gone and the rest packing up, is a very uneasy condition; but more than that must be borne with. I long for nothing so much as to be with you. I can entertain you with nothing at this time, there being nothing stirring. The town fills with the officers of the army coming up to meet my successor, but it empties as fast, by considerable merchants and other inhabitants going away. I have endeavoured, all I can, to dissuade men from thus deserting the country, and some I have prevailed with to stay: it is my duty to do all I can to keep people here, and I am sure I have reason on my side in the arguments I use; but all men will not be guided by reason. Fear has possessed some to that degree, that nothing can convince them of being in the wrong, but time, which will show them that they have no cause to apprehend what they so much dread; and nothing but time can do it, and a steady conducting of things in a method contrary to what they are made believe will be. God grant the King may find the benefit of what is doing, for whose service I would most willingly contribute any thing in my power: it is an easy matter for him to make the country and the people happy, if he pleases, and to have what he has a mind to, if that might be known; and his own revenue would increase wonderfully, if due care were taken: but if it be not very strictly looked to, in every part, it will presently sink; but let those look to it who are coming. The present current report is, that Mr. Sheridan is not only to be my lord's chief-secretary, but likewise first in the Commission of the Revenue in Lord Longford's place, which will fill his hands sufficiently. I wish his head may be able to hold all. And it is said Sir Robert Hamilton is to be in Culliford's place, and that Sir Patrick Trant hath secured Mr. Bridges with Lord Tyrconnel, which, if so, will prove a fine business. Time will discover all things, and some will laugh in their sleeves. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

DIARY

OF

HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON.

DIARY

OF

HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON,

FOR PART OF THE YEAR 1687; THE YEARS 1688 AND 1689; AND PART OF THE YEAR 1690.

JANUARY 1. Saturday. The new year began with very fair weather. I went to church. It being a state day, I dined in public: my Lord Mayor and all the Aldermen dined with me; and according to the custom, when the cloth was taken away, they went to post and pair;* and after a very little time sitting I went away, and they all went into the cellar.

Jan. 2. Sunday. I went to church in the morning: most of the Lords dined with me as usual. We had no letters from England; two packets being wanting.

Jan. 3. Monday. In the morning I visited my Lord Chancellor: we

* *Post and pair* was an ancient game of cards, in some points resembling the modern game of *commerce*. Three cards were dealt to each player, and each person *vied* or staked what he pleased upon the goodness of his hand; or he might decline standing. The ace of trumps was the best card, and the holder of a pair-royal, i. e. three aces, three kings, three queens, &c. was the winner. The Complete Gamester describes it as a game much played in the West of England, and observes that the most *daring* players were the most successful: as at our commerce or speculation.

went together upon the strand to take the air. I dined at home in private. My Lord Montrath went for England in the packet-boat this day.

Jan. 4. Tuesday. I dined at my Lord Chancellor's;* because all the citizens' wives dined with my wife. We had three packets from England, of the 23d, 25th, and 28th past. I had one of the 23d from my brother: wherein he tells me, all things were settled as to him; and that he believed he should give up the staff after the holidays; that he knew nothing of me but reports. But, alas! I cannot expect to continue here, when he is out of office. I received, among these letters, the copy of a letter written by Mr. Nangle to the Earl of Tyrconnel from Coventry, being upon his return from England into Ireland.† It is a notable letter, and shows plainly what is designed to be done in this country; though all this while not a word to me from court.

Jan. 5. Wednesday. Lord Chief-justice Keyting came to see me: he told me, as every body had done for a good while together, that Lord Tyrconnel was to come over, and that I was to be recalled; to which all the answer I made to him and to all other people, was "what the King pleased; I was sure I could not be recalled for any fault; and, so long, I should be very well contented." I gave my Lord Chief-justice a copy of Mr. Nangle's letter; and desired his thoughts upon it. I dined at home in private.

Jan. 6. Thursday. I went to church; and being a state day, I dined in public. My Lord Chancellor, Lord Limerick, and most of the Lords in town dined with me.

Jan. 7. Friday. I did not dine. I spent most of the day in my closet; and saw very little company till evening.

Jan. 8. Saturday. In the morning came in two packets from England, of the 30th past, and 1st instant. I received a letter, of the last date, from my Lord President, acquainting me with the King's pleasure that I was to leave the government. Whether I have been well used by my Lord President in this affair, or whether, in truth, I have been well used by him in the whole time of my being here, I leave to all men to judge, who shall read my

* Sir Charles Porter was at this time Lord Chancellor.

† Though Lord Rochester was ignorant of what was intended in regard to Lord Clarendon, it appears from Evelyn's Diary that his recall was publicly known in London on the 17th of December, for on that day he thus writes: "Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord-lieutenant in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruine of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its greate improvement going on. Much discourse that all the white-staff officers and others should be dismiss'd for adhering to their religion," &c.

letters to him, or his to me; all which shall, God willing, be carefully preserved.* It will by them appear, that he scarce gave any other answers to my letters than the bare acknowledging of them: and though I gave him, almost weekly, large accounts of all transactions, yet he never, in any of his letters, so much as told me the King was pleased or displeased with what I had done. It would have been a great satisfaction to have known the King approved of my proceedings; but the next best was to find that he did not blame them. I am not now surprised at my being recalled; having had so certain informations, though not from the Secretary of State, of my Lord Tyrconnel's being to come into the government, and it being owned by all his relations here. I did expect it: but, I confess, the manner of my being recalled, to remove out of such a station, at this season of the year, and at a week's warning, looks like a mark of the King's displeasure; which will ever be a mortification to me to lie under. But when I consider, that I can thank God I have done nothing to deserve it; and that I cannot be charged to have done any thing since my being in this government, which I cannot very well justify; my mind will be at ease. Though, I confess, I cannot help often reflecting with myself, what it can be that can have prevailed with the King to use me in this manner, after the many gracious expressions he made to me, and of me to others, since I left England. I can be guilty of no fault but I must know it myself; and, I bless God, my heart does not reproach me with the least failure of duty to the King. I confess I have been very stiff in the matter of reversing the outlawries; because, according to very good † opinions, it is against law: and because it is plain it will be the greatest blow that can be given to the English Protestant interest; to the prejudice of which, by the grace of God, nothing shall tempt me to contribute in the least. Sometimes I think it may be possible that the King may have so far altered his measures, as to bring Roman Catholics into all employments: it seems to be something that way, by the opinions the judges in England have lately given, as to the King's dispensing power. And considering how powerful the Papists now are in Ireland, that the army has been this last summer new-modelled; most of the English Protestants being disbanded, and Papists admitted to freedoms in all corporations; it is very probable the King might

* It appears that Lord Clarendon not only carefully preserved copies of all his letters to Lord Sunderland, but also of those to his brother, to whom he occasionally also sent transcripts of the letters addressed to Lord Sunderland.

† *Vide* Mr. Attorney's and Mr. Solicitor's reports.

think it now seasonable to put Ireland under a Popish governor.* If my being a Protestant be the cause of my ill usage, I am so far from being troubled, that I look on it as a great honour to be found worthy to suffer for my religion. I quickly sent for the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Granard, and acquainted them with my letters. I dined in private: in the afternoon I sent for Mr. Solicitor, and told him of the letter and order I had received. I must needs say, all these persons expressed great trouble for my being recalled. This very day I answered my Lord Sunderland's letter; assuring him that I should pay punctual obedience to the King's commands.† Mortification is no stranger to me; though, I confess, I did not expect this for many reasons: but God's will be done. My journey into Ireland was very expensive; and my stay here was too short to reimburse myself by some thousands of pounds: and I pray to God to give me constancy and resolution to demean myself so as becomes a man and a Christian; that my friends may have no cause to be ashamed of me.

Jan. 9. Sunday. I went to Christ-church as usual: I dined in public, and had much company; but most English. I resolved from this day to break up house-keeping, and to apply myself to my remove; for my Lord Tyrconnel might very well be here before the end of the week.

Jan. 10. Monday. In the morning the Major-general was with me, and desired me to take off some checks, which were imposed upon his men: which I granted. He took no notice to me of my being recalled; though it was

* This was obviously the case. A curious passage in Mr. Evelyn's Diary deserves a place here. Upon Lord Clarendon's appointment, he had procured his friend Mr. Evelyn to be made one of the Commissioners to execute the office of Privy Seal during his Lieutenancy:—upon March the 10th, "His Majesty sent for the Commissioners of Privy Seal this morning into his bed-chamber, and told us that tho' he had thought fit to dispose of the seal into a single hand, yet he would so provide for us as it should appeare how well he accepted our faithful and loyal service, with many gracious expressions to this effect; upon which we delivered the seal into his hands. It was by all the world both hoped and expected that he would have restored it to my Lord Clarendon, (who had held it previously) but they were astonished to see it given to Lord Arundel of Wardour, a zealous Roman Catholic. Indeede it was very hard and look'd very unkindly, his Majesty (as my Lord Clarendon protested to me on my going to visit him, and long discoursing about the affairs of Ireland) finding not the least failure of duty in him during his government of that kingdome, so that his recall plainely appeared to be from the stronger influence of the Papists, who now got all preferments."

† This letter now for the first time accompanies the Journal; it formed no part of the Clarendon Papers published by Bishop Douglas from the collections of Mr. Powney.

known all the town over. I dined in private at home. In the afternoon my son went for England; but when he came to Ring's End, the wind proved contrary: so he came back again. We had letters from England of the 4th instant: Sir P. Rycaut had one from my Lord Tyrconnel to desire that the yacht might be at Beaumaris, by the 15th instant. These letters brought an account, that Mr. Fitton was to come with Lord Tyrconnel, to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland: but not a word of it from court to Sir Charles Porter.

Jan. 11. Tuesday. In the morning I went to see my Lord Chancellor. He showed me a letter he had received from Sir Patrick Trant, which took notice to him of Mr. Fitton's coming to succeed him; at which Sir Patrick seemed much troubled; but said, it could not be helped: my Lord Tyrconnel was dissatisfied with him, Sir Charles Porter; and so there was no remedy.* All the popish party themselves seemed surprised at these changes: they were troubled to lose Sir Charles Porter; who had carried himself with great applause, and discharged the office of Chancellor to the general satisfaction of all men.

Jan. 12. Wednesday. In the morning I went to council; where was nothing of moment: I dined privately.

Jan. 13. Thursday. In the morning I went to Pooley's, the painter, to finish a picture I was sitting for there. I dined privately at the Archbishop's.

Jan. 14. Friday. In the morning I went to council, to receive the report, which I had appointed a committee to prepare, concerning the several examinations which had been taken, relating to plots and rumours. I thought it fit to put an end to all that matter, (they being in truth, but idle reports and shams, raised by the natives against the English,) before I left the government. The committee made a very full report; that there was nothing in all those bundles of informations, whereon to ground a prosecution against any one: but Mr. Justice being dissatisfied with some things in the report, I re-committed the whole matter; and ordered the committee to meet to-morrow morning. In the afternoon the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, and Mr. Solicitor, were with me to adjust the time, and other things, relating to the consecration of the chapel of the Royal Hospital; which we agreed should be on Wednesday next. In the evening Sir Charles Meredith took his leave of me; he intending for England with my son.

* This circumstance is more fully related in one of Lord Clarendon's letters to Lord Rochester.

Jan. 15. Saturday. I shut myself up all this day in my closet; and saw nobody, till the evening I came into the withdrawing room.

Jan. 16. Sunday. In the morning I went, as usual, to Christ-church: the wind being fair, my son embarked for England. In the afternoon came in three packets from England, of the 6th, 8th, and 11th instant. I had nothing of news, but that Lord Tyrconnel left London on the 11th: he wrote to Sir Paul Rycaut, that the yacht might be at Holyhead, and not at Beaumaris.

Jan. 17. Monday. In the morning I went to council; where the committee made the same report they did the last day, concerning the rumours and sham plots, that they could find nothing in the informations whereon to ground a prosecution against any man: and so ended that troublesome affair. I appointed a meeting of the governors of the Royal Hospital, to be at the Castle in the afternoon; where I took a view of the state of the house, and appointed a committee to examine the accounts.

Jan. 18. Tuesday. I saw nobody all this day, till evening.

Jan. 19. Wednesday. In the morning I went in solemnity to the Royal Hospital; where the chapel was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare assisting. Mr. Gilbert, the chaplain of the house, preached: I received the communion there. I thank God, I have seen this work done.

Jan. 20. Thursday. We had two packets from England, of the 13th and 15th instant. Sir Paul Rycaut had a letter from Lord Tyrconnel, dated from Chester on Monday last, signifying, that he would set forward from thence the next day. Sir Thomas Fotherley returned from Holyhead, and brought me word, my son landed there at ten of the clock at night of the same day he went hence.

Jan. 21. Friday. In the morning Mr. Justice Daly was with me. He professed great kindness to me, and to be much troubled that I was to leave the government; but there is no relying on any of them: though I must needs say, he seems the fairest of any of the native Irish, who are taken into employment. The provost of the college was with me in some trouble, having met with a report of a plot being discovered; as if some of the students had a design to murder my Lord Tyrconnel, when he came: he could not trace it to the bottom; but it was said, Judge Nugent had taken some examinations upon it. He desired to know, if I had any account of it: I told him, no truly; and that I could not but laugh to see the little arts, that are used to draw the

poor English of all ranks into plots. However, I advised him to take some discreet person with him, and to go and speak with Judge Nugent in the matter. I dined at the Lord Chancellor's; where dined likewise Lord Chief-justice Keating, the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr. Solicitor. Mr. Foster, a justice of the peace, brought me an account of the late murder committed seven miles from Dublin: he left with me copies of the examinations, and of the coroner's letter to him.

Jan. 22. Saturday. In the afternoon, the Bishop of Kildare being with me, the provost brought me word, that he had taken Dr. Brown with him, and went yesterday to Judge Nugent; who owned that he had taken some examinations, relating to what he had told me yesterday; but that they were very general, and that he could not make any thing of them as yet; and he refused to let the provost see them. I sent for Judge Nugent to come to me: he came in less than an hour. I asked him about the matter: he told me a very strange, perplexed story, without head or tail; and all the examinations, he had taken, were upon hearsay. I am sure it looked like a design to make a plot; with which I had been enough acquainted in England, in the time of Oates's plot. I asked the judge why he had not informed me of the matter; since it had been three days in his hands: to which he answered, that truly he thought it needless, because the matter seemed to be so very frivolous; that there was one person more to be examined, and I should then have a full account of the whole business. In the evening my Lord Brittas came to me, and made great apologies for the irregularities which he had committed at Limerick, where he was quartered; indeed he had been very impertinent there.* The Bishop of Dromore came to me, full of lamentation, for my being to leave the government: he would fain go over with me, having (as many others had,) very dismal apprehensions; but I laughed at him for his splenetic fancies, and dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom; as I did all persons with whom I had any credit.

Jan. 23. Sunday. In the morning before I went to church, Judge Nugent brought me the examinations he had taken in the affair relating to the College: but the other person, he mentioned yesterday, had not, he said, been yet with him; but that he would send his warrant for him in the afternoon, and then give me a further account. I ordered Sir Paul Rycaut to be with

* The reader will find an account of Lord Brittas's conduct in a letter of Lord Clarendon to his brother, in a former part of this Work.

the judge, when that person was examined. In the afternoon Colonel Garret Moore was with me, and professed much trouble that I was to go away: and I verily believe him. For, besides that he had lived very civilly and respectfully towards me, he was of my Lord Clanrickard's party; all whom hated Lord Tyrconnel: and he was even with them; for he showed no kindness to them, nor scarce to any Connaught men.

Jan. 24. Monday. I visited the Archbishop of Dublin. In the evening, Sir Paul Rycaut gave me an account of the matter relating to the College; that there was nothing in it, and that Judge Nugent would be with me to-morrow. I bid Sir Paul go to the judge again, and tell him, he should bring me the state of that whole matter in writing.

Jan. 25. Tuesday. In the afternoon Judge Nugent brought me an account in writing, of the matter relating to the College; which he owned was a very ridiculous business: so that, whatever becomes of me, the college can have no prejudice from this sham project; and for that reason I left those papers the judge gave me, with the provost, who was with me this evening. The Commissioners of the Revenue were with me, as usual; for I resolved to continue working to the last.

Jan. 26. Wednesday. I dined at the Archbishop of Dublin's. In the afternoon I had a meeting of the governors of the hospital at the Castle, about Mr. Robinson's accounts; which we declared and signed, from the beginning of the work to the 25th of March, 1685. And we appointed a committee to meet to-morrow morning to examine and settle the rest.

Jan. 27. Thursday. In the afternoon the governors of the hospital met again: the committee reported, that they had examined the rest of Mr. Robinson's accounts, and had nothing to object against them; upon which they were declared, and signed by all present. Mr. Robinson then moved the governors, that, whereas he was auditor of the accounts of the hospital, he might surrender that office; which was granted: and he did surrender it accordingly to Mr. Curtis, one of the clerks in the Treasury. In the evening my sister Frank* came to town: I had sent for her, resolving not to leave her behind me in this kingdom.

Jan. 28. Friday. My sister told me, the Major-general had lately written to her: she gave me the letter. I directed her not to admit him to visit

* Lady Francis Hyde, sister also to Anne Duchess of York. She was married to Mr. Keightley, who is frequently mentioned in the correspondence of Lord Clarendon.

her; and if she met him any where, to tell him that she had no occasion to trouble him. I was very positive to her; telling her, if she would not be ruled by me, I would have nothing to do with her. She faithfully promised me to be guided by me.

Jan. 29. Saturday. In the afternoon we had three packets from England, of the 12th, 20th, 22d instant. Tom Hales came over with them: he left Lord Tyrconnel at Holyhead, and says, he had been there ever since this day se'nnight; that the wind had all that time been very contrary; and that Captain Wright did not think it safe to venture out with the yacht yesterday, when the dogger came off. I had not a word of news in my letters.*

Jan. 30. Sunday. In the morning I went to church, as usual. In the afternoon Lord Limerick was with me, and made many professions of friendship to me: and that he was much troubled I was to leave the government; though

* The following letter from Lady Clarendon to Mr. Evelyn deserves a place here; it contains an account of an extraordinary young girl, a prodigy in mathematical and musical skill.

THE COUNTESS OF CLARENDON TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

SIR, Jan. 29, 1686-7.

Your last letter found me in company that were able to answer your question concerning the perfections of a girl here, and I was promised a trial of all those things you had been informed of; but disappointments came, and then a journey, so that it was some months after before I could be a witness of what I had heard with so much wonder; though still I expected to have that good fortune in a few days, otherwise I should not have so long delayed writing. At last the day came that she was examined, and she did answer to all the most hard questions in geometry, and had such a crowd about her, that one could hardly breathe in the room; then the best musicians in this place joined with her in playing the composure of the last opera in France, her part was upon the violin, which she performed admirably; it was as fine music as ever I heard; the instruments were the orbos, bass viols, harpsichord, violins, flutes, and oboes; most of that concert were gentlemen. The girl is not above eleven years of age; I wish I could prefer her where such fine qualities might find encouragement. Lord Cornbury can give you an account of this whole matter, better than I can; however, you will see me sooner than you desire, if God Almighty prosper our journey, and I hope we shall meet with the same cheerfulness we use to do; for misfortunes of the nature that ours are, do not feed upon the vitals till they run so far as starving, which a gracious God, and so good a master will never suffer. My service, I entreat, to Mrs. Evelyn, and the rest of your family; I shall so soon see her, that I will not from hence trouble her with a letter.

I am, for ever, Sir,

Her, and your most affectionate humble Servant,

F. CLARENDON.

his uncle was to come in my room: and, he said, both he and all his countrymen would always remember, how civilly I had lived towards them. These were fine words; but it is most certain, many of the natives had rather live under any English governor, than under one of their own countrymen.

Jan. 31. Monday. I went to church, it being the day observed for the anniversary of the murder of King Charles the Martyr. In the afternoon Judge Daly and Mr. Nangle were with me: the latter took occasion to speak of the reports, which were spread about the town, that he was to be Attorney-general; which he solemnly protested, he knew nothing of, nor did he desire it. I do not believe him in the least; because I am sure he is both a covetous and an ambitious man.

FEBRUARY 1. Tuesday. In the afternoon the Commissioners of the Revenue were with me: I ordered subsistence-money for the army for the last month.

Feb. 2. Wednesday. In the morning I went to church: I dined at the Archbishop of Dublin's.

Feb. 3. Thursday. In the morning I went to take the air upon the Strand: Lord Granard and Lord Drogheda with me. I dined at the Countess-dowager of Drogheda's.

Feb. 4. Friday. In the afternoon I visited Lord Limerick, who renewed his professions of friendship to me.

Feb. 5. Saturday. In the morning I took the air upon the Strand with the Archbishop, in his coach. I dined at the Bishop of Kildare's. In the afternoon I sent for my Lord Mayor, Sir Joseph Allen, Sir John Knox, and some other of the eminent citizens to come to me: my business was to give them the best advice I could, to pay all obedience to the King's Chief-governor, and not to cherish those melancholy apprehensions, which seemed to have seized most men's spirits; assuring them, that, as long as they continued dutiful to the King, his Majesty would be gracious to them. But, above all, I advised them not to leave the kingdom, as too many had already done, and more were preparing to do. Thus I endeavoured, all I could, to beget a confidence in men, that they need not harbour such dismal apprehensions upon the change of a governor, for that the government would still be the same.

Feb. 6. Sunday. This being a festival, in memory of the King's coming to the Crown, I endeavoured to solemnize it as well as I could, now my servants and equipage were gone. I went to church, where Dr. Palesar

preached; and the regiment of Guards were in arms. Towards the end of the sermon there was a rumour about the church, that the yacht was in the bay; and it proved to be so, for Lord Tyrconnel came to town about two of the clock in the afternoon. I dined at the Archbishop's, where most of the Protestant lords in town likewise dined. In the afternoon I returned to the Castle. About four of the clock Mr. Sheridan came to me, accompanied by Judge Nugent: he said, he was sent by my Lord Tyrconnel to make his excuse, that he could not come to me to-day, by reason of his being very weary; but that he would not fail to be with me to-morrow morning. He added, that my Lord had commanded him, to the end that no time might be lost, to give me the King's letter, which I took, and holding it in my hand, asking him some ordinary questions of their voyage, &c., he desired me to read the letter; because, possibly, my Lord Tyrconnel might expect some answer. I then read it, and bid him present my humble service to my Lord, and tell him I would take care to despatch the King's commands. He asked me when he should attend me: I told him he need not trouble himself; I should give the necessary orders. The King's letter was to direct me to deliver the sword to my Lord Tyrconnel, within a week after his arrival, as my Lord Sunderland had before informed me I was to do.

Feb. 7. Monday. About ten in the morning Lord Tyrconnel came to the Castle: I was in the withdrawing-room when he came up. After the common salutations I took him into my closet, where I had ordered Sir Paul Rycaut to be present. He brought Sir Alexander Fitton* with him, and presented him to me, only telling me who he was, and that the King had sent him over, without saying for what. We sat down; but nothing more than common discourse of his voyage, and his long stay at Holyhead, passed between us. He said, he would see me every day, and so for the present would take his leave; as he did. This morning I signed the warrant for Mr. Solicitor to prepare my Lord Tyrconnel's commission. In the afternoon

* Archbishop King, in his State of the Protestants in Ireland, says, "Neither the Lord Primate Boyle, who had managed that court (the Chancery) about twenty years, nor Sir Charles Porter who succeeded him, could answer the King's intention: but Sir Alexander Fitton, a person detected of forgery, not only at Westminster and Chester, but likewise fined by the House of Lords in Parliament, must be brought out of gaol, and set on the highest court of the kingdom to keep the King's conscience, though he wanted law and natural capacity, as well as honesty and courage to discharge such a trust; and had no other quality to recommend him, besides his being a converted Papist; that is, a renegade to his religion and his country."

the Major-general came to me, as he said, from Lord Tyrconnel, to desire the royal regiment of Guards might be drawn out to-morrow for him to see, which I presently ordered to be done.

Feb. 8. Tuesday. In the morning I visited my Lord Tyrconnel: he lay at Lord Limerick's. He met me upon the stairs, and conducted me into his chamber, where we sat down. I told him I had given order for his commission, and I intended to give him the sword on Saturday, which would be (according to the King's command) within a week after his arrival. To which he replied, when I thought it proper; and that, if I was not ready to remove so soon, I might continue in the Castle as long as I pleased: to which I said, I should be ready to go away at the same time; and, that I would make what haste I could to wait on the King. He then said, he wondered to find such alarms upon his being to be Chief-governor. I told him, * * *

*** At this interesting period, unfortunately, the Diary for the present year breaks off abruptly in the Manuscript; whether Lord Clarendon wrote no more, or omitted the entering of the remainder from his loose papers into the volume, through the hurry in which he left Ireland, is uncertain.

1687-8.

JANUARY 1. Sunday. In the morning I went to the King's levee, and from thence to St. James's Church. The common report this morning was, that the Queen was quick: I am sure all honest men wish the increase of the royal family. In the afternoon I waited on the Prince and Princess to wish them a good new year.

Jan. 2. Monday. My brother and I dined with Sir Walter St. John* at Battersea. Lord Drumlanrig and Lord Ranelagh went with us.

Jan. 3. Tuesday. In the afternoon Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Jan. 4. Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon a friend came to see me, who told me that yesterday there had been a meeting of several Papists at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket; that some in the company seemed dissatisfied that Mr. Culliford was made one of the Commissioners of the Customs; to which Sir Nicholas Bubler replied, that it could not be helped, for there was still a Rochesterian faction in the court, who will sometimes find means of carrying some things. This is very pleasant, when (if I am rightly informed) Sir Nicholas Bubler himself was the occasion of bringing Culliford out of Ireland, and making him a commissioner here. Most certain it is, the King hearkens more to Sir Nicholas Bubler, than to any one, in all things relating to the affairs of the Customs.

Jan. 5. Thursday. The rumour was very hot about the town, that Lord Halifax had been very lately with the King in private: upon what it was grounded I know not, but it was generally believed. I dined at my brother's. In the afternoon I visited Lord and Lady Burlington, and Lady Ranelagh.†

* Sir Walter St. John was the third baronet of this distinguished family, and grandfather of the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke. He succeeded his nephew Sir John, the second baronet, who died before he came of age. Sir Walter married one of the daughters of Lord Chief Justice St. John:—he was eminent for piety and moral virtues. He founded a free school at Battersea for twenty poor boys, and endowed it with funds for the apprenticing some of them.

† This distinguished lady was sister to the Earl of Burlington, and to the celebrated philosopher Robert Boyle, who appointed her one of his executors. She died at an advanced age in 1691; having lived the longest on the most public scene, and made the greatest figure in all the revolutions of these kingdoms for above fifty years, of any woman of her age. She is said to have employed her whole time and estate in doing good, to have had a very superior understanding, so that the highest value was set upon her friendship by all the most eminent persons of her time.

Jan. 6. Friday. In the morning I went to church: Sir Paul Rycaut dined with me. He told, he had been yesterday with Lord Halifax; that he had told him of the discourse which is spread abroad, of his Lordship's having been lately with the King; that my Lord said, he had been told of it by several, but could not imagine whence it proceeded: for he protested, he had never been with the King since the sitting of the Parliament, nor seen his Majesty's face, but once by chance in his coach in the street. Sir Paul Rycaut desired me to be at his house to-morrow in the evening; that my Lord Halifax would meet me there, and had assured him, he would do me all the good offices in his power to the Queen-dowager.

Jan. 7. Saturday. About six in the evening I went to Sir Paul Rycaut: quickly after my Lord Halifax came in. After some general salutations we sat down, and my Lord said he was sorry we had been so long strangers. I replied, that I was very sorry for it too; but it was not my fault: to which my Lord answered, I know not whose fault it is, but it is not mine. Whereupon I could not help saying, that upon my coming to town out of Ireland, most of the persons of quality in town had honoured me with their visits; that his Lordship did not upon that occasion vouchsafe to take the least notice of me, which I looked upon as declining any acquaintance with me; and it did trouble me the more, in regard of the intimacy that had been between us, and the professions of friendship which he had formerly made to me. My Lord said, "Well, let us think no more of past matters;" possibly reasons might be given, why he did not visit me, upon my coming out of Ireland, but it was better not to speak of them. He then told me, he was as sensible as any friend I had, of the hard measure I had received in being called out of Ireland, in the manner I was; that he was glad the King had given me a pension, but sorry it was no more than 2000*l.* per annum; that his Majesty would have done himself more right if he had given me twice as much: to all which I answered, that I was not to murmur at any thing the King did; that I thanked God I was at ease in my mind, that I could not reproach myself with having done any ill thing whereby to deserve his Majesty's displeasure; and for the rest, patience was a sure remedy. My Lord then told me, he was very sorry things were come to that pass between the Queen-dowager and me, as that I would go to law with her. I replied, that his Lordship knew very well how the case stood; that I thought it very hard the Queen would not allow me what all my predecessors always enjoyed, and what she herself had allowed to Mr. Harvey even after his death; that his

Lordship was much mistaken in saying, I would go to law with the Queen, for I would never do it; but if her Majesty would sue me, I hoped it would not be looked upon as a crime, if I defended myself as well as I could; that I would never forget the honour I had of having been her Majesty's servant from the first hour of her coming into England;* that I would, whilst I live, pay her all possible duty, and I hoped, her Majesty would remember some services I had done her: to conclude, I said it was much in his Lordship's power to take up the business; which if he would do, he should find me very sensible of the obligation. My Lord answered, that he hoped I believed from what Sir Paul Rycaut had told me, besides that he did now assure me the same again himself, that he would do all he could to serve me; but if he might advise me, I should submit the whole matter to the Queen, if I could have a moral assurance that she would be kind to me. I told him, I had by myself and friends, made frequent applications to her Majesty; that I was always very ready to submit any thing to her; but if the consequence thereof would be, that the Queen should say, "Then let me have my money," I should be worse than I now am, and my submission would be brought against me; which would be very hard. He said that was true, he could not tell what to say to it; and so after having talked thus an hour and a half together, (Sir Paul Rycaut having been present all the time) my Lord renewed his protestations, that he would do his utmost to serve me, and so we took our leaves of each other.

Jan. 8. Sunday. In the morning I went to St. James's church: in the evening Sir Thomas Clarges† was with me. I gave him an account of the conversation between Lord Halifax and me: he shook his head, and said, he doubted my Lord would not take much pains on my behalf. Sir Thomas is able to make a good judgment, being intimately acquainted with his Lord-

* Lord Clarendon (then Lord Cornbury) was in 1666 made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and the dispute between them appears to have arisen from the arrears due to him in respect of that office.

† Sir Thomas Clarges, who appears to have been in habits of strict intimacy with Lord Clarendon, and now to have partaken of his sentiments in regard to the King, was once distinguished by his opposition to the Government. He was brother-in-law to General Monk. Burnet describes him as "an honest but haughty man, who valued himself on his opposing the Court, and on his frugality in managing the public money; for he had Cromwell's economy ever in his mouth, and was ever for reducing the expense of the war to the modesty and parsimony of those times. Many thought he carried this too far, but it made him very popular. After he was become very rich himself by the public money, he seemed to take care that nobody else should grow as rich as he was in that way."

ship; and he had endeavoured (out of friendship to me) to make him sensible of the Queen's severity towards me.

Jan. 9. Monday. In the afternoon I visited Lady Thanet.

Jan. 10. Tuesday. In the morning I waited on the Princess. My brother and I dined at Ely-house: in the afternoon I visited Lord Clifford and Sir Richard Bellings.

Jan. 11. Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings.

Jan. 12. Thursday. In the morning I was at the King's levee.

Jan. 13. Friday.

Jan. 14. Saturday. In the morning I was with my brother. I found Lady Henrietta very ill: Dr. Lower feared she would have the small-pox. I pray God send her well: she is the best child in the world.

Jan. 15. Sunday. In the morning I went to St. James's church: this was the thanksgiving day appointed for the Queen's being with child. There were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them: it is strange to see, how the Queen's great belly is every where ridiculed, as if scarce any body believed it to be true.* Good God help us. After church I went to my brother's: I found Lady Henrietta had the small-pox come out, but was finely well.

Jan. 16. Monday. The Bishop of Ely and I went to dinner to Lambeth: God be thanked, pretty little Lady Henrietta is as well as can be expected.

Jan. 17. Tuesday. I dined with my brother: the child is very well, God be praised. In the afternoon I was to see Lady Ranelagh. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Jan. 18. Wednesday. I dined with Sir R. Bellings. In the afternoon I went to council about my suit with the Queen-dowager.

Jan. 19. Thursday.

Jan. 20. Friday. In the afternoon I had a meeting with all my counsel

* Even the Princess Ann, from her dislike to the Queen, gave credit to the absurd rumours, and there are a series of curious extracts from her letters to her sister on the subject, in Dalrymple's Memoirs. Such was the popular prejudice, and it was not of recent date. It had long been industriously circulated by those in opposition to James and the Catholic party, that a supposititious child would be produced if the Queen should not prove pregnant, or in case she should bring into the world a daughter instead of a son. Perhaps the confidence with which the birth of a son was predicted, by some of those who wished for the event, gave but too much support to the absurd stories which were circulated, and for which, it is now well known, there was no foundation.

at Sir Cres. Levins's chamber in Serjeants'-inn: upon full deliberation they were all of opinion the *scire facias* ought to be quashed.

Jan. 21. Saturday. I was let blood: in the afternoon I retained Sir W. Williams, the Solicitor General, to appear for me. All the rest of the King's council were retained by the Queen-dowager; only Serjeant Holt, with whom I had been, told me, he had refused the Queen's fee; that he would advise me privately, but must not appear for me in court, because he was of the King's Counsel. In the evening Sir Paul Rycaut was with me: he told me he had been with Lord Halifax, who had told him, that Lord Feversham and he had moved the Queen on my behalf, but without success. This is but what I expected; and, I suppose, Lord Halifax will think he has acquitted himself of his promise to do me what service he can.

Jan. 22. Sunday. In the morning I went to St. James's-church. All the news of the town was, that the Duke of Berwick was made Governor of Portsmouth. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me: I told him what Sir Paul Rycaut had told me last night from Lord Halifax, to which he said he expected no other; for though my Lord professed friendship to me, yet he feared by his discourse, that he would not take much pains to help me.

Jan. 23. Monday. The first day of the term: I went to Westminster. Sir Francis Winnington moved in the Exchequer, that the *scire facias*, brought against me at the Queen-dowager's suit, might be quashed: upon the motion of Mr. Attorney-general and Sir Robert Sawyer, on behalf of the Queen-dowager, it was put off, and appointed to be argued on Friday next; all things to rest in the meantime.

Jan. 24. Tuesday. I took physic, and stirred not abroad.

Jan. 25. Wednesday.

Jan. 26. Thursday. In the morning I waited on the Princess. Mr. Charles Boyle* was married to-day. In the afternoon I went to see my counsel for to-morrow: when I came to Mr. Solicitor-general, he told me he was commanded not to be of counsel against the Queen-dowager.——— Strange prosecution!

Jan. 27. Friday. The motion made by my counsel on Monday, was now (according to the rule of court) argued on both sides; and after much plead-

* This was most probably Charles, second son of the Earl of Burlington, and afterwards Earl of Clifford. If so, it must have been his second marriage, to the Lady Arethusa, daughter of George, Earl of Berkeley.

ing, or rather wrangling, the rule of court was, that the Queen's counsel should produce precedents to-morrow se'nnight to show what the practice of the court had been in the Queen's case; and in the mean time all things to stand as they are. In the afternoon I visited Mr. Boyle and his lady, at my Lady Northampton's.

Jan. 28. Saturday. I was at the King's levee: I intended to have spoken with him, but could not get an opportunity.

Jan. 29. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh, Lady Thanet, ————, and Lord and Lady Burlington.

Jan. 30. Monday. I went to church, being the anniversary for the murder of King Charles I. After sermon I went to see Sir Thomas,* who is not very well. He told me Lord Halifax had been this morning with him; that they had much discourse about my affairs, but he could not possess him to my advantage; though his Lordship made many fine compliments of kindness to me. Dr. Tennison supped with us.

Jan. 31. Tuesday. I was at the King's levee: where I heard an account given to his Majesty of a most barbarous murder; that a dead body was found last night upon a dunghill in Parker's-lane, the head, arms, and legs, being all cut off. When the King was dressed, I desired to speak with him: he took me into the inner-room. I gave him an account of my affairs with the Queen-dowager; that Mr. Solicitor-general was of my council, and had taken several fees of me; that he now told me he was forbid to appear any more for me. The King said it was not well taken, that any of his counsel should plead against the Queen-dowager, and he would not disoblige her in such a thing as that: but he said he wondered extremely the Queen would sue me for such a kind of debt; which he thought would not be for her honour, when it came to be laid open in court; that he had told my Lord Feversham his mind upon it, and would speak to the Queen herself, if it came in his way. The King then asked me if I knew the Queen-dowager was going into Portugal? I said, "No truly, this was the first word I heard of it:" his Majesty then said she had sent to him yesterday by his own confessor, Father Warner, to acquaint him that she intended to go into her own country; that she had acquainted her brother with it, and that an ambassador would speedily come for her. The King seemed much dissatisfied that the Queen

* Sir Thomas Clarges.

should send to the King of Portugal, before she had communicated her resolution to himself: he said he deserved to be better treated by her. It must indeed be confessed that the King has been extremely kind to her, and used her with the same respect as when the late King was living: but he said he would go to her this afternoon; that he had done it yesterday, but that he never used to go abroad on that day; and he bid me not speak of what he had told me, till I heard it from others. I went from the bed-chamber to my brother's, and as I was going over the Privy Garden, I met the French ambassador coming from my Lord Sunderland's: he fell to talking with me of the Queen-dowager's going into Portugal, blamed her extremely for it, and spake very slightingly of her; and would have me believe it was because she was (as he called it) so ungrateful to me. I endeavoured to justify her Majesty in all that he had been saying; and, God knows, I shall always be troubled to hear her disrespectfully spoken of, upon what account soever. In the afternoon I had a meeting with my counsel.

FEBRUARY 1. Wednesday. I stirred not abroad.

Feb. 2. Thursday. I went to church. I dined with Sir Stephen Fox.

Feb. 3. Friday. I was at the King's levee: he had an account brought him, that the cruel murder (mentioned on Tuesday last) was discovered; that it was a French midwife who had killed her husband; and that the woman was taken. Finding my Lord Godolphin in the bed-chamber, I desired him to acquaint the Queen, that in the cause between the Queen-dowager and me, I did not at all dispute the Queen's privileges or prerogatives; for I have been told that it had been so represented to her Majesty, and that was the occasion Mr. Solicitor-general was forbid to be of council with me: my Lord seemed to have a just apprehension of the case, and said he would do me right to the Queen.

Feb. 4. Saturday. My cause came on in the Exchequer. The Queen's counsel produced several precedents; but none in point. After near two hours wrangling between the counsel, the rule of court was, that the precedents brought by the Queen's counsel should be showed to mine, and that we should be heard upon them this day se'nnight. The court declared, that the account declared by the Queen's counsel was no record; and that I ought to be at liberty to be heard to it, and to except against it. Lord Feversham, Mr. Thynne, and Mr. Thornhill, were present in court. In the afternoon I went to my Lord Chancellor's; but the answer was, he was asleep, and not to be spoken with. He had been in the Chancery in the morning for a little while;

but he is much indisposed in his health. In the evening Sir Richard Belling and his lady were to see me. I had forborn going to Somerset-house for some time, for fear of offending the Queen, while my suit was depending.

Feb. 5. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church.

Feb. 6. Monday. The anniversary for the King's coming to the crown. I went to church, which was extremely empty: no more people than ordinarily at prayers upon a week day.

Feb. 7. Tuesday. I dined at Lambeth. When I came home, I found Sir Stephen Fox had been at my house, and, missing me, left a note; that this morning Mr. North, the Queen-consort's Attorney-general, had given a paper in writing to the Lords of the Treasury, showing that the suit in the Exchequer, between the Queen-dowager and me, doth concern the Queen, his mistress; and that thereupon the Attorney and Solicitor-general were appointed to attend the King at the Treasury-chamber at six this evening. I went presently to my brother, who procured me a sight of Mr. North's paper. I took a copy of it, and carried it to my counsel; who were all of opinion that it was a superabundant act of officiousness in Mr. North to value himself, and that there was nothing in it. In the evening I went myself to the Treasury-chamber. I desired Sir Stephen Fox that I might be called in when the King's counsel were there: he moved it; but it would not be granted. When Mr. Solicitor came out, he told me the attorney and he were directed to take care that the King's prerogative might not be prejudiced in the suit between the Queen-dowager and me. Quickly after Mr. Guy came out, and said, the King bid him tell me, I need not attend any longer: a certain sign Sir Stephen Fox had moved for my being called in; and so I went my ways. I believe such a proceeding was never known: but I am thought to be in disgrace, and am to be ruined by a high hand. God's will be done.

Feb. 8. Wednesday. I was at the King's levee. I spoke to him about what had passed last night at the Treasury-chamber. He said, he was ashamed at the Queen-dowager's prosecuting me in this manner; that he had told my Lord Feversham as much; and he was sure the Queen knew his mind: but, he said, he must not suffer his prerogative to be invaded. I besought his Majesty to consider, that it was the Queen-dowager sued me, and not I her; that I had made all the applications I could to her, by myself, by petition, and by my friends; but all to no purpose; that I hoped his Majesty would not be angry with me for defending myself; that, if he had pleased to hear

me upon Mr. North's paper, he would have found his prerogative not at all concerned; that my counsel had always declared in court, that the Queen-dowager had the same prerogative with his Majesty; but what was pretended to in this suit, was more than his Majesty claimed. The King grew uneasy, said he was sorry for me; that all this was matter of law, which he understood not; and that he had only directed his counsel to take care of his prerogative. I then told the King, I would submit the matter to him; I would do whatever he would have me in it. To which he answered, he could not meddle; the Queen-dowager was a hard woman to have to do with, and she knew his mind in this matter already.

Feb. 9. Thursday. In the afternoon I had a counsel at Sir Cres. Levins's chamber: my brother was so kind as to go with me thither. My counsel were all of opinion that I had a very good cause.

Feb. 10. Friday. In the afternoon I went to the Temple to see my counsel for to-morrow. I went to Sir Robert Sawyer about my Wapping affair: as I was coming away from him, he told me he was sorry for this suit between the Queen-dowager and me; that he wondered I did not make application to her Majesty; for, if I had done so, Mr. Hall told him, she was well disposed to be kind to me. I assured him Mr. Hall did me great wrong in giving him those suggestions; for, upon my word, nothing had been omitted that was possible for me to do, by myself or friends, towards the Queen; that, as she had been my mistress, so I should never fail in my duty to her, whatever became of me. He replied, he was sorry to see so great a debt upon me. I told him, that I had paid a considerable sum ever since the *scire facias* was issued; and that, if my cravings were allowed me, (which were no more than what had been allowed to all my predecessors,) nothing would be due from me. "My Lord," says he, "all accustomed fees are known; and the Queen's board must allow them." "That is my grief," said I, "that the Council refused to hear me upon my patent; and told me plainly, that the Queen would not allow my cravings, though they knew the most of what I demanded had been always allowed to my predecessors. And, if he and others learned in the law, who are of the Queen's Counsel, had been present at the declaring my account, I am confident things had never come to this pass." "Truly, my Lord," says he, "I should never have consented, that process should go out for an *ipsum* upon an accountant, till all just and reasonable allowances had been first made him." "That was the method observed," said I, "in the stating Mr. Hervey's account, even after his death." "And that,"

said he, "is the just and plain method." By this I think it is clear that those who manage the suit on the Queen's part do not tell her lawyers the whole truth of the case. Le Père Couplet* supped with me: he is a man of very good conversation. After supper we had tea; which he said was really as good as any he had drank in China: the Chinese, who came over with him, and Mr. Fraser supped likewise with us.

Feb. 11. Saturday. I went to Westminster: when the Court of Exchequer was sitting: the Barons said the copies of the precedents, which had been produced, were not brought to them; and therefore they were not ready to give their opinions. Mr. Attorney-general informed the court, that he was commanded by the King to take particular care of his Majesty's prerogative, and of that of the Queen-consort: at which the Barons seemed not pleased, saying, such an admonition was not needful in that court. After some reflections made, both by the court and my counsel, upon that Mr. Attorney had said, the court appointed to hear the whole cause upon Tuesday se'nnight, at the setting down of causes after term.

Feb. 12. Sunday. I went to the communion at St. James's-church.

Feb. 13. Monday. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me: I told him all that passed on Saturday in the Exchequer.

Feb. 14. Tuesday. I was at the King's levee; where I met my brother. We went to his lodgings. He told me he had waited on the Queen-dowager yesterday; that he had spoken to her on my behalf as earnestly as was possible, putting her in mind of past services, both by my father and by myself: but she was very reserved, and only replied that the business was in the course of the law, and she hoped the judges would do her justice. Lords Halifax and Feversham were with the Queen when my brother came into the room: the latter told my brother, that Lord Halifax had assured the Queen that the cause would go for her; and then it would be the more generous if she remitted my cravings; but it would by no means be fit for her (now the King had appeared in the cause,) to do any thing in it, but let it take its course.

* The Père Couplet, sometimes erroneously called "the converted Chinese," was a Jesuit who had been long a missionary in China; there is a portrait of him at Windsor, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and esteemed one of his best works; from this picture Faber engraved a Mezzotinto print. In 1693, Couplet again embarked with the intention of proceeding to join the missions in China, but died on his passage. He composed several works in the Chinese language, and many in Latin, among which one of the most curious is, "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, sive Scientia Sinica Latine Exposita:" it contains a compendium of the theology and fabulous history of the Chinese.

Strange! that my Lord Halifax should make the Queen believe that the cause was so clear on her side, when it was very plain that her own counsel were not pleased with what was done; and I will appeal to any who were present, whether the countenance of the court seemed not more favourable to me than otherwise. What stratagems are these to oppress a poor man! First, the King must be prevailed upon to direct his learned counsel to recommend the care of his prerogative to the court; and then the Queen must be told, that, now the King had appeared in the cause, it would not be fit for her to show me any favour till the law had its course; assuring her at the same time, that the cause would certainly go for her. God knows! I am only defending myself all this time, that I may not be forced to refund those just fees and allowances which my predecessors always enjoyed. A good recompence for above three and twenty years faithful service; performed at great expenses, and, without vanity be it spoken, with some considerable hazards. But God's will be done.

Feb. 15. Wednesday. I dined at Lord Montrath's. In the afternoon I went to the Temple to confer with my counsel. I had an account by a friend, that yesterday, some company being at Mr. Roper's chamber, and discoursing of the suit between the Queen-dowager and me, a person of quality said that I owed the Queen 31,000*l.* I think I have reason to press that my whole accounts may be laid open, that the world may know this story to be an abominable falsehood, which has been industriously spread abroad to my unspeakable prejudice. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Feb. 16. Thursday. I visited Dr. Tennison,* Lady Ranelagh, Mr. Robert Boyle,† and Lady Thanet.

Feb. 17. Friday. In the morning I waited on the Princess. I went to take the air in the Hyde-park. Lady Thanet and my brother supped with us.

Feb. 18. Saturday. I dined at my brother's. In the afternoon I went to my counsel, to retain them for Tuesday.

Feb. 19. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. In the afternoon I visited at Burlington-house.

Feb. 20. Monday. I dined at Lambeth. The Bishop of Chester‡ was

* Dr. Thomas Tennison, who succeeded Tillotson in the see of Canterbury, having been previously vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and Bishop of London.

† The eminent philosopher of that name, with whom Lord Clarendon was in habits of strict intimacy, Lord Rochester having married his niece.

‡ Dr. Thomas Cartwright.

there; which put the company a little out of humour, nobody caring to talk before him.

Feb. 21. Tuesday. In the morning my cause was heard at Serjeants'-inn, in Chancery-lane; but we were yet no farther than the validity of the writ. It was strongly argued on both sides: at last the court declared, that in regard it was doubtful, whether the *scire facias* was well grounded, therefore they would not quash it upon an interlocutory motion; but ordered me to plead or demur, as I should be advised, the first day of the next term.

Feb. 22. Wednesday. In the morning a motion was made at Serjeants'-inn, on the Queen's behalf, that a mistake might be amended in the *scire facias;* which Sir Francis Winnington, being in court upon other affairs, opposed on my behalf; and my counsel were directed to show cause to-morrow, why it should not be done. The mistake is, that, in the latter part of the writ, the words "four thousand" were omitted, though they were in the first part of the writ.

Feb. 23. Thursday. My counsel showed cause why the *scire facias* should not be amended; but the court overruled us, saying, it was but a literal mistake: and so it was ordered to be amended.

Feb. 24. Friday. In the afternoon I visited the Duchess of Monmouth; who kept home upon the account of her mother's death.

Feb. 25. Saturday. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Feb. 26. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church. Mr. Culliford dined with me.

Feb. 27. Monday. I was at the King's levee: I waited on the Princess. I dined with Sir Richard Belling. In the afternoon I visited at Burlington-house, and Lady Thanet.

Feb. 28. Tuesday. I stirred not out.

Feb. 29. Ash-Wednesday. I went to St. James's-church. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

March 1. Thursday. In the afternoon I christened Captain St. Lo's son: his wife's mother, the Widow Chiffinch, and Mr. William Chiffinch, were my partners. The child's name was John.

March 2. Friday. In the morning I went to see my Lord Preston; but found him not.

March 3. Saturday. I stirred not abroad.

March 4. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church. In the afternoon I went to my brother's, by appointment, to meet Mr. R. Graham, to discourse

about going to my Lord Chancellor's, to see if I could engage him in some concerns, wherein I had need of some countenance from the King. Mr. Graham told me he had already prepared my Lord Chancellor; that my Lord professed great readiness to serve me, and desired I would dine with him on Wednesday next; that he should then be at leisure, and would be alone.

March 5. Monday. I was not very well. I stirred not abroad.

March 6. Tuesday. In the morning Lord Preston was to see me. He spoke much to me of my affair with the Queen-dowager, and wished I would do something towards accommodating it. I asked him what he meant; that, of all men living, I did not expect any discourse of that kind from his Lordship; that he knew very well, upon his persuasion and assurance that all my accounts should be settled to my advantage, I had paid in all that was justly remaining in my hands; which I might have kept till my cravings had been allowed me. I further told him, that very lately Mr. Mawson, the goldsmith, and Mr. Marryott, had told Sir Paul Rycaut, that Mr. Hall had bought my debt of the Queen: that therefore, and in regard of the false reports of the vast sum I owed the Queen, I had reason to press the laying open the whole cause.

March 7. Wednesday. I was let blood, and not being very well, I went to Mr. Graham to excuse my not being at the Lord Chancellor's according to the appointment.

March 8. Thursday. In the afternoon I waited on the Queen, upon an intimation given me that she wondered she had not seen me a great while, for I had not been with her in some months. Her Majesty was very gracious to me, and asked me why I did not come more to Court? I told her I did sometimes wait on the King at his levee, but having nothing to do at Court, I thought it not needful to be as often there as I had been formerly. She said I was to blame, that she knew the King would be kind to me, and that she would put him in mind of me, and said she expected to see me often. She then asked me if my pension were well paid? I told her yes. The King then came into the room from hunting, and so I came away. I went with my Lady Thanet to supper at Madam de Gouverné's.

March 9. Friday. I was at the King's levee. I afterwards waited on the Princess.

March 10. Saturday. I took physic. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

March 11. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church. Afterwards I went

to see my brother and the children. In the evening Mr. Keightley arrived from Ireland: he told me he had brought a recommendation from Lord Tyrconnel to have the first commissioner's place in the revenue which shall become void.

March 12. Monday.
March 13. Tuesday. } These two days I stirred not abroad.

March 14. Wednesday. I waited on the Princess. I dined with Sir Richard Belling.

March 15. Thursday. I had an account that Father Peter Walsh* died to-day; that he had been ill four or five days; that he had been reconciled on Tuesday last: but I am told he would not retract any thing he had written. Some of his order seized his books and papers as soon as he was dead. In the afternoon I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury.

March 16. Friday. I went to see Sir Robert Clayton. In the afternoon my wife and I went to Fulham to see the Bishop of London.†

March 17. Saturday. I dined at Whitehall with Mr. Graham. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

March 18. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

March 19. Monday. The Bishop of Ely and I dined at my brother's. In the afternoon I went to see my Lady Tipping, who is in town about her son's business: she told me she had offered Mr. Brent 200*l.* to get a *noli prosequi.*

March 20. Tuesday. I supped at my Lady Thanet's with Madam de Gouverné.

March 21. Wednesday. I went with Monsieur de la Bastide to dinner to my Lord Falconberg's at Chiswick.

* "Peter Walsh [says Burnet] was the honestest and learnedst man I ever knew among them. [*i. e.* the Papists]. He was of Irish extraction, and of the Franciscan order: and was indeed, in all points of controversy, almost wholly Protestant; but he had senses of his own, by which he excused his adhering to the Church of Rome; and maintained that with these he could continue in the communion of that Church without sin: he said he was sure he did some good by staying still on that side, but that he could do none at all if he should come over. He thought no man ought to forsake that religion in which he was born and bred, unless he was clearly convinced that he must certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honest and an able man, much practised in intrigues, and knew well the methods of Jesuits and other missionaries."

† Dr. Henry Compton.

March 22. Thursday. I stirred not from home.

March 23. Friday. I went to Cornbury. My brother, Mr. H. Boyle, and Mr. Gwyn went with me: we baited at Wycomb, and lay at Tetsworth.

March 24. Saturday. We dined at Oxford: we went abroad with Mr. Boyle to show him the theatre, &c. I found the Bishop of St. Asaph* at the press: he is busy upon his chronology. The Bishop of Man† came to us at the Angel: his wife was brought to bed of a son, her first child. Bishop Parker was to be buried to-night. We came to Cornbury about five in the evening.

March 25. Sunday. In the morning we went to Charlbury Church. In the afternoon Sir Robert Jenkinson and Mr. Mayott came to see us.

March 26. Monday. Mr. London came to me.

March 27. Tuesday. Mr. Mayott and Mr. Clare dined with us.

March 28. Wednesday. In the morning we rode into the forest. Sir Robert Jenkinson, Mr. Jordan, and Mr. Trumbull, of Witney, dined with us. In the evening we went to see my Lady Jenkinson.

March 29. Thursday. We went to Langley.

March 30. Friday. The Bishop of Man dined with us.

March 31. Saturday. Mr. Dormer, Mr. Mildway, and Mr. Cary dined with us. In the afternoon Sir Henry Brown was to see us; he is High-sheriff of the county.

April 1. Sunday. Captain John Lloyd, Thomas Lloyd, and Captain Barlow dined with us. They are officers in the Earl of Peterborough's regiment; they are quartered at Oxford.

April 2. Monday. In the morning I left Cornbury. My brother and his company set out at the same time for Warwickshire, with an intention to be at Cornbury again by the end of the week. I dined at Oxford with the Bishop of Man. Mr. Dodwell was this morning chosen to Mr. Cambden's lecture, void by the death of Dr. Lamphyre, who died on Friday last. I lay at Wycomb: the Bishop of St. Asaph went up with me.

April 3. Tuesday. We got to London about four in the afternoon. I thank God I found my wife well. The Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, St. Asaph, and Dr. Tennison supped with us.

April 4. Wednesday. I was at the King's levee. His Majesty spoke much of an answer Dr. Burnet had written to a pamphlet called "Parlia-

* Dr. Lloyd. † Dr. Baptist Living.

mentum Pacificum." He asked me if I had read it? I said no, I had not seen it. Upon which the King said, the Doctor was very angry and used him, in his usual manner, with many rude and insolent expressions: his Majesty added, he had not read the pamphlet which the Doctor pretended to answer, but had heard it was a good thing. Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven being there, said he had read it, and did not remember any thing in it, which any one could except against. I supped at my Lady Thanet's, where was a very great entertainment, for my Lord Clifford and his lady, he having newly brought her to town.

April 5. Thursday. Sir Thomas Clarges went with me to visit Lord Halifax; this being the first time I had visited him. I thought he had not used me well in my affair with the Queen-dowager; but being told that he still made professions of service to me, and considering that the term draws near, I thought it not amiss to see what reviving our former acquaintance might do: there passed nothing but common discourses between us. I dined with Sir Richard Belling.

April 6. Friday. I was at the King's levee; and presented the Bishop of St. Asaph to kiss his hand. Sir Thomas Clarges and Dr. Horneck supped with me.

April 7. Saturday. I waited on the Princess: I visited Lady Ranelagh, and Lady Thanet.

April 8. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. The Bishop of Man dined with me: he had preached at Court for the Archbishop of Canterbury.

April 9. Monday. I stayed all day at home.

April 10. Tuesday. In the morning word was brought me, that the Princess was ill: I went immediately to the Cockpit. She was very cheerful, and said, she was pretty well; but the women were apprehensive she would miscarry.

April 11. Wednesday. The Princess was pretty well, and had a very good night: I dined at Monsieur de la Bastide's.

April 12. Thursday. The Princess had been ill again in the night; and my wife brought me home word, she feared she would miscarry.

April 13. Good-Friday. I went to St. James's-church, and afterwards to the Cockpit; where I found the Princess had been ill again in the night: Dr. Chamberlain had been sent for; and it was the general apprehension, she would miscarry.

April 14. Saturday. The Princess continued much as she was yesterday.

April 15. Easter-day. I went to the communion at St. James's-church: the Princess had been much indisposed in the night.

April 16. Monday. As soon as I was up, I had word brought me, that the Princess had miscarried about four in the morning. I made haste to the Cockpit: I found the King with her. The Princess told me, she was as well as could be expected: the rumour among the women was, that she had only had a false conception. The Queen is very much out of order to-day; insomuch, that it was feared she would miscarry. The Queen-dowager was likewise indisposed, and was let blood. I dined at Lambeth.

April 17. Tuesday. My wife and I went to Swallowfield:* Mr. Keightley went with us. We found my brother, Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Gwyn come in just before us.

April 18. Wednesday. Mr. Gwyn went away.

April 19. Thursday. Captain Edward St. Lo dined with us: he came from his quarters at Wokingham. In the afternoon we went to see Mr. Parry; but found him not at home: however we went in, and took a view of his new house.

April 20. Friday. In the morning my brother and Mr. Boyle went to London. Mr. Parry dined with me. In the evening I rode out to take the air; and met my son and Mr. Young coming from Sarum.

April 21. Saturday. I went to see the Bishop of Winchester† at Farnham, and dined with him. Mr. Keightley, Mr. Parry, and Mr. Young, went with me.

April 22. Sunday. Dr. Hungerford and Mr. Pocock dined with me.

April 23. Monday. In the evening the corporation of Reading sent one of their Serjeants to know when they might wait on me. This was the first civility they had shown me since the new regulation; and I do not much care to have to do with them, all the honest men being turned out:‡ so I sent

* Swallowfield is about six miles to the south-east of Reading, in Berkshire. Lord Clarendon possessed it in the right of his wife, who was the widow of Sir William Backhouse, whose family had been for some time seated here. It is a place which cannot be visited without interest:—the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, after his retirement from public life, resided for some time at this seat of his son, and here was written a great part of the History of the Rebellion. Some account of it will be found in a note at p. 238, vol. i.

† Dr. Peter Mews.

‡ I know not what new regulation it may be to which Lord Clarendon alludes, that could have changed the dispositions of the men of Reading so entirely, for they appear to have been formerly very much at his service. See a letter to his brother in another part of this Work, in which they are mentioned as desiring him to name their representative, &c.

them word, I was going out of the country; and, when I returned, I would let them know it.

April 24. Tuesday. Mr. Bromstead and his wife dined with us.

April 25. Wednesday. We went to London. As soon as I arrived, Heyton told me the Princess was extremely ill; upon which I went to the Cockpit; and found she had had a fit of the colic, and was pretty well again. The two Irish Judges, Nugent and Rice, began their journey to-day for Ireland, with very little satisfaction; for I am told, the King did not approve the proposals they brought him for calling a parliament.

April 26. Thursday. In the afternoon I visited Lord Halifax; but he was not at home.

April 27. Friday. Sir Thomas Clarges, and Dr. Tennison dined with us.

April 28. Saturday. I dined at Lambeth. In the afternoon I went again to visit Lord Halifax: Sir Paul Rycaut went with me. We had much discourse about my affair with the Queen-dowager; but all came to no more than fair promises, to do me all the service in his power: upon which Sir Paul Rycaut told me, as we came away together, that he was now convinced Lord Halifax did not intend me any kindness. For my own part, I told him I was not deceived.

April 29. Sunday. I went to St. James's-church. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh and Mr. Boyle.

April 30. Monday. I dined at my Lord Chancellor's: Mr. Graham went with me. My Lord was extraordinary civil to me; and promised to take all opportunities to serve me: he desired I would see him sometimes.

May 1. Tuesday. I went to St. James's-church. In the afternoon I was with my counsel to retain them for to-morrow.

May 2. Wednesday. The term began. Sir Francis Winnington moved in the Exchequer to have *oyer* of my account; in which nothing was done, the Queen's Counsel not being there.

May 3. Thursday. Dr. Tennison dined with us.

May 4. Friday. It was ordered at Council, that the declaration for indulgence should be read in all churches throughout the kingdom.

May 5. Saturday. In the evening Colonel Fairfax was with me, being just arrived out of Ireland. He told me he had got something for his employment, and was turned farmer.

May 6. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. Afterwards I waited on the Princess.

May 7. Monday. I dined at Lambeth. Sir Charles Cotterell, and Dr. Tennison were with me.

May 8. Tuesday. I went to Westminster to attend a motion, the Queen dowager's counsel had given notice should be made against an order formerly granted upon my motion, for bringing my account into court; but it was put off till to-morrow. The King went to Clatham. In the afternoon I waited on the Queen, who was very gracious. She told me she was glad to see me; and asked me, if the King had had no discourse with me concerning his affairs? I told her no: she said she wondered at it, for she was sure he intended it. She then asked me what became of my suit with the Queen dowager? Upon which I gave her a short account of the state of it; and did assure her Majesty, it did no way concern her prerogative; with which she seemed to be well satisfied.

May 9. Wednesday. The Queen-dowager's motion was again put off, Baron Powell not being well. And my Lord Chief Baron said, this was a cause of great weight; and therefore it was fit to have a full court: and so it was left *sine die.* In the evening the Queen was indisposed; upon which the King was sent for.

May 10. Thursday. In the morning the King returned from Clatham: the Queen continued much out of order. Dr. Horneck dined with me.

May 11. Friday. The Queen was very well, and had a very good night. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

May 12. Saturday. I dined at Lambeth; where likewise dined the Bishops of London, Ely, and Peterborough, Chester and St. David's.* The two last discomposed the company, nobody caring to speak before them. Quickly after dinner they went away. Then the archbishop and the rest took into consideration the reading of the declaration in the churches, according to the order of council: and, after full deliberation, it was resolved not to do it. Dr. Tennison was present at all the debate. The resolution was, to petition the King in the matter; but first to get as many bishops to town as were within reach: and, in order thereunto, that the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Gloucester, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol and Chichester should be written to, to come to town.

* See p. 163–4; where Lord Clarendon has made the same remark in respect to the Bishop of Chester (Cartwright.) The Bishop of St. David's at this time was Dr. Thomas Watson, who had been recently raised to the bench. He was at a subsequent period (1699) deprived for simony and other crimes.

May 13. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. In the afternoon I visited Lord Halifax and Lady Ranelagh, and at Burlington-house.

May 14. Monday. I waited on the Princess.

May 15. Tuesday.

May 16. Wednesday. The Bishop of St. Asaph came to town before noon: he alighted at my house and dined with me. I sent for the Bishop of Ely, who quickly came. In the afternoon they two went to Lambeth: in the evening they came back again; for the Bishop of St. Asaph lay at my house. They told me most of the city clergy had resolved not to read the declaration. The Bishop of Winton sent his excuse to the archbishop, that he could not come to town, being indisposed in his health.*

May 17. Thursday. The Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Patrick dined with us: in the afternoon they went to Lambeth. In the evening the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Bristol came to town. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with us.

May 18. Friday. I was at the King's levee. I brought Monsieur Alix to him; who presented his Majesty with a book, which he had dedicated to him: the King received him very graciously. I told the King my Lord Primate of Ireland was returning into that kingdom, and desired to have the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand: the King appointed me to bring him at four o'clock on Monday in the afternoon to Mr. Chiffinch's lodgings, in regard of the Primate's infirmities. In the evening the Bishops, six in number, presented a petition to the King, praying that his Majesty would recall his proclamation for reading the proclamation of indulgence in the churches. It was written with the archbishop's own hand, and signed by himself and the other six. The King took them into the room within the bed-chamber: when he had read the petition, he was angry, and said, he did not expect such a petition from them.† This the Bishop of St. Asaph told me when he came home.

May 19. Saturday. In the morning all the judges were sent for to Whitehall: the report was that it was about the Bishops' petition. In the afternoon I had a meeting with my counsel.

May 20. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church: in the evening I had an

* The letter of the Bishop (Dr. Mews) may be seen in "Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa," vol. ii. p. 330.

† See the petition, and minutes of what passed at the interview with the King, printed from authentic copies among Archbishop Sancroft's papers, in the Appendix.

account that the declaration was read only in four churches in the city and liberties. Neither Stillingfleet nor Tillotson were at their churches; but, as I am told, went yesterday to their country houses. So overwise are some sort of men.

May 21. Monday. The King went a hunting; so my Lord Primate could not wait on him. In the morning Mr. Pen was with me, the first time I had seen him for a long time: he professed great kindness to me. In the afternoon I went to see my counsel for to-morrow.

May 22. Tuesday. In the morning I had a motion in the Exchequer, for time to put in my plea or demurrer, as I should be advised. And the court granted me time to the first day of the next term.

May 23. Wednesday. In the morning I was with my Lord Chancellor about the University business, relating to their printers. My Lord told me the King had been informed that I was at Lambeth at the consultation among the bishops. In the afternoon I was at the Charter-house, at a committee of the governors.

May 24. Thursday. My brother dined with us, and returned again to New-Park. Sir Edward Villiers was to see me: he came out of Holland the day before yesterday. He told me the Princess had commanded him to see me from her. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with us.

May 25. Friday. Sir Richard Bellings told me, that last night the Queen-dowager had declared she would not go into Portugal; at which the whole family were overjoyed. The Bishop of St. Asaph went out of town. In the afternoon I went with the Vice-chancellor of Oxford to my Lord Chancellor, about the University printers; who were much molested by Hills and the London printers.

May 26. Saturday. I was at the King's levee. The Bishop of Ely, my wife, and I dined with my brother at New-Park.

May 27. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh.

May 28. Monday. My son went to Bath to wait on the Prince. In the afternoon the Bishop of Ely was with me: he told me that my Lord Sunderland had sent a summons under his hand and seal to the Archbishop, requiring him and the rest of the bishops, who had signed the petition, to appear before the King in council on the 8th of June, to answer to such matters of misdemeanours as shall be then objected against them. I visited the Duchess of Monmouth, she being newly come to town: she owned that she had been

married three weeks to Lord Cornwallis, and that she went into the country to avoid the clutter usual upon those occasions. In the evening I went with Dr. Tennison to take the air in Chelsea-garden.

May 29. Tuesday.

May 30. Wednesday. I was at the King's levee. I visited Lord Godolphin, upon Mr. Keightley's score; towards whom he made very kind professions, and promised me that he and Lord Dover would take the first opportunity to move the King, that he might be one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, which, he doubted not, would succeed. I was told there would be quickly some alterations in that commission. In the afternoon I carried my Lord Primate of Ireland to the King, at Mr. Chiffinch's: his Majesty was very gracious to him; but spoke only of general things, and not one word of business.

May 31. Thursday. A servant of my son's came post to town with an account that he was fallen ill at Marlborough of a violent fever. I sent a coach immediately to bring him to town, if it were convenient, together with directions and remedies from Dr. Lower and Dr. Goodale.

June 1. Friday. Sir Thomas Clarges and Dr. Horneck supped with me.

June 2. Saturday. I am now this day complete fifty years of age, which I have passed in as constant a course of good health as most men. God make me thankful for it, and grant, that, laying aside the follies and ambition of this deceitful world (of which I have been too fond) I may spend the rest of my days so as to fit me for a better world; and this I beg for Jesus Christ's sake, my blessed Saviour, who died for me, a most miserable sinner. Amen. Amen.

June 3. Whit-Sunday. I received the Communion at St. James's-church.

June 4. Monday. In the evening I went with my wife into Chelsea-garden.

June 5. Tuesday. My wife and I dined with Sir St. John Brodrick at Wandsworth. Lady Orrery and Mr. Keightley went with us. In the evening the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells were with me: I advised them to consult with the best lawyers, how to behave themselves at the Council-board; that the time drew near; and that they should not come unprepared to answer any question that might be asked them upon their petition.

June 6. Wednesday. I was at the King's levee. Sir Charles Porter and Colonel Fairfax dined with me. I visited the Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Thanet, and Lady Ranelagh. In the evening the Bishops of Ely, Bath and

Wells, Peterborough, and St. Asaph (the last was just come to town) were with me, and desired to borrow some Parliament Journals; which, they thought, might be useful to them, and which I lent them. I had letters from my son, that he was pretty well recovered, and meant to go on his journey to the Bath.

June 7. Thursday. In the evening the Bishops were with me, and told me they had taken advice with the best counsel, and hoped they should have good success to-morrow. I asked them if they had well considered what to do, or say, in case they should be required to find bail for their further appearance, (for such a thing was whispered,) and I found they had not; whereupon I earnestly pressed them to go this very evening, and advise therein with Sir Robert Sawyer, who could best instruct them what power the Council-board now had; and so they left me, resolving to go presently to him.

June 8. Friday. Having heard that Mr. Sheridan's place in the Commission of the Revenue of Ireland would be speedily filled up, I went to my Lord Godolphin about Mr. Keightley: he said, the King had spoken to him of that affair but yesterday, and told him he was engaged to give Sheridan's place to another; but would talk with him about Mr. Keightley within two or three days. My Lord Godolphin would have me believe he did not know to whom the King was engaged. I now begin to believe what I had been told before, that Keightley should never have any thing, because he had changed his religion. In the afternoon the Archbishop and the rest appeared at Council. When they were first called in the petition was shown them, and they were asked if they owned that petition? The Archbishop answered, that the King very well knew what petition was delivered to him, and that it could not be expected they should accuse themselves: upon which they were ordered to withdraw. After a little debate they were called in, and bid withdraw again twice or thrice. What past at each time I cannot yet particularly learn. But at last they were required to enter into recognizances to appear in the Court of King's Bench the first day of next term, which they refused to do; and thereupon were committed to the Tower;* and the Attorney-general was ordered to prefer an information against them. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

June 9. Saturday. Multitudes of people went to the Tower to the bishops.

* See the account of this affair as given from Archbishop Sancroft's papers in the Appendix.

June 10. Trinity-Sunday. In the morning I was at St. James's Church, where I observed great whispering, but could not learn what the matter was. As I was going home, my page told me the Queen was brought to bed of a son: I sent presently to St. James's (whither the Court removed but the last night,) and word was brought me it was true that her Majesty was delivered about ten this morning. As soon as I had dined I went to Court, and found the King shaving: I kissed his hand, and wished him joy. He said, the Queen was so quick in her labour, and he had so much company, that he had not time to dress himself till now. He bid me go and see the prince. I went into the room, which had been formerly the Duchess's private bed-chamber, and there my Lady Powis (who was made governess) showed me the Prince; he was asleep in his cradle, and was a very fine child to look upon. I visited the Bishops in the Tower, with whom was a vast concourse of people going in and out.

June 11. Monday. In the morning there was a strong rumour that the young Prince was dead.* He had been ill in the night, and the King was called up; but upon giving him remedies, God be thanked, he grew better.

June 12. Tuesday. In the afternoon I went to the Bishops in the Tower. They told me Lord Halifax had been to see them, and advised them to write every one to three peers to be bail for them when they came to the King's Bench; which, they said, they did not like, and seemed not inclined to do it. I confess I do not understand his Lordship's notions: I am sure, when the reading the declaration was under consideration, and the petition for which

* All manner of idle stories were circulated, and Burnet has not scrupled to record many of them, which were, as Swift remarks, mere coffee-house gossip. Upon this occasion he relates one which may serve as a sample of the rest:—"That night one Hemings, a very worthy man, an apothecary by his trade, who lived in St. Martin's Lane, the very next door to a family of an eminent Papist, (Brown, brother to the Viscount Montacute, lived there,) the wall between his parlour and theirs being so thin that he could easily hear any thing that was said with a loud voice; he (Hemings) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say with a doleful voice, 'The Prince of Wales is dead:' upon which a great many that lived in the house came down stairs very quick. Upon this confusion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain they were in a great consternation. He went with the news the next morning to the Bishops in the Tower. The Countess of Clarendon came thither soon after, and told them she had been at the young Prince's door, but was denied access; she was amazed at it; and asked if they knew her; they said they did; but that the Queen had ordered, that no person whatsoever should be suffered to come in to him. This gave credit to Hemings's story, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept shut and close till another child was found."—*Burnet's History*, vol. i. pp. 752-3.

the Bishops now suffer, he was so very cautious, that he would give no advice at all. I told the Bishops that, in my opinion, the best thing they could do was, without any noise, to send to some of their friends (without regarding whether they were peers or not) to be at Westminster the first day of the Term, in case there should be occasion for them.

June 13. Wednesday. I visited the Duchess of Monmouth, and Lady Ranelagh. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with us.

June 14. Thursday. In the morning I went to see my Lord Chancellor. He discoursed very freely to me concerning the Bishops; said he was much troubled at their prosecution, and made many professions of service for them, which he desired me to let them know. He said the King was once resolved to let the business fall, and not to have proceeded thus against them; that he was grieved to find he had changed his mind; that he knew not how it came pass, but said there was no remedy; some men would hurry the King to his destruction. In the afternoon I went to the Tower, and gave the Bishops an account of all that my Lord Chancellor had said to me.

June 15. Friday. The first day of the term, at the first sitting of the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney-general moved for a *habeas corpus* returnable immediately, to bring the Bishops into court. About half an hour after eleven they came. Both the Hall and Palace-yard were extremely crowded: all the way, as they came from the bridge, where they landed, to the very court, the people made a lane for them, and begged their blessings. When they were in court, the information against them was read. The Bishops' counsel offered several pleas, but they were all overruled, Judge Powell dissenting from his brethren in every point. At last they pleaded the general issue, and so their trials were appointed to be this day fortnight. The court took their own recognizances to appear then; the Archbishop in 200*l.* the rest in 100*l.* each; and so they went home; the people in like manner crowding for their blessings. As I was taking coach in the little Palace-yard, by the House of Lords, I found the Bishop of St. Asaph in the midst of a crowd, the people thinking it a blessing to kiss any of these bishops' hand or garments. I took him into my coach, and carried him home to my house; but was fain to turn up through Tothill-street, and so to go round by the Park, to avoid the throng the other way in the streets; which neither the Bishop nor I cared to be in. The Bishop supped with me; so did Sir Thomas Clarges, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Horneck. In the evening the Prince

and Princess returned from Bath. My son, God be thanked, came home well, but very much fallen away with his late sickness.

June 16. Saturday. I waited on the Prince and Princess, who are very well. She said she found herself much the better for the Bath, and speaks of going speedily to Tunbridge. In the evening some of the Bishops were with me.

June 17. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. This was appointed for a day of thanksgiving for the birth of the Prince of Wales.

June 18. Monday. I waited on the Princess: she desired me to give her an account of the Bishops' affair, which I did.

June 19. Tuesday. The Bishop of Ely and I went together to dinner to my Lord Burlington's, at Chiswick.

June 20. Wednesday. In the afternoon I was at a Committee of the Governors of the Charter-house. As I came home I visited the Bishop of Ely.

June 21. Thursday. I was told that this morning the Chancellor had carried Sir Samuel Astry to the King: it was presently suspected to be about the Bishops' trial, he being the person that is to strike the jury. I waited on the Princess.

June 22. Friday. I stirred not abroad all day.

June 23. Saturday. I was at the King's levee. I moved his Majesty to do something for poor Captain Plunckett. Lord Tyrconnel had used him very hardly (though an Irishman) for no reason, that I could learn, but because the poor man spoke gratefully of me. The King assured me he would take care of him. Robert Barclay* dined with me: he told me that he and Penn* had reconciled Lord Sunderland and Lord Melfort; which he hoped would be the ruin of Father Peters. Monsieur Zulestein arrived from Holland from the Prince of Orange, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh.

June 24. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church.

June 25. Monday. In the evening the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, were with me. They told me their jury was settled this afternoon. I was told Sir Robert Clarke had been very busy at Sir Samuel Astry's in that manner.

June 26. Tuesday. A call of serjeants. I carried Lord Montrath to Lord Godolphin, to bespeak his favour upon a petition relating to his estate

* Robert Barclay and William Penn, the two distinguished Quakers of those names.

in Ireland, which was to come before the Treasury. I dined with Sir Richard Belling. I feed my counsel for to-morrow.

June 27. Wednesday. I went to Westminster, but my cause was put off till Saturday. I visited Monsieur Zulestein. In the afternoon I was with my Lord Chancellor: he talked very freely to me, and with great trouble, upon the Bishops' affair. He seemed very apprehensive that their being brought to a public trial would be of very ill consequence to the King in all his affairs; but he said it would be found that he had done the part of an honest man: "as for the judges," said he, "they are most of them rogues."

June 28. Thursday. The bishops told me they had settled every thing with their counsel for their trial. Lord Dartmouth had been with the Bishop of Ely, to persuade him to make application to the King; which got air, and was like to have been very inconvenient, had not the Bishop been very steady.

June 29. Friday. The Bishops were brought to their trial; which lasted from nine in the morning till past six in the evening. There were five or six and twenty noblemen all the time in court: when the jury withdrew, the court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock. The Bishop of St. Asaph, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Dr. Tennison supped with me. Mr. Blaney was in court to take the trial. My Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were to-day to wait on the Prince of Wales.

June 30. Saturday. Westminster-hall was extremely full again. The jury, (Sir Roger Langley foreman), brought in their verdict, "Not guilty;" upon which there was a most wonderful shout, that one would have thought the Hall had cracked, insomuch that the Court took notice of it. My cause with the Queen Dowager was put off till Tuesday next. In the evening I went to New-Park. I found my brother just arrived from the Bath. In the evening, multitudes of bonfires were made for the Bishops being acquitted.

July 1. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. The Bishop of St. Asaph dined with us. In the afternoon my Lord Abingdon, who came to town upon the Bishops' trial, was to see me: he goes out of town to-morrow.

July 2. Monday.

July 3. Tuesday. I went to Westminster, expecting my cause would have come on; but, after some wrangling between the counsel, the Barons said, they had not been duly attended with the books, and so the cause was

put off till the next term. Sure these delays are no great signs that the matter is so clear on the Queen's side. My brother dined with us: in the afternoon we went together to Lambeth to visit the Archbishop.

July 4. Wednesday.

July 5. Thursday. In the morning I was with my Lord Chancellor: he told me he found the King a little troubled, that the Bishops had been brought to their trial; that he seemed to be in a milder temper than he had been, and he hoped he might be persuaded to take moderate councils. "Now," says my Lord, "honest men, both lords and others, (though the King had used them hardly), should appear often at court; I am sure it would do good." He desired I would come sometimes to him, that by me he might have a correspondence with the Archbishop, which it was yet too soon for him to have openly. In the evening my Lord Morpeth was married to my Lady Anne Capell: there was a great entertainment, and much company, though none but relations.

July 6. Friday. Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls, Colonel Tytus, and Mr. Vane, Sir Henry Vane's son, were sworn of the Privy Council. Good God bless us! what will the world come to?

July 7. Saturday. In the afternoon I visited my Lady Thanet and my Lady Ranelagh.

July 8. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church.

July 9. Monday. In the afternoon I waited on the Queen, the first time I had seen her since she lay in. She was very gracious to me, and asked me why I had not been there before, and why I did not come oftener.

July 10. Tuesday. When I came home from prayers in the morning, my wife told me my son was gone away with Mrs. O'Brian, my Lady Catherine's daughter,* which struck me to the heart. The more I think of it, the more it troubles me. I had been in treaty this last year with my Lady Catherine and Sir Joseph Williamson, for this young lady, at my son's desire, for I had no kind of acquaintance with them; but finding she had no portion, without which I can make no settlements, and that her estate does not come to her part, till the Duke of Richmond's debts are paid,

* Lady Catherine Stewart, sister and heir to Charles Duke of Richmond and Lennox. She was the widow of Henry Lord Ibrackan, eldest son of the Earl of Thomond, and was now married to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State. He was a native of Cumberland, the son of a clergyman, and had previously filled some diplomatic situations abroad.

which are still near 14,000*l.*, I broke very fairly off. It is the most inconvenient match that could have been for me; a young woman oddly bred, no manner of advantage, and an unavoidable charge. Besides, it is a base thing, and unbecoming a man of honour to steal a child from a parent, and what no man would willingly have to be his own case. I thank God I had no hand in it. O Lord! make me able to bear this irrecoverable blow. Good God! that my poor family should be brought into utter misery by him who was the only hopes of raising it. O Lord! my heart is even broke! My brother, whose kindness is never wanting, quickly came to me, but I told him I would not see my son, nor take any notice of the match. He went then to my Lady Catherine, who was full of indignation; as I confess she had reason to be. My wife, who had always been as fond of my son, as if he had been her own, helped him all she could in this match, believing it a convenient and advantageous match for him; but finding I was so much troubled at it, she took a lodging for them in Leicester-fields, whither they came in the evening. It seems they were married at Totteridge. Mrs. Garaway and Mr. Keightley had been assisting in the contrivance, and went away with them, thinking, I verily believe, that they had done well in it.

July 11. Wednesday. Reflecting with myself, that this young man, who I doubted had made himself unhappy, was my son and only child; that I ought to make the best of a bad market, and not to add misery to misery; I yielded to the persuasions of my wife and my brother, and went to see my son and his wife. I dined with them, and took them home to my house in the evening. I endeavoured to wait on my Lady Catherine, but she was not, or would not be at home.

July 12. Thursday. In the afternoon I was with my Lady Catherine, and found Sir Joseph with her. I made my compliments as well as she would give me leave; but she would not hear me say anything with patience, (which I confess I could not blame her for), and so I came away. I desired Sir Joseph to do good offices, and persuade my Lady to see her daughter; but he said, with a wonderful stiffness, that he was the unfittest man in the world to interpose between my Lady and her daughter. I said, I thought quite the contrary, that he was the fittest, and so we parted. They went immediately to Cobham. Monsieur Zulestein was to see me.

July 13. Friday. Sir Thomas Clarges, and Dr. Horneck supped with me.

July 14. Saturday. I visited Sir Richard Belling, and Lady Ranelagh.

July 15. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church.

July 16. Monday. We all dined with my brother at New-Park.

July 17. Tuesday. My Lady Catherine and Sir Joseph Williamson came to town. I went to see them: they were pretty well pacified. In the evening Sir Joseph visited my daughter, and said her mother would quickly see her. We went all to the Duchess of Richmond's to see the fireworks, which were made for the birth of the Prince of Wales. I visited Monsieur Zulestein.

July 18. Wednesday. Sir Joseph Williamson came to my daughter, and carried her to her mother: so, God be thanked! that breach is made up. He afterwards visited my wife and me; and in the evening we went to my Lady Catherine.

July 19. Thursday. Monsieur Zulestein* dined with us. Lady Catherine and Sir Joseph went to Cobham, and invited us thither.

July 20. Friday.

July 21. Saturday. My wife and I, son and daughter, dined at Sion: we went thence to Cobham. Sir Joseph met us two miles from the house: we were made very welcome. It is a noble place.†

July 22. Sunday. We went to Rochester to church, to the cathedral; where, to my admiration, was neither dean, nor so much as one prebend. The same man said both the services, and preached; and before sermon a psalm was sung, as in common parish churches. Shameful!

July 23. Monday. In the afternoon we returned to town; where I met the news, that the Duke of Ormond died on Saturday last at Kingston-hall. I went with my son to the Master in Chancery about his wife's concerns: we supped upon the water.

July 24. Tuesday. The Court removed to Windsor. I dined at Sir H. Capell's, at Kew, with all my family. Lord Worcester went with us. I went with him to solicit the Prebends of Westminster to choose the young

* Zulestein had been previously in England as Envoy from the Prince of Orange, and was consequently well acquainted with the leading men of the nation.

† Cobham-hall, in Kent, to which Lady O'Brian became entitled on the death of her brother, Charles Duke of Richmond. She vested her interest in this manor as well as of the rest of her estates in Sir Joseph Williamson; but the Duke of Richmond dying greatly in debt, Cobham-hall, and the rest of his estates in its vicinity, were sold to pay his debts; but were purchased by Sir Joseph, who resided here till his death, in 1701.

Duke of Ormond their High-steward, in the place of his grandfather. In the evening I had an account from Oxford, that the University had chosen the Duke of Ormond their Chancellor.

July 25. Wednesday. In the afternoon I went with my son to the Master in Chancery.

July 26. Thursday. I was at my Lord Chancellor's in the morning, to attend a motion about my daughter's affairs. My brother went to Windsor with the Duke of Ormond, to present him to the King. At Hounslow my brother met a letter from my Lord Middleton; the substance of which was, to tell him that the King was much displeased at Lord Ormond's being chosen Chancellor of Oxford, and that he would not have him accept of it:* upon which Lord Ormond came back, and my brother went on. I supped at my Lady Thanet's.

July 27. Friday. My brother sent to the Duke of Ormond to make haste to Windsor to wait on the King, who was pleased to desist in the matter of the University. In the afternoon I was at my Lord Chancellor's at a hearing, upon a reference to the petition of Mr. Dockmanique, relating to the New River; but it was put off till another day.

July 28. Saturday. I went to Swallowfield with my family: we dined at Bagshot.

July 29. Sunday. Dr. Hungerford and Mr. Pocock dined with us.

July 30. Monday. A most violent rain for twelve hours without intermission.

July 31. Tuesday. I went to Windsor. I waited on the King and Queen; who, as soon as they had dined, went to Richmond, the Prince not being well: he was settled there for the benefit of the air. I dined with Lord Dartmouth: I went to London in the evening: I supped with my Lady Orrery.

August 1. Wednesday. I went to Mr. Anthony Keck's to meet Mr. Cherry, Darwyn, and Green, about the New River affair; my Lord Chancellor having recommended Mr. Dockmanique's petition, and the whole affair to Mr. Keck and Mr. Whitlock to take it up: in order to which they made a proposal of accommodation, which was embraced by our side. But Green, &c. said nothing could be done without the Governor; and Cherry undertook

* See some letters which passed upon this occasion, printed from Archbishop Sancroft's papers, in the Appendix.

to write to him and the Deputy-governor, and to bring answers from them on Saturday, when we agreed to meet again. I dined with Sir Richard Belling.

Aug. 2. Thursday, I dined at Lambeth. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh. The Prince was extremely ill, and was thought in great danger: he had been hitherto brought up by hand, and now they spoke of giving him a nurse.

Aug. 3. Friday. I supped at Lady Sylvius's.*

Aug. 4. Saturday. I went to Mr. Keck's, whither came only Mr. Whitlock and Cherry; who brought letters from Mr. Neville and Mr. Berners, which signified nothing but delay: at which Mr. Keck was so much dissatisfied that he signed a report to my Lord Chancellor of matter of fact, though Mr. Whitlock refused to join in it. In the afternoon I went to Swallowfield.

Aug. 5. Sunday. I went only to church.

Aug. 6. Monday. My son went to Tunbridge, to the Prince of Denmark, with much persuasion.

Aug. 7. Tuesday.

Aug. 8. Wednesday. I went to London. I was told the Prince had been very ill till the day before yesterday, when a nurse was given him; and, that upon sucking, he visibly mended. I went to my Lord Chancellor's; but he was gone to Dover with Lady Pembroke, and is not expected back till to-morrow night. I supped at my Lady Thanet's.

Aug. 9. Thursday. I dined at Lambeth. Dr. Tennison went with me: Lord Falconberg was there. I supped at Madam de Gouverné's.

Aug. 10. Friday. I gave my Lord Chancellor an account of the proceedings at Mr. Keck's. He said he was sorry it was not composed; but, if I would dine with him at Bulstrode (whither he was just going,) on Monday next, he would get Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Neville thither, and would end it.

Aug. 11. Saturday. I got to Swallowfield before noon. Quickly after me my Lord Montrath and my son came in: he had made but a short stay at Tunbridge. My wife was at Windsor, and brought an account that the Prince was come thither to-day, and extremely mended.

Aug. 12. Sunday.

Aug. 13. Monday. I was at Bulstrode; but none of the parties appeared

* Lady Sylvius was the wife of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who had been Envoy Extraordinary to Denmark. They resided at Deptford, and were in habits of intimacy with Evelyn, by whom they are often mentioned in his Diary.

there, save Mr. Dockmanique. My Lord Chancellor told us, that, since the other gentlemen were not there, he must put it off till we meet at London, and then he would settle all things to our content. Dr. Hickman, and Mr. Slater, a neighbouring gentleman, dined with my Lord too. When I was going away, my Lord Chancellor would needs carry me as far as Dr. Hickman's living: I went in his calash with him. He talked very freely to me of all affairs, called the judges a thousand fools and knaves; that Chief-justice Wright was a beast. He said, the King and Queen were to dine with him on Thursday next; that he had still great hopes the King would be moderate when the Parliament met. When we came to Dr. Hickman's my Lord was inclined to be merry, saying, he had Papists and spies among his own servants, and therefore must be cautious at home.* I stayed about an hour, and then left them, having at least fourteen miles to go.

August 14. Tuesday.

August 15. Wednesday. I removed with my family to Cornbury. We dined at Oxford, at the Angel, none of my friends being in town. Lord Montrath went with us.

August 16. Thursday. Mr. Mayott was to see us.

August 17. Friday. Lord Abingdon, Mr. Bertie, Colonel Heyling, Dr. Aleworth, and Mr. Mayott dined with us.

August 18. Saturday. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston, and Mr. Cary dined with us.

August 19. Sunday. In the afternoon Sir Robert Jenkinson, and the ladies were with us.

August 20. Monday. We all dined at Colonel Heyling's.

August 21. Tuesday. We all dined at Sir Robert Jenkinson's.

August 22. Wednesday.

August 23. Thursday. We all dined at Mr. Mayott's. In the afternoon Sir W. Walter and his lady were with us.

August 24. Friday. My Lord Wenman, Sir Robert Jenkinson, Colonel Heyling, and their ladies dined with us.

August 25. Saturday. Sir L. Osbaldeston, Mr. Cary, and Mr. Jordan

* Lord Chancellor Jeffries, it is well known, gave in to very unbecoming revelry, and some curious anecdotes have been told of him upon occasions of this kind. Reresby mentions "a furious debauch," in 1685, at Alderman Duncomb's, where Jeffries, the Lord Treasurer, and others, drank themselves into that height of frenzy, that, among friends, it was whispered they had stripped unto their shirts; and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got upon a sign-post to drink the King's health."

dined with us. I had an account from London, that the Bishop of Rochester* would sit no more in the Ecclesiastical commission; and copies of his letter to the rest of the commissioners, giving the reason for his withdrawing, were sent into the country. Mr. Fraser came from London.

August 26. Sunday.

August 27. Monday. Mr. Blake dined with me. He is lately put into the Commission of the Peace; which he never was before. He said he had not yet taken the oaths, and was infirm, and many excuses, and desired me to get him left out; which I readily undertook. He is a rigid fanatic, and could never get into the Commission of Peace before; but now, all honest men, and friends to the church, are discountenanced, he, and that sort of men are put into employment; which, I doubt, will ruin the King. This gentleman is very rich and proud, and desires to be out of commission, that he may not be ill thought of by his neighbours. These kind of men would fain keep in with all sides.

August 28. Tuesday. I dined at my cousin Parker's: Mr. Keightley went with me. When I came home in the evening, I found Monsieur de la Bastide, and Mr. Wichart, a prebend of Windsor, come from London.

August 29. Wednesday. I went with Sir Robert Jenkinson, and Mr. Mayott to dinner at my Lord Abingdon's at Rycott. We took Monsieur de la Bastide with us.

August 30. Thursday. The widow Hyde, and her daughter Levins, dined with us. In the afternoon Monsieur de la Bastide, and Mr. Wichart went away.

August 31. Friday. My cousin Parker, his wife, and her daughters, dined with us. Lord Montrath went to London. In the evening the Dean of Bristol came from Oxford.

September 1. Saturday. In the afternoon I went to see Sir Harry Brown.

Sept. 2. Sunday.

Sept. 3. Monday. The Vice-chancellor, Dr. Willis, and the Provost of the Queen's dined with us.

Sept. 4. Tuesday. My son and daughter went to my cousin Parker's, and came back in the evening. My wife not being well, I stayed at home with her. In the afternoon Mr. Fraser went away. William Robinson came down to settle all things about my bridge.

* Dr. Thomas Sprat.

Sept. 5. Wednesday. Mr. Keightley, Mr. Ferrers, and Robinson went all away. Sir H. Brown, and his son dined with us.

Sept. 6. Thursday. We all dined at my Lord Wenman's.

Sept. 7. Friday. Mr. Eyans dined with us.

Sept. 8. Saturday. Sir L. Osbaldeston dined with us.

Sept. 9. Sunday. Mr. Bray dined with me: he told me, Lord Abingdon had agreed to set him up for one of the knights for this county, for the Parliament, which is to meet in November next.

Sept. 10. Monday. We left Cornbury. I dined at Mr. Vice-chancellor's. We lodged at my cousin Levins's.

Sept. 11. Tuesday. Early in the morning I had a letter from my Lord of Worcester by an express, desiring me to be at the Charter-house on Thursday morning next, to choose the Duke of Ormond a governor in the place of his grandfather. We went to Swallowfield.

Sept. 12. Wednesday. I went to London. I supped at Lord Montrath's. Colonel Beaumont, and four or five other officers, were cashiered for refusing to receive Irishmen into their companies.

Sept. 13. Thursday. I went with my brother to the Charter-house; where the Duke of Ormond was unanimously chosen. I dined at Lady Thanet's. In the evening my wife and family came to town.

Sept. 14. Friday.

Sept. 15. Saturday. I went with Sir Oliver St. George to Kew; but, not finding Sir H. Capell at home, we dined at New-Park with my brother. My son and his wife went to Cobham.

Sept. 16. Sunday. I was at St. James's church. In the afternoon I visited at Burlington-house, and Lady Ranelagh.

Sept. 17. Monday. I dined with Sir Richard Belling. The Prince and Princess returned from Tunbridge. Mr. Skelton was committed to the Tower.*

Sept. 18. Tuesday. This morning I waited on the Prince of Denmark, and the Princess. She went to Windsor, and returned at night: the King came to town with her. My son and daughter came from Cobham.

* Skelton was recalled from his mission, and committed to the Tower, upon suspicion of being privy to the memorial of the French to the States General, upon their warlike preparations. James's anger was probably feigned; for Skelton was soon after made Lieutenant of the Fortress to which he had been committed prisoner.

Sept. 19. Wednesday. The King went to Chatham. I dined with Sir H. Capell at Kew.

Sept. 20. Thursday. I visited the Duke of Hamilton. In the evening the King came from Chatham, and the Queen and Prince of Wales from Windsor.

Sept. 21. Friday. Sir Thomas Clarges and Dr. Horneck supped with us: a declaration was agreed upon at council, to allay jealousies, as was said, against the meeting of the Parliament.

Sept. 22. Saturday. I was at the King's levee. I went to the Lord Chancellor with Dr. Wallis, in the University concern, in relation to their printers.* His Lordship advised, that a petition should be delivered to-morrow at the cabinet council to the King, in the name of the University, and he would take care of it. He then talked a great deal to me of the declaration, which was resolved on yesterday: he told me he was the penner of it; that Sunderland, Middleton, Dartmouth, and Godolphin, had agreed with him in it; but, he said, it was altered in some things at the Board, by the influence of others; that Lord Godolphin had broke loose from him, and endeavoured to trim in the new wording some clauses. He further told me, that the King intended to send for my Lord of Canterbury, my brother, myself, and some others of his old friends, to discourse with us upon the whole state of his affairs; that the Bishop of Winton had been already with him; and that his Majesty had sent for the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough. I dined at Lambeth, and gave the Archbishop an account of this conference. His Grace said, the Bishop of Winton had been with him, and told him what the King had said to him; which in substance was, that his Majesty was resolved to support the Church of England; and that the world should see, he would not lay aside his old friends. In the evening my brother came from Newmarket; where he had been some days with my Lord Burlington. He showed me a letter my Lord Dartmouth had written to him by an express, to hasten to town by the King's directions. He likewise told me, the messenger had a letter from the same lord to the Bishop of Ely, on the same errand.

* The King's printers had lodged a complaint at the Council Board against the University press, for printing bibles in small forms. Several papers relating to the dispute, and the grounds of the University's claim to right, may be seen in *Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa*. Vol. I. p. 269, *et seq.*

Sept. 23. Sunday. I was at St. James's-church. In the evening I waited on the Queen. She asked me where I had been, that she had not seen me a great while? I said her Majesty had been but three days in town. She answered she loved to see her friends, and bid me come often to her. I then went to the Princess; my wife having told me that she wondered she did not see me. I found her in her bed-chamber, only one of her dressers with her. She asked me why I did not come to her as often as I used to do? I answered that I had been in the country; that her Royal Highness had not been long in town; and that, wherever I was, I should be always ready to wait on her Royal Highness, when she had any commands for me. She then told me she found the King much disordered about the preparations which were making in Holland. She asked me what I heard? I said I was out of all manner of business; and truly that I heard nothing but common rumours. She then spoke with great dissatisfaction of my Lord and Lady Sunderland; especially of my lady. I said I was much surprised to find her Royal Highness in this mind towards that lady; whom all the world thought to have great interest in her; and asked, if I might presume to inquire what the matter was? She said she thought her one of the worst women in the world. After a little pause I took the liberty to say, that I wished her Royal Highness had not thought so well of her as she had done heretofore; that I was sure she had a just caution given of her. She then looked upon her watch, and went into the withdrawing-room: she desired I would see her often. What can this be? She seems to have a mind to say something; and yet is upon a reserve, and, in effect, says nothing.

Sept. 24. Monday. I went to the King's levee; and met his Majesty going to the Queen's side. He told me the Dutch were now coming to invade England in good earnest. I presumed to ask if he really believed it? To which the King replied with warmth, "Do I see you, my lord?" And then he said that an express arrived the last night with an account that 2000 men were already shipped off, and 7000 more were marching to the sea-side. "And now, my lord," said he, "I shall see what the Church of England men will do." I answered, "And your Majesty will see they will behave themselves like honest men; though they have been somewhat severely used of late." I visited my Lord Chancellor, who told me that on Saturday last the King was resolved to call all the peers together, who were in and about the town, to consult with them upon the present state of affairs; that he would set all things upon the foot they were at his coming to the crown; that in order

thereto his Majesty had commanded him to restore all the old honest aldermen of the City, who had been turned out; that several of them had been with his Lordship yesterday; but he found them unwilling to enter into employment, till the King had made some further declaration; of which he intended to give the King an account at noon. The King went to Hampton Court to see Mac Gilly-Cudd's regiment, lately come out of Ireland. I dined at Lambeth, and gave the Archbishop an account of all these matters. In the afternoon I waited on the Princess: though I found her alone, she said nothing to me. I told her what had passed between the King and me: she said very drily I know nothing but what the Prince tells me he hears the King say.

Sept. 25. Tuesday. I dined with Sir Richard Belling. In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me, being newly come to town. He showed me a letter he received this morning at Hockerell, from Lord Sunderland yesterday, requiring him to attend the King on Friday next at ten in the morning. Several other bishops were commanded to be there at the same time.

Sept. 26. Wednesday. I waited on the Princess, who told me that the Prince had told her the King had given order last night to supersede the writs for calling the Parliament to meet in November next. The Bishop of Ely and my brother dined with me: just as we were sitting down, the Bishop received a letter from the Privy Purse, telling him he must be at his (Mr. Graham's) chamber at three this afternoon; that the King would come thither to him. Lord Godolphin had told my brother in the morning, that the King had a mind to speak with the Bishop of Ely in private; and desired my brother to contrive the meeting. The Bishop desired my brother to tell Lord Godolphin that he thought it much better not to see the King in private, till after he had waited on him on Friday with the rest of his brethren: and he wrote an excuse to Mr. Graham, that he could not possibly be at his lodgings at the time appointed. In the afternoon the Bishop and I went to Dr. Tennison, with whom we found Dr. Sherlock and Mr. Wake. When we came back to my house, we found my brother there: he had acquainted Lord Godolphin with what the Bishop had desired; that my lord had informed the King of it; but that his Majesty said he must speak with the Bishop of Ely, and commanded him to attend him at eight o'clock to-night in his bed-chamber, whither the Bishop went from me.

Sept. 27. Thursday. The Bishop of Ely told me that the King received

him last night very graciously; but discoursed only of generals. I waited on the Princess: she told me the King had received another express this morning, that most of the Dutch forces were shipped; that the Prince of Orange himself was to embark as on Monday next; that Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Wiltshire, and Mr. Sidney were with him. She said the King seemed much disturbed and was very melancholy. I took the liberty to say that it was pity nobody would take this opportunity of speaking freely and honestly to the King; that I humbly thought it very proper for her Royal Highness to say something to him, and to beg him to confer with some of his old friends, who had always served him faithfully. She answered, she never spoke to the King on business. I said her father could not but take it well to see her Royal Highness so concerned for him; to which she replied, he had no reason to doubt her concern. I said all I could to put her upon speaking to him, telling her it might possibly produce some good effect, and no ill could come of it; but she would not be prevailed upon. The more I pressed her, the more reserved she was; and said she must dress herself, it was almost prayer time. As I took my leave, she desired I would see her quickly again. I then went to the Chancellor's: he told me all was nought; some rogues had changed the King's mind; that he would yield in nothing to the Bishops; that the Virgin Mary was to do all. I told my brother all that had passed between the Princess and me and the Lord Chancellor.

Sept. 28. Friday. Several of the Bishops were this morning with the King. I was told that he expressed himself very graciously to them; but spake only in general terms, that it was not now seasonable to enter into particular disputes; that they should every day find more and more effects of his Majesty's kindness; that he had given order for restoring the Bishop of London. The Archbishop was indisposed, and so could not come over the water. The Bishops of London and Bristol were not yet come to town, though both had been sent for. As the Bishops came from the King, several people in the rooms, as they passed, asked them how things went? The Bishop of Winton (poor man!) answered "*Omnia bene*." In the afternoon there was a chapter of the order, at which the garters were given to the Dukes of Ormond and Berwick. The King there told my brother, that he believed he had satisfied the Bishops. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

Sept. 29. Saturday. I was at the King's levee. I waited on the Princess; but she said nothing in particular to me. My brother told me that he was

last night with the Queen; that she seemed very well pleased that the Bishops were satisfied with what the King had said to them: upon which he told her there was a great mistake in it; that he had seen some of them, and found they were not satisfied. Her Majesty seemed surprised at his saying this, and bid him come to her again this evening. A general pardon came out to-day, which it was thought would give great satisfaction; as likewise a proclamation for putting off the Parliament.

Sept. 30. Sunday. In the morning the Archbishop was with the King. The substance of what passed between them, as I am informed, is to this effect. The King said he hoped the Archbishop was satisfied with what he had told the other Bishops: his grace replied that they were abundantly satisfied with his condescension to them in their own particulars; that the Bishops, who waited on him the other day, were prepared to speak to him of several particulars; but his Majesty having then said that it was not a convenient time to enter into disputes, they apprehended his Majesty was not at leisure to hear them; and therefore he could not say they had received any satisfaction as to the public: that he must beg leave to acquaint his Majesty with one particular, which was, that in the general pardon published yesterday, all the clergy of England were excepted out of it, as bodies politic and corporate; which was a great discouragement at this time. The King said that must be some mistake in wording the pardon, for he intended no such thing as was mentioned, and it should be explained: that he was now going to church; but that his grace, or any of the Bishops, might come to him when they would; he would hear them all they had to say.

October 1. Monday. I dined at Lambeth; where all the Bishops were met to consider of what they intended to say to the King; for they designed to attend him to-morrow.

Oct. 2. Tuesday. Mr. Seymour had a private audience of the King. The King dined at William Chiffinch's, with several of the general officers. My Lord Chancellor told me the King would restore the old charter of the City of London; and that to that purpose he was to carry several of the old aldermen to the King this evening. His Lordship seemed wonderfully pleased at this condescension of the King's: he valued himself much upon having brought him to it, and said, he doubted not but to bring him to do more good things.

Oct. 3. Wednesday. I was told that most of the old aldermen were last night with the King; that he had declared to them that he would presently

restore the old charter to the City, and put them into the same condition they were when judgment was given against them. The Bishops had a full audience of the King. His Majesty commanded them to give him in writing what they had said, and not to speak of it till he had given them his answer: upon which they retired to the Bishops' chamber; and in the afternoon the Bishop of Ely carried their paper to the King, being the substance of what the Bishops had spoken to him, drawn into heads.

Oct. 4. Thursday. In the morning I waited on the Princess; but could not get any private discourse with her. Sir Joseph and my Lady Catherine dined with us.

Oct. 5. Friday. At counsel the King declared he would put an end to the ecclesiastical commission. The Duke of Newcastle was made Lord-lieutenant of the three ridings of Yorkshire. I went with Sir Joseph Williamson to counsel about my daughter's affairs.

Oct. 6. Saturday. I dined at Lambeth. Sir John Chapman was sworn Lord Mayor of London.

Oct. 7. Sunday. The Princess went not to chapel, believing herself with child: in the afternoon I waited on her. She said she was very well; but having been subject to miscarry, she thought it best to keep in. In the evening the Bishop of St. Asaph was with me: he came to town last night, and said he had seen very few of his acquaintance; and so knew little of the world. I told him much of what had passed between the King and the Bishops; which I hoped would have a good effect. He said he was very well pleased he was not here, for he had no mind to go to the King.

Oct. 8. Monday. In the afternoon the Bishops were with the King, having been sent for: his Majesty spoke to them about a fast to be appointed, and of preparing some prayers to be used in this time of danger of an invasion; which he directed them to bring to him. His Majesty then told them he had considered their paper; at which he seemed displeased. He said he would put Magdalen College into the Bishop of Winchester's hands, (who was present) he being their visitor; and he should restore all.

Oct. 9. Tuesday. I visited Lord Halifax. The Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells were with me. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

Oct. 10. Wednesday. In the afternoon the Bishops were with the King, and gave him the collects* they had prepared according to his commands,

* These prayers, together with a letter of Mr. Evelyn's on the subject, are printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 415, &c.

which he bade them leave with him, and attend him again to-morrow in the afternoon. In the evening I was with the Princess: she told me the King was much troubled, and not well pleased with the Bishops. I said she ought to speak freely to the King, which would be a comfort to him; to which she made no reply.

Oct. 11. Thursday. I was at the King's levee. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon the Bishops were with the King: his Majesty returned the prayers to them, and ordered they should be used in all churches. The Bishops thought themselves no longer under secresy; and resolving to go to their respective homes, they gave their friends an account of all that had passed between the King and them.

Oct. 12. Friday. I waited on the Princess. She told me she wished the Bishops were out of town; "for," said she, "it is plain they can do no good. The King will not hearken to them, and they will but expose themselves by being here." I told her they were all going to their dioceses. Sir Thomas Clarges and Dr. Tennison supped with me.

Oct. 13. Saturday. I dined at Lambeth. Dr. Huntingdon, and Dr. Brown of Dublin went with me. Sir Robert Sawyer was there. The Archbishop gave us an account of all that had passed with the King. In the afternoon I went to my Lord Chancellor with the Duke of Ormond; who was there sworn Chancellor of the University of Dublin, according to the charter of that University.

Oct. 14. Sunday. I was at the Communion at St. James's Church. In the evening I went to Court, being the King's birth-day.

Oct. 15. Monday. News came to Court, that some of the Dutch ships were cast away in the mouth of the Texel. In the afternoon the Prince of Wales (who had been formerly baptized) had his name given him with great solemnity in St. James's Chapel, which is James Francis Edward.

Oct. 16. Tuesday. I was at the King's levee: he promised me a company for Captain Rodney. His Majesty told me he had letters yesterday from Holland, that the Dutch troops were all embarked, and would sail with the first wind. He said, he had nothing by this post from the Princess, which was the first time he had missed hearing from her of a great while: he further said, "You will all find the Prince of Orange a worse man than Cromwell. Dr. Huntingdon, Dr. Brown, and Dr. Sherlock dined with me. In the evening I waited on the Princess; told her most of what the King had said to me; and earnestly pressed her to speak to him, and to be a means

of prevailing with him to hear some of his faithful old friends; but she would do nothing.

Oct. 17. Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. A proclamation came out for restoring all Corporations to their ancient charters.

Oct. 18. Thursday. The King went to Hyde-park to see my son's regiment, with which he was very well pleased. I was there.

Oct. 19. Friday. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

Oct. 20. Saturday. I dined at Kew with Sir Henry Capell. Sir Thomas Clarges went with me.

Oct. 21. Sunday. In the morning I was at St. James's-church. In the afternoon I had a summons to be at council to-morrow at ten o'clock in the morning. The messenger told me he had orders to summon all the rest of the peers in town, as well those who were not as those who were Privy Counsellors. I visited my Lord Halifax in hopes to have learnt the cause of this meeting; but he told me he had received his summons, but could not imagine what it was for. We agreed to communicate to each other what we heard; and, I said, I would call upon him to-morrow morning as I went to Court. I waited on the Princess, hoping to learn there the occasion of this extraordinary summons. She told me she knew not certainly why it was; but she believed it was for something relating to the Prince of Wales. She had much company: so I could get but two words with her.

Oct. 22. Monday. In the morning I went to Lord Halifax, where I found Lord Burlington and Lord Weymouth: quickly after came in my Lord Nottingham. They all seemed to wonder at this extraordinary summons. I told them what I heard was the cause of it, without naming my author: Lord Nottingham said he had heard the same. I said I was in some difficulty what to do. I was unwilling to displease the King by not being there; and yet I had resolved not to sit in council with Father Peters. Lord Nottingham was of the same mind; and after some little further discourse he and I went to Whitehall together. We found the King almost dressed: I told him my Lord Nottingham and I desired to speak with his Majesty. He presently took us into the room within his bed-chamber: I began, and said, we had received a summons to attend him this morning; that I perceived it was upon some extraordinary business, by all the peers who were in town being summoned likewise; that I hoped his Majesty would not be offended with me, if I humbly begged he would give me leave to be there as a peer, and not as a counsellor. The King seemed a little uneasy, and asked my

reason. I told him I should be always ready to serve him; but I humbly begged his pardon in saying, that I could not sit at council with Father Peters. Lord Nottingham spoke more largely to the same effect. The King said, we should see Father Peters no more at council. Lord Nottingham asked, if he was put out of the council? The King replied, no; but he had sent him an intimation not to come thither, and he should be there no more. Then Lord Nottingham said, there were others at that board, who were not qualified to sit there; and that he could not join in council with them: at which the King seemed a little angry, and bade us go as we would. He said the hour drew near, and so he went away. We went into the council-chamber and sat among the Lords, and not at the Board, as did the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Queen-dowager was there, and I think all the Bishops in town, as likewise my Lord-mayor and aldermen, all the judges, and the King's learned council. The King said the Princess would have been there: but being with child, and having been subject to miscarry, it was not safe for her to go out of the chamber. The King made a short speech to acquaint the Lords with the occasion of the meeting, which was, to take several depositions upon oath, relating to the birth of the Prince of Wales; all which, with what his Majesty said, are in the council books.* I dined at Lambeth. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Oct. 23. Tuesday. In the morning I waited on the Princess. She presently fell to talk of the examinations taken yesterday, and told me I had heard a great deal of fine discourse at council, and made herself very merry with that whole affair. She was dressing, and all her women about her; many of whom put in their jests. I was amazed at this behaviour, and thought not fit to say any thing at present; but I whispered to her Royal Highness that she would give me leave to speak with her in private. She said it grew late, and she must make haste to be ready for prayers; but I

* The account of what passed upon this occasion has often been printed, under the following title: "The several Declarations, together with the several Depositions made in Council, on Monday the 22d of October, 1688, concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales." The Jacobites presented a petition to Parliament in October, 1690, for a farther examination into this matter, which may be seen in the "Life of J. Kettlewell, 1720," p. 280. The opposite party put forth what is called "A Full Answer to the Depositions, &c.; the intrigue thereof detected; the whole design being set forth, with the way and manner of doing it," &c. Many well-meaning people gave credit to the bold assertions it contained; popular credulity is proverbial, and it was here aided by circumstances. The question has, however, long been set at rest, since the party-prejudices of men have subsided so as to allow them to weigh the evidence.

might come at any time to her, except this afternoon: so I went home. In the evening my brother was with me: I told him all this concerning the Princess, and wished he would go and talk with her; but he said it would signify nothing.

Oct. 24. Wednesday. My cause with the Queen-dowager, which was appointed to be heard to-day, was put off upon Sir James Butler's motion, my Lord Chief-baron not being well. I dined at my brother's: I carried Dr. Huntingdon and Dr. Brown with me. I waited on the Princess, but could not get a word.

Oct. 25. Thursday. I dined at Chiswick with my Lord Falconberg. Sir Paul Rycaut went with me.

Oct. 26. Friday. I was at the King's levee, and spoke on the behalf of Captain Rodney: his Majesty said, he would speedily put him into employment. Sir Thomas Clarges and Dr. Tennison supped with me. Lord Sunderland was dismissed being Secretary of State and President of the Council. The reasons thereof were variously discoursed of: some would needs have that he had held a private correspondence with the Prince of Orange. God knows!

Oct. 27. Saturday. The King had an account by an express, that the Dutch fleet had set sail, as yesterday was se'nnight; that they were driven back again by ill weather on Sunday; that two ships were disabled, and four hundred horses cast overboard; but that the Prince of Orange intended to go out again with the first fair wind. In the afternoon I waited on the Princess; but she was not at leisure to let me speak with her, making one excuse or other: I fancy she has no mind to talk with me. I asked her if she had any letters from the Princess? She said no, and had not had any a good while; and that her sister never wrote to her of any of these matters. Lord Preston was made Secretary of State.

Oct. 28. Sunday. In the morning I was at St. James's-church.

Oct. 29. Monday. I was at the King's levee: afterwards I visited my Lord Preston to make him my compliments: I then waited on the Princess. She was dressing, and my Lady Churchill was in the room; so I would not attempt speaking to her.

Oct. 30. Tuesday. My cause with the Queen-dowager, appointed to be heard to-day, fell off for want of time, and stands for to-morrow. I dined at Lambeth.

Oct. 31. Wednesday. My cause was again put off till Tuesday next,

upon the motion of the Queen's council: this often feeing of council to no purpose is very grievous. One Captain Lendham, lately come from Holland, was taken and sent to Newgate: several of the Prince of Orange's declarations were taken about him. In the afternoon I waited upon the Princess: she was in her closet; but quickly came out to me. She said, she was sorry she had disappointed me so often, when I desired to speak with her; and asked me now, what I had to say? I told her that I was extremely surprised and troubled the other day, to find her Royal Highness speak so slightingly of the Prince of Wales's affairs, and to suffer her women to make their jests upon it: she replied, surely I could not but hear the common rumours concerning him. I said that I did hear very strange rumours indeed, as every one must do who lived any thing publicly in the world; but that to me there seemed no colour for them. The Princess then said, she would not say she believed them; but, she must needs say, the Queen's behaviour during her being with child was very odd, especially considering the reports that went abroad: "Is it not strange," said she, "that the Queen should never (as often as I am with her, mornings and evenings) speak to me to feel her belly?"* I asked if the Queen had at other times of her being with child bid her do it? She answered, "No; that is true." "Why, then, Madam," said I, "should you wonder she did not bid you do it this time?" "Because," said she, "of the reports." "Possibly," said I, "she did not mind the reports." "I am sure," said she, "the King knew of them; for, as he has been sitting by me in my own chamber, he would speak of the idle stories that were given out, of the Queen's not being with child, laughing at them. Therefore," said she, "I cannot but wonder there was no more care taken to satisfy the world." I asked her if her Royal Highness had, upon those occasions, said any thing to the King? She answered, "No." I replied, that the King might very well think, she minded the reports no more than he did, since she said nothing to him, even when he gave her opportunities; that in my humble opinion, if she had the least dissatisfaction, she ought to have discovered it for the public good, as well as for her own and her sister's sake. She replied, if she had said any thing to the King he would have been

* This was certainly not very delicate discourse on the part of the Princess Ann, though it was addressed to her maternal uncle. But the reader would not be surprised at this, or more than this, whose curiosity may lead him to peruse the correspondence between Ann and her sister Mary, on the same subject, printed from Dr. Birch's Extracts, in Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 300, Appendix.

angry; and then, God knows what might have happened. I answered, that if she had no mind to have spoken to the King herself, she had friends, who would have endeavoured to serve her, and would have managed it without any prejudice to her: that this was the first time she had said any thing to me, though I had sometimes given her occasion to open her mind, by putting her upon speaking to the King, since these alarms of an invasion. I begged her to consider what miseries these suppositions might entail upon the kingdom, even in case God should bless the King with more sons: I, therefore, humbly besought her to consider, and do something that the world might see her Royal Highness was satisfied. To all this she made no answer, but as I went away, she desired I would see her often. Strange!

November 1. Thursday. To-day at council, the King directed the whole privy council to attend the Princess of Denmark, with copies of the depositions concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, and of what his Majesty said in council upon that occasion. In the evening, after the council was up, all the Lords accordingly waited on the Princess with the said depositions and declarations of his Majesty and the Queen-dowager. Upon receiving them from their Lordships, the Princess answered to this effect. "My Lords, this was not necessary; for I have so much duty for the King, that his word must be more to me than these depositions." I was in the next room, and when the Lords came out I went in. The Princess was pleased to tell me the answer she gave as above; upon which I said, I hoped there remained no suspicion with her Royal Highness. She made no answer, there being company in the chamber.

Nov. 2. Friday. The Archbishop, and Bishop of London were with the King, having been sent for: there were likewise present the Bishops of Durham, Chester, and St. David's. The King showed them the Prince of Orange's declaration, and bade Lord Preston read that clause, which says, that he was invited over by several of the Lords spiritual and temporal. They all, as I have been told, assured the King the contrary: the King said he believed them, and was very well satisfied. He told them, he thought it necessary they should make some declaration, expressing their dislike of the Prince's coming in this manner; and that they should bring it to him, as soon as was possible.*

Nov. 3. Saturday. Being at the King's levee, his Majesty took me into his closet, and showed me the Prince's declaration, as he had done yesterday to

* In the Appendix will be found a complete journal of what passed between the Bishops and the King upon this occasion; printed from Archbishop Sancroft's collections at Oxford.

the Bishops; and asked me the same questions he did them. I assured his Majesty, that I had neither invited the Prince of Orange, nor knew any thing of his coming, but what was now become public. The King was pleased to say, he was very well satisfied; and that he did not believe any of the nobility had invited him over, but those who were with him in Holland. My brother and I dined at Lambeth; where we found the Bishops of Chester and St. David's. They had told the Archbishop before we came, that the King sent them to confer with him about the declaration he had spoken to them yesterday to make, showing their dislike of the Prince of Orange's coming. The Archbishop put them off with saying, he had sent to see what other Bishops were about the town, that he might speak with them; but the truth is, the Archbishop had no mind to have any thing to do with these two Bishops. As soon as they had dined they went away. While my brother and I were sitting with the Archbishop, in came the Bishops of London and Rochester; who had dined at Dr. Hooper's, knowing Chester and St. David's were here; and they would not meet, nor confer with them. They had then some discourse of what the King had desired of them; but the result was to see what other Bishops were about the town, and to meet again on Monday. In the evening the King had an account that the Dutch fleet was seen off Dover this morning. I waited on the Princess: she lent me the Prince of Orange's declaration. She said, the King had lent it her, and she must restore it to him tomorrow.

Nov. 4. Sunday. At three this morning my son had orders to march with his regiment to Portsmouth. Before nine of the clock my brother came to me, and told me he came just from the King; who had asked him the same questions he had done me, &c; and that he complained to him of the backwardness he found in the Bishops to show their dislike of the Prince's coming. He asked my brother if he never went to the Archbishop; who answered, that he dined there yesterday, and what other company was there; for very probably the Bishop of Chester had told him already: he likewise told the King, that after dinner the Bishops of London and Rochester came in; and that none of the Bishops would confer with Chester and St. David's. I presently went to Lambeth, and gave the Archbishop an account of all that my brother had told me. When we came from chapel, we found my Lord Preston in the withdrawing room. The King had sent him to the Archbishop to press him again upon a declaration of the Bishops. I went home to dinner.

Nov. 5. Monday. My son went towards Portsmouth to follow his regi-

ment, which marched yesterday. I dined at Lambeth; where the Bishops of London, Peterborough, and Rochester were. They had some discourse about what the King had said to them, but they had no mind to make a declaration under their hands, except the temporal lords would join with them: but they resolved to wait on his Majesty to-morrow. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

Nov. 6. Tuesday. My cause with the Queen-dowager was argued in the Exchequer; and this day se'nnight is appointed for another argument. The King had an account that the Dutch were landed at Torbay. The Bishops were with the King; but his Majesty was not pleased with what they said to him.

Nov. 7. Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon I was at the Rolls about my daughter's affairs.

Nov. 8. Thursday. Sir H. Capell dined with me. In the evening my brother was with me: the Bishops of St. Asaph and Peterborough came in. We had some discourse of the Lords spiritual and temporal joining in an address to the King for the calling a Parliament, to prevent the shedding of blood: they approved the proposal, undertook to move it to the Archbishop, and to give us some account to-morrow.

Nov. 9. Friday. I was at the King's levee. I waited on the Princess, and got a short audience of her. I told her that endeavours were using for the Lords spiritual and temporal to join in an address to the King; that now it would be seasonable for her Royal Highness to say something to the King, whereby he might see her concern for him; but she said the King did not love she should meddle in any thing; and that the Papists would let him do nothing. I told her the King was her father; that she knew her duty to him; that he had been very kind and tender towards her, and had never given her any trouble about religion, as she had several times owned to me: to which she replied, that was true: but she grew uneasy at the discourse, and said she must dress herself; and so I left her. I dined at my brother's. In the evening I was at Dr. Sherlock's, where I met the Bishops of St. Asaph and Peterborough. They told me the Archbishop extremely approved of the address proposed; and that they were now going to my Lord Halifax, and other Lords, to speak to them in it.

Nov. 10. Saturday. In the morning I went to the Bishop of Ely; he having sent me word he came last night to town. We went together to Lambeth, where we dined: we found there the Bishops of Durham and

Peterborough, which I was a little startled at. The Archbishop told me Durham had made many professions to him, and that he was perfectly come into our sentiments. The Bishop of Peterborough told me he had been to visit my Lord Halifax, who of himself proposed, that the Lords spiritual and temporal who were in town should join in an address to the King to prevent the shedding of blood; that he desired him to move it to the Archbishop; and that they had agreed to meet about it at seven o'clock to-morrow evening at Dr. Sherlock's.

Nov. 11. Sunday. In the afternoon I visited Lord Halifax. He told me he had had some discourse with some persons of the Lords spiritual and temporal joining in an address to the King, as the only thing that could now be done to propose something that might prevent the shedding of blood: he asked me if I would join in it? I said, with all my heart. He then told me he was to meet some of the Bishops this evening at Dr. Sherlock's, and should then see what they would make of it: but, said his Lordship, when we have done, I know not who will join in it; and if we cannot make a number, the going with a few will disparage the thing. I said there were many Lords in town; that they might easily be got together, by every man's communicating to his friend what was designed: he replied, it would not be proper for all the Lords to join in the address. I asked what he meant by that? Well, said he, if you will call upon me to-morrow morning, we shall then see what the Bishops will come to, and will discourse farther upon the matter. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me, and very much pleased with the Lords spiritual and temporal making an address to the King.

Nov. 12. Monday. In the afternoon the Bishops of St. Asaph and Peterborough brought me a petition to the King in the name of the Lords spiritual and temporal: it was signed by them two. They told me my Lord Halifax had approved of it, and had desired them to get hands to it; and that then he would sign it. I told them I thought this a very odd way of proceeding; that possibly several Lords might not like the signing a petition prepared for them without any consultation, though they might very well like of the matter in general; that, for my own part, though I was ready to join in the address, as the only probable means of doing good in our present circumstances, yet I thought some expressions in that petition might be amended; and therefore I would not sign it till I had first spoken with my Lord Halifax; to whom I went presently, and said much the same to him, as I had done to the Bishops. My Lord told me the Bishops would be with him at three in

the afternoon, and if I would be there too, we should discourse every thing. At the hour appointed I went to my Lord Halifax's, where I found the Lords Nottingham, Weymouth, and the aforesaid Bishops. I made my objections to the petition, as it was drawn, and said that possibly other Lords might make more; and therefore desired that there might be a meeting of all the Lords in town, that so we might agree upon a draft which every one would sign. Lord Halifax asked where we should meet, and who should appoint it? I answered, that I believed all the Lords would willingly, upon any intimation, come to his house: he said, that should not be. I then said, now in term time, that most of the Lords were every day in Westminster-hall, we might go aside there into any of the public rooms and discourse together. Lord Halifax then said he was very indifferent whether any petition was delivered or not; if it were not agreed upon to-day or to-morrow, he would not join in any. He then asked me whether I could think it fit that my Lord Chancellor should sign the petition? I replied, that I should not concern myself whether he did or no; but that his signing it should not make me decline it. Then, said my Lord, I will not join with any who have sat in the ecclesiastical commission. I have no exceptions to my Lord Rochester, but he has sat in that court. Those proceedings must be questioned, and therefore it is not fit that any in that commission should sign this petition. I replied, there were some of that commission who liked it as little as his Lordship, and who had done good by appearing in it sometimes: that I knew not how his Lordship should exclude any one from signing the petition, if a draft were agreed upon, at a meeting of the peers, to the satisfaction of all. Lord Nottingham said he had all the regard imaginable for my Lord Rochester, but having sat in the ecclesiastical commission, it was not fit he should join in the petition, for the reasons my Lord Halifax had given. Lord Weymouth said not one word. Good God! what partiality is this; that two Lords must think to impose what they please upon the rest? We are like to be a happy people: God help us! In the evening Lord Burlington and my brother were with me, to whom I told all these matters.

Nov. 13. Tuesday. In the morning I went to Westminster-hall, where I met the Lords Halifax, Weymouth, and the Bishop of Peterborough. We had some discourse together in the Exchequer chamber; but the Marquis was in the same humour as yesterday, and said he would join in no petition. I dined at Lambeth. The Archbishop, Norwich, St. Asaph, Ely, and Peterborough resolved to petition; and that they would get as many of the tem-

poral Lords to join with them as they could. In the evening I gave my brother an account of all; he undertook to speak to several Lords in the matter.

Nov. 14. Wednesday. The Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, and Peterborough, showed me the draft of a petition: they said they would try my Lord Halifax if he would join in it. I promised to meet them to-morrow at Lambeth, by which time it was thought we should know what numbers would join with us. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me; whom I acquainted with Lord Halifax's part relating to the petition: he said, he wondered at him.

Nov. 15. Thursday. I was at the King's levee. News was brought of Lord Lovelace's being taken at Cirencester by a militia troop: the King ordered him to be sent to Salisbury. The Bishop of Exeter kissed the King's hand: he had quitted Exeter upon the Prince of Orange coming near it. The King received him very graciously, and told him he would make him Archbishop of York.* I dined at Lambeth; where were the Bishops of Exeter, St. Asaph, Ely, Norwich, and Peterborough. The petition to the King was agreed upon; and the Bishops had promised to meet several temporal Lords in the evening at the Bishop of Rochester's to show them the draft. Just after dinner Mr. Dent came to Lambeth to me from my wife, to let me know that news was come to town, that my son was gone over to the Prince of Orange with his own regiment, the Earl of Oxford's regiment of horse, and the Duke of St. Alban's regiment. I presently went over the water to my brother's, who confirmed this sad news to me. O God, that my son should be a rebel! the Lord in his mercy look upon me, and enable me to support myself under this most grievous calamity.† I made haste home, and as soon as I could recollect myself a little, I wrote to my Lord Middleton to obtain leave for me to throw myself at the King's feet. My Lord quickly sent me a most obliging answer, that I might wait on the King when I would. In the evening my brother was with me; he told me he had been at the meeting with the Lords at the Bishop of Rochester's; that they had settled the petition, and had appointed to meet again to-morrow morning to sign it;

* Dr. Thomas Lamplugh. He was shortly after translated to York, according to the King's promise.

† There is something touching in this record of Lord Clarendon's feelings on the defection of his son; for loyal attachment, even in a mistaken cause, under such circumstances as attended that of Lord Clarendon, must ever command the respect of mankind.

and that, in the mean time, my Lord of Oxford, and some others, were to be spoken with in it.

Nov. 16. Friday. In the afternoon I waited on the King at W. Chiffinch's. I said what I was able upon so melancholy a subject, and my son's desertion. God knows I was in confusion enough. The King was very gracious to me, and said he pitied me with all his heart, and that he would be still kind to my family. In the evening my brother told me, that neither Lord Oxford nor Lord Nottingham would join in the petition; however, that the rest of the Lords who were in the way were resolved to proceed in it, and had agreed to meet to-morrow morning, and to go all together to present it to the King. I desired my brother to set my name to it. God knows I had no heart to appear in public.

Nov. 17. Saturday. In the morning the Archbishop, and the rest of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, who had met, delivered the petition to the King, with which his Majesty seemed not pleased, and gave a very short answer to them to this effect, that he would call a Parliament as soon as it was convenient, but it could not be whilst the invasion and rebellion lasted. My brother and the Bishop of Ely dined with us. Sir H. Capell was to see me, and seemed not displeased at my son's revolt: the Prince of Wales was sent this morning to Portsmouth. In the evening the King began his journey towards Sarum: he is to lie to-night at Windsor.

Nov. 18. Sunday. The Bishop of Ely dined with me, and Mr. Crook, a minister of Ireland, who preached at St. James's-church this morning. In the evening my brother told me he had been with the Queen, and that she was much displeased that he and I had signed the petition. I wrote to the Princess to know if she would give me leave to wait on her: she bid Mrs. Danvers, (who gave her my letter,) let me know that I might come to her when I would.

Nov. 19. Monday. My brother went to Salisbury to the King. I was at Westminster. In the afternoon I was with my counsel. I visited Sir R. Bellings.

Nov. 20. Tuesday. My cause was argued again in the Exchequer by Sir Francis Winnington on my side, and Mr. Attorney-general on the Queen-dowager's. Some angry words passed between Mr. Attorney-general and me, which the Court took notice of: Friday next is appointed for the last argument. In the afternoon I waited on the Princess: she asked me why I made a scruple of coming to her? I said, that truly I was ashamed to appear any where, since the villany my son had committed. She replied

that people were so apprehensive of Popery, that she believed many more of the army would do the same.

Nov. 21. Wednesday. In the morning I visited Duke of Hamilton. He discoursed with great zeal for the King's service: he said he was very sorry the forces were drawn out of Scotland, which he feared would give opportunity to the disaffected people to be troublesome. The Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely dined with us. In the afternoon I visited the new Archbishop of York and Dr. Patrick.

Nov. 22. Thursday. In the afternoon I waited on the Queen, she having appointed me this time by Mrs. Dawson. I expressed myself as well as I could upon the misfortune of my son's desertion: she was pleased to make me very gracious answers. Her Majesty discoursed very freely of the public affairs, saying how much the King was misunderstood by his people; that he intended nothing but a general liberty of conscience, which she wondered could be opposed; that he always intended to support the religion established, being well satisfied of the loyalty of the Church of England. I took the liberty to tell her Majesty, that liberty of conscience could never be granted but by act of Parliament: the Queen did not like what I said, and so interrupted me, with saying she was very sorry my brother and I joined in the late petition; and said the King was angry at it. I justified myself by giving my reasons for so doing, but finding her uneasy, I ended my discourse, with begging her Majesty to use her interest in doing good offices, and to be a means of begetting a confidence between the King and his people, towards which she might be a happy instrument. News from Sarum, that the King had bled much at the nose.

Nov. 23. Friday. The last argument was in the Exchequer, in the cause between the Queen-dowager and me, which being ended, the Court said, they would consider of what they had heard, and declared they would not give their opinions till the next term, at which the King's counsel were much dissatisfied, and said they had as good let fall the *scire facias:* but the Court arose. The Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Dr. Tennison supped with me.

Nov. 24. Saturday. News, by an express, that the King's bleeding at the nose continued; that he intended to leave Sarum to-morrow,* and that the army was ordered to march back.

* In Sir Patrick Hume's Diary of the Prince of Orange's march to London, the King's departure is said to have been on Saturday, the 24th. "Monday, 19th November. King James came to

Nov. 25. Sunday. An express brought word, that the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and Colonel Berkeley were gone over to the Prince of Orange; that the King lay last night at Andover, and would be at Whitehall to-morrow. In the evening I went to Court: great crowds in the galleries, and consternation in all men's looks.

Nov. 26. Monday. As I was walking in Westminster-hall, on a sudden was a rumour all about, that the Princess was gone away, nobody knew whither; that somebody had violently carried her away. I went presently to the cockpit.* I found my Lady Frecheville and all the women in great consternation. All the light I could get was, that last night, after her Royal Highness was in bed, the chamber doors locked, and Mrs. Danvers in bed in the outer room, where she used to lie when in waiting, she rose again, went down the back-stairs, and accompanied only by Lady Churchill, Mrs. Berkeley, and a maid of Lord Churchill's, went into a coach and six horses, which stood ready at the street gate. This was all I could learn.† I went up into

Salisbury. Tuesday, viewing the Plains on horseback, to choose a camp, he fell in excessive bleeding at the nose, was four times let blood that week, and parted toward London, on Saturday the 24th."—*Observations on Mr. Fox's History, by the Right Honourable George Rose. Appendix.*

* Where the Princess was lodged. King James in his Memoirs says, "This made a great noise in town; and her nurse and Lady Clarendon went up and down like mad persons, saying the Papists had murdered her, and asking the Queen's people what they had done with her."

† The account given by the companion of her flight (Lady Churchill), is as follows:—The report that the Prince of Denmark had left the King, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange, put the Princess into a great fright. She sent for me, told me her distress, and declared that rather than see her father, she would jump out at the window. A little time before, a note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the Bishop of London, (who, in the critical time, absconded,) if her Royal Highness should have occasion for a friend. The Princess, on this alarm, immediately sent me to the Bishop. I acquainted him with her resolution to leave the Court, and to put herself under his care. It was hereupon agreed, that when he had advised with his friends in the City, he should come about midnight in a hackney coach to the neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to convey the Princess to some place where she might be private and safe.

"The Princess went to bed at the usual time to prevent suspicion. I came to her soon after; and by the back-stairs which went down from her closet, her Royal Highness, my Lady Fitzharding, and I, with one servant, walked to the coach, where we found the Bishop and the Earl of Dorset. They conducted us that night to the Bishop's house in the City, and the next day to my Lord Dorset's at Copt-hall. From thence we went to the Earl of Northampton's, and from thence to Nottingham, where the country gathered about the Princess; nor did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the Prince of Orange's friends.

"The most remarkable thing that happened to the Princess during her stay at this place, was a letter she received from Lord Clarendon. It was full of compliments, and at the same time full of

the galleries, where I found my Lord Craven giving orders from the Queen to examine the guards, and to inquire into the manner of the Princess's going away. I met Lord Preston, who told me, that on Saturday night, at Andover, after the King was gone to bed, Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Drumlanrig, and Mr. H. Boyle, went back to the Prince of Orange.* I went to the Duchess of Ormond, who seemed to be much troubled that her Lord had thus deserted: she was burning her Lord's papers. Just as we were going to dinner, my brother alighted at my door, being come from Sarum: about five in the evening the King came to town. Mr. Skelton was made lieutenant of the Tower.

Nov. 27. Tuesday. I dined at the Duchess of Ormond's. The King had appointed all the Lords spiritual and temporal about the town to attend him in the afternoon: about forty appeared. The meeting was in the room where the King used to dine. The King spoke to the following effect: that the occasion of this meeting was upon the delivery of a petition to him the day he began his journey to Sarum; which was signed by some Lords there present: though, he observed, there were several who had not signed it; so that he perceived it was not by the general assent of all the peers. That being

complaints, that she had not told him of a thing he liked so well, that he might have had a share in it. How well these complaints and the earnestness he showed (in a consultation held at Windsor before the Prince of Orange came to London,) to have King James sent to the Tower, agreed with his conduct afterwards, I shall leave to the world to judge."—*Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 10.

There is another account in Colley Cibber's Apology for his own Life. But it is apparent from a letter written by Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange, dated the 18th of November, (*Dalrymple's Memoirs. Appendix*, 333,) that she knew of the Prince's intentions when he left her to go to the King. The secret of the Duchess of Marlborough's aversion to Lord Rochester, and misrepresentation of his conduct, was the distate her mistress had conceived for him, upon his refusal, when Lord Treasurer, to procure her a settlement of 10,000*l.* a year from her father.

* They had supped with the King the same evening. Prince George left a letter for James, (which may be seen in *Kennet's History of England*,) excusing his own conduct and blaming the unhappy monarch. This Prince had been accustomed, when he heard of the defection of any of those who had been obliged to the King, to say, "*Est-il possible?*" The only remark James made upon the Prince's flight was, "Is *Est-il possible* gone too?" In King James's Memoirs, it is said "he was more troubled at the unnaturalness of the action, than the want of his service, for that the loss of a good trooper had been of greater consequence." But when, on his return to London, he heard that the Princess Anne had fled, under pretence of avoiding his displeasure, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!"

then just going out of town, he could not give an answer to it; that he had observed in his journey the general desire of the countries through which he passed was for a Parliament; that he had therefore now called all the Lords together, who were about the town, to advise with them what was best to be done in the present exigency. After a little silence, I think the Earl of Oxford spake first to this effect, that he thought it most proper for those Lords to speak in the first place, who had signed the petition; that they, who had considered the calling of a Parliament, in all probability were most ready to offer their advice: he said he was spoken to, to join in that petition; but he knew it would not please the King, and therefore he refused it. Then my brother spake in justification of the petition, and for the calling of a Parliament, as the only remedy in our present circumstances: whether it would have the desired effect, no man could tell; but he thought there was no other means left to compose matters. As I remember, he mentioned the sending to the Prince of Orange. The Lord Chancellor, Godolphin, Falconberg, and others, spake for the calling a Parliament. I spake with great freedom,* laying open most of the late miscarriages; and particularly the raising a regiment of Roman Catholics at this very time, under the command of the Earl of Stafford, to be a guard for the King's person; into which all the French tradesmen in town of that religion were received, and none were to be admitted but Papists. I pressed this so earnestly, that the King called out, and said it was not true; there were no directions for admitting none but Papists: but I went on, saying I had been so informed, &c. My motion

* King James in his Memoirs says: "My Lord Halifax and Nottingham spake with great respect and seeming concern, especially the last; they thought there was now no remedy except it could be had by a treaty with the Prince of Orange; they were sensible (they said) it would prove a bitter draught to his Majesty, who must swallow many disagreeable propositions, and yield to such conditions as would be exceeding grievous to him; but my Lord Clarendon flew out into an indiscreet and seditious railing, declaiming against Popery, exaggerating fears and jealousies, and blaming the King's conduct, so that nobody wondered at his going a day or two after to meet the Prince of Orange at Salisbury," vol. ii. p. 239.

What Lord Clarendon is reported to have said on this occasion is:—"Sir, it is a maxim in our law that the King can do no wrong, but his Ministers may, and be called to an account for it too. Now in the present juncture of affairs, what would you have us do to appease the nation, since the people have been so provoked by the Papists; as things stand now, what would you have us do for your Majesty's security? When your Majesty was at Salisbury, you might have had some remedy, but the people do now say that the King is run away with his army,—we are left defenceless and must therefore side with the prevailing party."

was for the calling of a Parliament, and that commissioners might be presently appointed to go to the Prince of Orange in order to a treaty, to make the meeting of a Parliament practicable. Lord Halifax spoke very flatteringly; that he would not join in the petition, because he believed it would displease the King; and he should always be very tender of doing that: besides, he thought the meeting of a Parliament at this time very impracticable; though, he must own, he would never at any time advise against the calling of a Parliament; that the sending commissioners to the Prince of Orange might do well, if the King would make some concessions by way of preliminaries, and would make all things more easy; that the doing of some things at one time might be interpreted to be prudent, which at another time might be thought too complying. This Lord is a strange man:* if we would have petitioned at this time, and in his way, all had been well; the displeasing the King was not then thought of. Lord Nottingham endeavoured to cut a feather, and spake much in Lord Halifax's sense. Both these Lords laid all miscarriages open; though in smoother words than I had done. Several concessions were proposed by way of preliminaries; as a pardon to all who were any way engaged with the Prince of Orange, or with the Lords in

* Sir John Reresby has given the following account of Lord Halifax's conduct at this juncture from what he asserts to be very good authority:—"Lord Halifax told me he was not at first in the secret of the Prince's expedition; but that as his Highness was now with us, and upon so good an occasion, he thought we were obliged to stand by and defend him. At this very juncture I was told by a court lady that it was much wondered my friend the Marquess of Halifax had been so eager for the King's having abdicated the government, when he absolutely knew his Majesty had never gone if he had not been frightened into it. She assured me his Lordship had treated with the King to come again into business a few weeks before the Prince's intention was certainly known: that she was the very person his Lordship sent to the King; that the King actually gave him a meeting at her house: that they agreed upon terms; nay, what is more, that his Lordship had treated with some priests for his return to court. That upon this account his Majesty particularly depended upon him when he named him one of the commissioners to go to the Prince; that after having conferred with his Highness, he sent the King a private letter, intimating an ill design against his person, and that this was the real cause of his Majesty's flight, and the departure of the Queen. That after the King was brought back, Lord Halifax was one of the peers that came and admonished him on behalf of the Prince, to leave Whitehall for Rochester or Ham, within the short space of two hours; and that his Lordship's reason for conveying this ungrateful message to his Majesty was that he was assured the Prince's party had in council resolved to seize on his person, and imprison him: that upon the whole it must notoriously be known to his Lordship that the King had no manner of inclination to withdraw, either the first or the second time; and that he was compelled thereto out of a principle of mere self-preservation."

the North; that the King should immediately put the Roman Catholics out of all employments, military and civil, &c. In conclusion, after a serious and warm debate, the King spake to this effect:—"My Lords, I have heard you all: you have spoken with great freedom; and I do not take it ill of any of you. I may tell you I will call a Parliament; but for the other things you have proposed, they are of great importance; and you will not wonder that I take one night's time to consider of them." It is to be observed, none of the Popish Lords were present at this meeting; which, I have been told, was prevented by my Lord Godolphin. The Lords Middleton and Preston, the two Secretaries, were present, and sat on each side of the King's chair at a little distance backwards. The King in the debate spake much of the defection of his army; yet seemed to think there were many who would be steady to him. He said he looked upon his bleeding at the nose to be a great providence; for, if it had not returned upon him on the day he intended to view some of his troops at Warminster, he had great reason to believe that Lord Churchill then designed to give him up to the Prince of Orange.* The King further said, that it would appear that the Prince of Orange came for the crown, whatever he pretended; but that he would not see himself deposed; that he had read the story of King Richard II.

Nov. 28. Wednesday. I was at Westminster-hall. The Lord Chancellor had orders to issue out writs for a Parliament to meet on the 15th of January next: this gives infinite satisfaction. Sir Henry Capell dined with me. I told him, if the writs were out, I had thought of going to Sarum, to see if I could secure my son's being chosen for that county; and that I would then go to the Prince of Orange. He desired to go with me: I promised he should know as soon as I had taken my resolution.

Nov. 29. Thursday. In the morning I went to see my Lord Chancellor: he now lodgeth in the Duke's old little bedchamber at Whitehall. He told me the King was very angry with me for what I said the other night at the meeting of the Lords; but now the writs were out for the calling a Par-

* In his Memoirs, James enters more fully into his suspicions: he mentions Kirke and Trelawney, as well as Churchill, and says that he once intended to have secured Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, and to have sent them to Portsmouth; but upon consideration he did not think fit to do it. In Macpherson's Extracts from Carte's Papers, there are several traditionary accounts to the same effect, gathered from the evidence of those who were to have assisted in securing the King's person, and some of them go so far as to assert that he was to have been assassinated in case of resistance.—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 280.

liament, he hoped he would be reconciled to his old friends. I visited Lord Halifax: he told me he had been yesterday with the King, and had spoken more home to him than I had done the other night. Colonel Birch dined with me. Lord Halifax and Lord Nottingham were with the King in private this afternoon.

Nov. 30. Friday. In the morning I was with Lord Halifax. He told me, the King had appointed Lord Nottingham, Lord Godolphin, and himself commissioners to go to the Prince of Orange in order to a treaty;* and that they would go, as soon as the passports came, which were expected to-day or to-morrow: he pretended not to be pleased with the employment. Before dinner Sir Henry Capell was with me. I told him, now the writs were issued for a Parliament, and that a proclamation was coming forth to allow all men to go to the countries, I resolved to go to Sarum, and so to the Prince of Orange; and that I would begin my journey to-morrow. He said, he would go with me; and desired me to take him up at Brentford, as I went by. Lord Drogheda, and Lord Blessington, being with me in the afternoon, I told them of my journey; they both said, they would go with me.

December 1. Saturday. About eight in the morning I set out from Jermin-street. The Lords Drogheda and Blessington went in the coach with me: Sir Arthur Cole, Sir Thomas Fotherly, Mr. Pitt, (a younger son of Mr. George Pitt) and Mr. Thomas Jordan, of Witney, went on horseback, besides my own servants. We took up Sir Henry Capell at Brentford: at Staines we found the train of artillery coming from Sarum. At the bridge there was a guard; who only asked who we were, and let us pass. We dined at Bagshott, and in the evening came to Hartfordbridge, where we lay: we found here some of the King's carriages, which stayed for want of horses to bring them home.

Dec. 2. Sunday. We set out from Hartfordbridge, as soon at it was light: Mr. Pitt stayed behind, pretending his horse was lame. We dined at Sutton,

* Notwithstanding James had consented to the mission to William, it appears that he had no hope of a favourable issue to the negociation. Indeed, Barillon says, that his motive in complying with that measure was only to gain time to provide for the placing his wife and son in security. "Le Roi n'a consente à envoyer des deputés que pour se donner le temps de pourvoir à la sûreté de sa femme et de son fils . . . . Quand ils seront en sûreté, il prendra la parti de se retirer ou en Irlande, ou en Ecosse; mais il ne le peut faire sans ruiner d'avantage ses affaires, il demandera une retraite en France." Despatch of the French Ambassador, cited by M. Mazure.—*Histoire de la Revolution, tome* iii. p. 219.

and got to Stockbridge by the time it was dark; where we lay. The ways were very bad. About midnight Mr. Kitson, brother to the woman of the inn at Hartfordbridge, (who had been an ensign in Ireland in my time) came post into the house where we were. He came up into my chamber, and told me, about two hours after we were gone from Hartfordbridge, Mr. Pitt took post for London; which he thought strange; and not knowing what might happen, he thought fit to come and give us notice of it. Sir Henry Capell was extremely alarmed, and apprehended we might be taken and carried back; and therefore earnestly desired we might hasten to Sarum. I ordered the horses to be made ready with all speed.

Dec. 3. Monday. About three in the morning we took coach, and got to Sarum about seven. We alighted at the George inn, where we found the Dutch Ambassador: he came hither last night. He told us the Prince of Orange was at Hindon; but knew not how long he designed to stay there, nor which way he moved; that he was going to him himself presently.* We resolved to stay at Sarum to rest our horses: while we were at dinner, Mr. Hevenningham came into the room, and told us the Prince stayed all this day at Hindon; whereupon we went thither. Upon the way we met Captain H. Bertie, Mr. W. Herbert, and some other gentlemen; who told us the Prince lodged at Berwick, two miles from Hindon, a house of Sir George How's, and now inhabited by the widow of my cousin, E. Hyde, of Hatch.† We got thither about four o'clock: here I met my son. As soon as we alighted, we waited on the Prince: we found him in the room where he dined. He received us very obligingly, and after asking us some common questions of our journey, he took me into his bed-chamber; where he talked about half an hour with me. He said, he was very glad to see me; that my son's coming over to him was a seasonable service, and he would always remember it. He then asked me several questions—How the King came to

* This is confirmed by Sir Patrick Hume's Diary. "Monday, 3d Dec. The Prince stayed, and I marched on six miles to W——. That morning Ambassador Siters, of Holland, came to the Prince; also an express from the Earl of Feversham, generall of King James his army, by his order, desiring a safe conduct for some to be sent, which was granted. Tuesday the 4th, the Prince came to Salisbury, nine miles, where we quartered: here many of the first rank came in to the Prince. The Earl of Oxford came in on Tuesday, at Salisbury. Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Drumlanrig, came in at Sherburne, Friday, Nov. 30."

† From the Hydes of Hatch, descended Sir Robert Hyde, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and Sir Frederick Hyde, Sergeant at Law. They were afterwards seated at Heale House, in Wilts. See some account of the family in Sir R. Hoare's *Modern Wilts*: *Hundred of Underditch*, p. 143.

leave Sarum so suddenly? What was done at the meeting of the Lords on Tuesday last? When the commissioners would be with him? And what their business was? I found by his discourse, that the Dutch Ambassador had given him pretty perfect accounts of most things. I told him, that the business of the commissioners, as far as I understood, was to agree upon ways to make the meeting of the Parliament safe and easy; that they intended to set out as soon as they had their passes. He asked me, what was the general opinion, and what I thought of things. I said, that if his Highness pursued his declaration, we might quickly hope to see a happy settlement. He replied, "My declaration shall be punctually observed." He said he had but little acquaintance with Lord Nottingham; but that he did a little wonder, the Lords Halifax and Godolphin came to him in this errand. I then asked him when he went from this place? He said he would go to-morrow to Sarum, and stay one day there. The Prince then called Sir Henry Capell; and I took my leave. Hearing Dr. Burnet was in the house, I went to his chamber: he had taken physic. He seemed very glad to see me; and, when he had inquired a little after all his acquaintance, he presently fell to discourse (after his usual manner) of the public affairs. "What," said he, "can be the meaning of the King's sending these commissioners?" I told him, to adjust matters for the safe and easy meeting of the Parliament. He replied, "How can a Parliament meet, now the kingdom is in this confusion; all the west being possessed by the Prince's forces, and all the north being in arms for him?" I said, if the Prince pursued his declaration, and there were no other design than to settle things upon the right foundation, we might quickly hope for a composure; that the King had made a great step towards it in calling a Parliament, and sending commissioners to the Prince. The Doctor, with his usual warmth, answered, "It is impossible; there can be no Parliament: there must be no Parliament; it is impossible!" And so I left him. In the dining-room I met my Lord Churchill. I told him what the King had told the Lords of his Lordship's design to deliver his Majesty to the Prince of Orange, if he had gone to Warminster. He denied it with many protestations, saying, that he would never be ungrateful to the King; that he would venture his life in defence of his person; and that he had never left him, but that he saw our religion and country were in danger of being destroyed. He then asked me when the Princess left the Cockpit? I told him: he said he wondered she went not sooner. By this time Sir Henry Capell came from the Prince; and, it being pretty late, my son carried us to Hin-

don, where we got us a couple of rooms in the inn set out for himself. The Prince of Denmark was quartered at Hatch.

Dec. 4. Tuesday. In the morning I visited Monsieur Schomberg. I met Wildman in the streets: we went again to the Prince's quarters. I visited Monsieur Bentinck; who had received the news of the death of his lady yesterday by the Dutch Ambassador. He made me many compliments upon my son's so early going in to the Prince; of which, he said, the Prince was very sensible. He then fell to speak of the occasion of the Prince's expedition, and said, his Highness had given a sincere account of it in his declaration; and that he had proceeded in pursuance thereof ever since his landing. "Though," said he, "there are not ill men wanting, who give it out that the Prince aspires at the crown; which is the most wicked insinuation that could be invented; that though three kingdoms would be a great temptation to other men, yet it would appear, that the Prince perferred his word before all other things in the world, and would pursue his declaration in endeavouring to settle all matters here upon a true foundation." I told him, if the Prince pursues this resolution, every thing will be very easy; and the Commissioners will find no difficulty in their business. He said, he wished the Commissioners were come, that no time might be lost. I confess, this discourse gave me great satisfaction. The Prince breakfasted at Berwick, and went on horseback to Sarum: he took Wilton in his way, and went in to see the house and gardens: the Prince of Denmark joined him there. I rode on from Wilton before. Upon the bridge at Salisbury town's end, I found the Mayor and his brethren in their formalities. I told them, the Prince did not come in that way; that they had best go to the town-hall, and I would send them word when the Prince was come; upon which they went away. About three in the afternoon, the Prince came to Sarum: he had his quarters at the Bishop's palace; and the Prince of Denmark lay at the Dean's. I sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and presented them to the Prince. I supped with the Prince of Orange. I lodged at Mr. Vyner's in New-street; where I got a chamber for Sir Henry Capell. In the evening, the Earl of Oxford, and a son of the Earl of Beaufort's came to the Prince. As the Prince rode from Berwick, the people flocked to see him, and prayed to God to bless him. As he passed by them, he put off his hat, and said, "Thank you, good people: I am come to secure the Protestant religion, and to free you from Popery." My Lord Abingdon came to town in the evening: he had left the Prince, and was gone to Lavington to refresh himself. I went to his lodging; he was

very glad to see me. He told me, he feared we should be disappointed in our expectations, for he did not like things at all; that he was resolved to keep to his principles, and not join with what, he saw, was aiming at. He said, he did not like Wildman's and Ferguson's being in the Prince's train; nor several other persons, who, he found, were of their principles, whatever they pretended. My Lord was going to supper; and so I took my leave of him.

Dec. 5. Wednesday. In the morning I visited Monsieur Schomberg: he lodged at Mr. Hill's. I went to see Lord Oxford; who told me, he did not think of making this journey, when we were together with the King. I said but little to him, for I thought him in an odd humour. He said, he did not think, Lord Halifax was like to have been one of the commissioners; but a man that was guided by his ambition, would do any thing. I waited on the Prince of Denmark. He asked me when I came from London, and when the King arrived there? I told him. He then asked me, when the Princess went away, and who went with her? Of which I gave him as particular an account as I could. He said, he wondered she went not sooner. I told him, I could say nothing to that; and I wished her journey might do her no harm: to which he replied, there was no danger. I said, she had been so subject to miscarry, that it was much to be feared, she might do so now: to which the Prince answered, "She is not with child." I then told him with what tenderness the King spake of her, when he returned; and how much trouble he expressed to find she had left him: to which he said not one word. His saying, the Princess is not with child, startled me. Good God bless us! nothing but lying and dissimulation in the world. Dr. Woodward, the Chancellor, was with me, and desired me to present the clergy to the Prince; which I did in the evening: there was only himself, Dr. Lambert, and one more. I dined at the Vine: there were about thirty gentlemen of the country. They all agreed upon my son to be one of the Knights for this County, in the Parliament now to be called: who should be the other was not agreed upon. After dinner, Mr. Johnston, who came over with the Prince, came to us: he brought a roll of parchment, wherein was the association; which, he said, had been signed by all the gentlemen in the countries through which the Prince had passed, and therefore he brought it to us. I think, we all in the room signed it. It was proposed by Mr. Davenant, that all the gentlemen might wait on the Prince of Orange in a body, and give him thanks for coming over; and to assure him they would raise what men or money he should

desire: this was agreed to. They desired me to go with them, and present them to the Prince; which I did, and we went immediately. I had no mind to refuse any thing to the gentlemen, who had so frankly obliged my son: the Prince received the gentlemen very obligingly, thanked them for the offer they had made him, and said, money would be more useful to him than men; and, if they would help to some, it would be a great service, and should be so esteemed by him. One Mr. Frenchard, an elderly man, brought 250*l.* from two clothiers: the Prince of Orange directed it to be paid to Mr. Harboard, who executed the office of Commissary-general of the army. Several townsmen of Sarum, and of the neighbourhood, complained to me of disorders committed by the Dutch troops, and that they did not pay their quarters; and that the carriages, which were pressed, were not paid for. I spake to Mr. Bentinck of these things; who gave me very slight answers; he asked Sir Henry Capell, (as he a little after told me) what I had to do to meddle in these matters? Who told him that I was in my own country, and therefore people made application to me. Bentinck shows his temper betimes. I visited Dr. Burnet. He told me the Prince of Orange came over full of kind inclination towards me; that my behaviour in Ireland had gained me an universal esteem; and therefore I might depend upon the Prince. But he must tell me very freely, the Prince had a very ill opinion of my brother; and that he must not expect to be employed. I told him, I should be always very glad of the Prince's good opinion; but I was surprised at this his discourse. I then told him what Bentinck had said to me at Hindon; to which he replied, that Bentinck was an old servant, was bred up with his master, and had much of his kindness; but, if it pleased God to bless the Prince, Bentinck would not be in the station of a favourite minister. I said, this was very strange, to be talking, who should, and who should not be employed, as if he had the settling of those matters; that, if it pleased God to give a blessing to the treaty, the King and Prince would quickly be agreed; and then all would do well: upon which the Doctor interrupted me, saying in great heat, "What treaty? How can there be a treaty? The sword is drawn: there is a supposititious child; which must be inquired into." He was thus walking about the room in wonderful warmth, when somebody knocked at the door to speak with him; and so I left him. Good God, what are we like to come to, if this man speaks the Prince's sense? We shall have a fine reformation. In the evening, I went to Court; where I saw my Lord Macclesfield. I presented Sir Richard How, and Mr. St. John to the Prince.

Dec. 6. Thursday. In the morning Dr. Burnet made me a visit. He was very calm at first, and told me, he was sorry to find there was a suspicion, as if I were not right in the Prince's interest. I said, I did not know what he meant by being right in his interest; that I had as yet discoursed with nobody who came over with the Prince but himself, and therefore that none could have any suspicions of me; that his discourses, and Wildman's and Ferguson's being come over with the Prince did indeed make me suspect, that other things were designed than were pretended in the Prince's declaration; which would make me look about me. I then asked him, why he behaved himself in that manner, yesterday at prayers in the cathedral, as to make all the congregation stare at him? For when the collect for the King was saying, he rose from his knees, sat down in his stall, and made an ugly noise with his mouth. He said, he could not join in the collect for the King. I said, I was going to court; and so our conversation ended. About eleven o'clock the Prince left Sarum: he is to lodge to-night at Collingborne. I and my company stayed in town: we dined at the Angel. After dinner I went to the Vine; where were several of the country gentlemen: Mr. Harboard came thither to receive the 250*l.* of Mr. Frenchard. It was there proposed to raise 2000*l.* for the Prince's service: some were for borrowing that sum upon their own securities; others, that every one should subscribe what he would give towards that sum, and so to make it up among those that were present; and others proposed a general subscription to be sent through the whole county, for every man to give what he thought fit, without mentioning any sum in the whole. I said, every man might give the Prince of Orange what money he pleased out of his own purse; but it was a dangerous thing to go about raising money without Act of Parliament; that I would have nothing to do in it; that a Parliament would quickly meet, who would provide for all the public occasions: and so I left the company; who began to be weary of what had been started.

Dec. 7. Friday. In the morning I and my company left Sarum: we came to Hungerford about three in the afternoon. The King's Commissioners came last night to Ramsbury: the Prince appointed them to quarter there, and to be with him at nine o'clock to-morrow morning. The Prince came to Hungerford just before it was dark: he had taken Hampsted Marshall in his way, and went in to see the house.* Lord Delamere came to Hungerford in

* The stately mansion of the Earl of Craven. It had been erected for him by Sir Balthazar Gerbier. A view of the house may be seen in Kip's *Theatre de la Grande Bretagne*, pl. 45.

the evening: the Earl of Stamford came with him, and as was said, 400 horse: but Sir Thomas Fotherly, whom I had desired to observe them, assured me, they were not above half that number; that they were very shabby fellows, pitifully mounted, and worse armed. I and my company supped together at my lodging: Sir John Hotham, and William Harboard supped with us. They discoursed much against the meeting of the Parliament which was summoned, saying, that by their having been so long out of England, attending upon the Prince of Orange, they could not expect to be chosen, if they had not time to go down into their countries; as if it could not be a good Parliament, in case those gentlemen were not in it. Mr. Harboard said, he had drawn his sword against the King; that he had no need of his pardon; but they would bring the King to ask pardon of them, for the wrongs he had done. In a word, their whole discourse was so seditious, that I was easily confirmed in my opinion, that no good was intended by those who came over with the Prince.

Dec. 8. Saturday. In the morning Sir Robert Pye, and some other gentlemen of the country came in to the Prince. About nine o'clock the Commissioners came: the Prince of Orange received them in his bed-chamber. All the Lords, and gentlemen upon the place were present by the Prince's desire. As soon as the Commissioners had delivered their errand by word of mouth, and their credential, they withdrew into a room appointed for them.* Mr. Bentinck attended them. The Prince then read the King's letter to the company. It was in French: upon which he said, (and I thought it came with tenderness from him) this was the first letter he ever had from the King in French; that he always used to write to him in English, and in his own

* "On Saturday the 8th, the Commissioners came to Hungerford, viz. the Marquis of Halifax, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Godolphin: the Foot Guards were drawn up and drums beat as they passed. The Prince called several English nobles to him; then Monsieur Bentinck, Lord Chamberlain, led the Commissioners to the Prince. They had desired to treat with him in private, but he refused, without the English Lords present." "Within a little while they were led to another room, and the Earls of Oxford and Clarendon, and Mareshal Schomberg were sent by the Prince to hear them; they told that the King had designed to call a Parliament, but the Prince's coming with his army had stopped it, but that now finding a great inclination of the people to it, he has resolved to do it; they therefore desired that the Prince would advance with his army no farther; that the Parliament may meet in London, whither all the Peers, even those joined with the Prince, may freely come upon a general indemnity to be given. It was answered, that the Prince's army being now parted from Salisbury, could not stop sooner than Oxford or London; but if the Parliament sit free, the King and all his forces must part as far from London on the one side, as the Prince is on the other; that so only the Parliament, with which only the King is to treat, and not with the Prince, may do it freely and safely."—*Sir Patrick Hume's Diary.*

hand. I took the liberty to say, "Sir, your Highness being here as a foreign Prince, and this being a formal credential, (which are in Latin or French) it ought to be in the Secretary's hand." The Prince spake to the company to this effect—"What my Lord Halifax said to me, (for he was the mouth,) I may very easily mistake in repeating to you, (for the commissioners spake to the Prince by a window, at a distance from the company,) and therefore I think it fit, to desire them to put what they said in writing;" and so looking about upon the company, he appointed Monsieur Schomberg, the Earl of Oxford, and myself to go to the Commissioners in that errand; which we did immediately. The Lords said, they would presently obey his Highness's commands. Whilst their servants were coming, the Lords discoursed with us upon indifferent things. Lord Halifax asked me, how I had got thither before them? I said, I left London the day before them. He then asked me for Dr. Burnet, and desired me to send him to him: we then left them together. I presently told the Prince, how my Lord Halifax had desired to see Dr. Burnet; upon which the Prince said, there would be fine tattling; but he should not speak to Burnet in private;* that he had no mind any of those who were with him, should converse with the Commissioners; and therefore desired I would not go to them. Within half an hour's time the Commissioners sent for us, and gave us in writing what they had said to the Prince; which Monsieur Schomberg took, and gave to his Highness. The Prince then sent Bentinck to invite the Commissioners to dine with him. The Prince then said, the inn was very unquiet, and therefore after dinner he would go to Littlecott, and lodge there. He desired, that all the Lords and gentlemen, who were with him, would meet in the afternoon, and prepare an answer to the paper, which the Commissioners had given him; and that two or three of them would bring it to him in the evening. I dined with Monsieur Schomberg: whilst I was in the Prince's chamber, Mr. Jepson took me aside, and showed me a parchment; which, he said, was a commission the Prince had made to several persons to meet and consult together, upon what was fit to offer to him as matters should occur; and that his

* This is confirmed by Burnet himself. "The Marquess of Halifax sent for me. But the Prince said, though he would suspect nothing from our meeting, others might: so I did not speak with him in private, but in the hearing of others." What follows is too curious to be omitted:—"Yet he (Halifax) took occasion to ask me, so as nobody observed it, if we had a mind to have the King in our hands. I said by no means, for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I said nothing was so much to be wished for. This I told the Prince; and he approved of both my answers."—*Burnet's Hist. I.* 794.

Highness had commanded him to insert my name into it. I read the instrument, and believe all the persons of any quality, except those of the Scotch and Irish nation, were in it. I told Mr. Jepson I would meet with the rest of the company at noon, as the Prince had desired; but I did not understand what this commission meant. In the afternoon we all met in the biggest room in the inn. At first there was some difficulty about a chairman: nobody had a mind to the office; but at last the Earl of Oxford was persuaded to take the chair. Mr. Jepson produced the commissioners' paper: the substance was, to agree upon such methods as might make the meeting of the Parliament free and safe. Several things were started in the debate: at length it was proposed, that the writs for calling a Parliament should be superseded. I cannot call to mind who made the proposal, (for it is now midnight, and I could not sooner set down any thing in writing,) but it was with great vehemency urged and seconded by Sir Henry Capell, and Sir John Hotham, Mr. William Harboard, and others; fearing, as I have reason to believe, that they could not get into the House of Commons. This was much opposed by the Lords Shrewsbury, Abingdon, Colchester, myself, and several others; but being put to the vote, after a long and warm debate, it was resolved, that the repealing the writs for the calling a Parliament should be one proposal to the King in order to a treaty. It was urged, that now we had nothing further to do; for, the whole errand of the commissioners being to consider of methods to make the meeting of the Parliament free and safe, if it were resolved that the writs should be superseded, what could we do else? But the answer was, the resolution was taken; and so the answer to the commission paper was soon finished. During this debate Lord Abingdon, sitting by me, told me, "You see now, my Lord, I had reason for what I told at Sarum, that no good was intended. Here are people with the Prince will bring all into confusion if they can." The answer being thus finished, the meeting broke up. My Lord Churchill, Sir Henry Capell, Mr. Jepson, and myself went to Littlecott to acquaint the Prince with what was done: Mr. Jepson read the draught of the answer to him. The Prince presently said, he did not like the clause for superseding the writs for the Parliament. Sir Henry Capell endeavoured to support it by the best arguments he could use: I said, I was in my judgment for the meeting of the Parliament; and I had heard nothing in the debate to convince me of the contrary. Mr. Jepson was against the superseding clause: Lord Churchill said very little. The Prince then said, he would have that clause put out. Sir Henry Capell desired he

would first speak with some of the other gentlemen, and hear their reasons; upon which the Prince replied to this effect--"By your favour, Sir Harry: we may drive away the King; but, perhaps, we may not know how easily to come by a Parliament." And so the clause for superseding the writs was ordered to be struck out. The Prince then desired us to meet again to-morrow morning, to acquaint the company with the alteration he had made; and that the disposing of armies might be further considered; and other places appointed for some of his troops, than were mentioned in our draught. This being thus settled, supper was called for; and, in the mean time, I know not how the Prince fell into discourse of the meeting of the Parliament: upon which Sir Henry Capell said, he had often wondered his Highness had no English creation. The Prince replied, that when he was married, my Lord Danby would have had him made a peer; but some of his good friends, the Papists, had no mind to it; and he himself showed no inclination to it. This I had never heard before. The Prince told us, he would have the answer to the commissioners' papers to be as from the lords and gentlemen who were with him, as well as from himself; for his business was to relieve the people of England. After supper we made what haste we could back to Hungerford: it was a very dark night, and past twelve o'clock before we got to our lodgings; till when I had no opportunity to recollect myself to set down any of this day's passages: therefore these notes must be very confused.

Dec. 9. Sunday. In the morning all the company met again. Mr. Jepson made the report of what alterations the Prince had made in the draught, which we had carried to him: there grew a very warm debate about superseding the writs. Sir John Hotham and William Harboard were very hot, reflecting much on those who carried the draught to the Prince, as if they had advised the alteration: whereas, God knows! it was purely the Prince himself. After much wrangling it was carried by a majority, that the clause for superseding the writs should be put in again; and so, the answer being finished, Sir Henry Capell and I went to Littlecott. We found most of the company there: the draught of the answer was read to the Prince, who approved of it; but was again dissatisfied about the clause for superseding the writs: upon which Sir John Hotham and the other hot gentlemen gave their reasons for inserting it, and desired his Highness to hear it debated; which was done with great warmth. But after all the Prince overruled it; and so the clause was struck out again. The answer being thus agreed to, the Prince took it, and said, he would have it fairly transcribed; that he had appointed

the Commissioners to be with him to-morrow morning, and that he would then give it them. This matter being thus settled, I returned to Hungerford, having eat nothing to-day. The Prince said, he would continue to-morrow at Littlecott.* God be thanked! the Parliament is to meet, there being, in all probability, no other way to reconcile matters.

Dec. 10. Monday. In the morning I and my company left Hungerford: we dined at Farringdon with Sir Robert Pye; and about six in the evening we got to Cornbury. The ways were extremely bad.

Dec. 11. Tuesday. We breakfasted at Cornbury, and got to Oxford about four in the afternoon. Sir Henry Capell and I took up our quarters at the Bishop of Man's: he was himself in his island; but his wife and family made us welcome. There was a guard by St. Giles's of rusty ruffians, kept by Lord Lovelace's order: they made a great clutter, and had broken down part of Magdalen-bridge. Lord Abingdon came presently to me: he told me the Prince lay to-night at Abingdon,† and would be here to-morrow before noon. As soon as I had refreshed myself, I went to Christ-church, where I found the Duke of Ormond, the Vice-chancellor, and much other company, settling things for the Prince's reception.

Dec. 12. Wednesday. In the morning my servant, who lay at the Angel, brought me word, that there was news in the town, that the King was gone from Whitehall yesterday, at three of the clock in the morning; and that the Queen and the Prince of Wales were gone the day before.‡ I went imme-

* "Saturday and Sunday the Prince stayed at Hungerford: we went to Enkpen, in Berkshire. Monday the Prince went on to Newberry; we went to Padworth, fourteen miles."—*Sir Patrick Hume's Diary.*

† "Tuesday the Prince went to Abingdon."—*Ibid.*

‡ It has been mentioned in a former note, that James had only entered into the negociation with William, in order to secure his own retreat, and that of his wife and child. Father Peters, who had counselled this measure, took flight a day or two previous to the King; and Barillon, in a letter of the 11th December, mentions that he had taken precautions to have the great seal at his command, that he might take it with him. Upon the departure of Peters, he gave his apartments in the Palace to the Chancellor (Jeffries.) "Son intention en cela (says Barillon,) est d'avoir auprès de lui le gran sceau, pour l'emporter au besoin. Par les loix d'Angleterre on ne peut rien faire sans le grand sceau; et avec le grand sceau, le Roi peut empecher beaucoup des choses que ses ennemis voudroit faire. On croit par ce moyen jeter du trouble et de la division dans le gouvernement qu'il faudra établir." *Mazure, tome* iii. p. 220.

On the 21st the Ambassador again writes to the King of France, "Le Roi d'Angleterre est parti cette nuit. Les commissaires arrivèrent quelques heures après. Le Roi (continues Barillon,) avoit reçu leur lettre avant que de partir, mais cette lettre ne lui a pas fait changer de resolution, ne se croyant en sûreté ni à Londres, ni à l'armée."

diately to the Duke of Ormond, who lay at All Souls'; who confirmed the same news by an express come to him this morning with an account of his mother's death. He told me likewise that the Prince of Orange had sent to him, that by reason of the King's sudden departure he could not come to Oxford, but would lie to-night at Wallingford: the Prince sent the same message to my Lord Abingdon. The Prince of Denmark sent to the Duke of Ormond, that he would dine to-day at Oxford; and desired, that he and the rest, who had accompanied him, would stay there for him; among whom were Lord Drumlanrick, and Mr. Henry Boyle. I and my company breakfasted with Dr. Levett: we went thence to Wallingford.* The Prince dined at Schomberg's quarters: he was very cheerful, and could not conceal his satisfaction at the King's being gone. Then I reflected on what he had said at Littlecott, that we may drive away the King, &c. I went to Brightwell to Mr. Stone's, who entertained me and all my company very kindly. Mr. Keightley met me at Wallingford, and came along with me. At Oxford, Captain Flower, Captain Long, and several others, who had been officers in Ireland, came to me: they went with me to Wallingford, and there I left them.

Dec. 13. Thursday. We went to Henley: the Prince came hither likewise to-night,† and lay at Mr. Whitlock's. The Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Weymouth and Culpepper, and the Bishop of Ely came hither with a declaration from the Peers, who had assembled at Whitehall upon the King's withdrawing himself. The Bishop of St. Asaph came with them, though not sent. There came likewise addresses from the City and Lieutenancy of London, brought by Sir Robert Clayton and other Aldermen. The Lords supped with the Prince: after supper the Prince went into his chamber. He took those lords and gentlemen with him who came with him, and ordered the addresses to be read. He seemed much pleased with those that came from the City, but not at all with that from the Lords. Somebody told the Prince how Lord Feversham had disbanded the King's army; and that the soldiers were all running up and down, not knowing what course to take: at which the Prince seemed very angry at Lord Feversham, and said, I am not to be

* "Wednesday the Prince went to Wallingford."—*Sir Patrick Hume.*

† "Thursday we went to the Prince at Wallingford, and thence with him to Henley, eighteen miles."—*Ibid.*

thus dealt with.* I told the Prince, if he had no commands for me, I would go to-morrow to town: the truth is, I am weary of my company, and long to be at home. The Prince said, he would go to-morrow to Windsor, and stay there a day or two: he desired me to be there on Sunday. When I came to my lodging, which was at the minister's, I got the Bishop of Ely to me, and told him, all was nought.

Dec. 14. Friday.† I and my company went to London: the Lords who came from the rest of the Peers, likewise returned. Before we left Henley we had an account, that the King was taken at Feversham, and kept there by the rabble. The Bishop of St. Asaph stayed with Dr. Burnet. I set Sir Henry Capell down at Brentford: about four in the afternoon I came to town. I thank God, I found my wife and family well. My brother came quickly to me. He gave me an account of the manner of the King's being taken; and that the Peers, who met every morning and afternoon in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, had sent to him, as soon as they heard of it. I sent Mr. Knight to desire Mr. Pollexfen to come to me to-morrow morning, as early as he could.

Dec. 15. Saturday. In the morning Mr. Pollexfen was with me. I told him, I had a great desire to confer with him, that I might the better know how to govern myself in this wonderful exigence. He very readily told me, he wondered the Prince of Orange had done no more; that the King, by withdrawing himself had left the government; that he had made a cession, and forfeited his right; that his being now at Feversham, though he should come back to London, signified not a rush; that the Prince of Orange had nothing to do, but in the head of his army to declare himself King, and presently to issue out writs for the calling a Parliament according to Cromwell's model; which, he said, was a far more equal way of election than the old con-

* The King had addressed a letter to Lord Feversham on Dec. 10, upon withdrawing himself, which was read aloud to the troops, and seems to have made a deep impression upon those to whom it was addressed. A Council of War was held, at which it was resolved to disband the army, and accordingly 4,000 men then under the Earl were dismissed. The Earl and three other general-officers sent a letter to the Prince, announcing this proceeding. *See Kennet's History, III. p.* 532. It is observed in the Memoirs of James, that it "was no small disappointment to the Prince of Orange, (as appeared afterwards by his resentment of what had been done,) who had already framed to himself great prospects of aid and advantages from those troops in the further prosecution of his designs against France," ii. 251.

† "Friday the Prince went to Windsor; we to Hounslow, twenty miles."—*Sir Patrick Hume.*

stitution. Good God bless me! what a man is this? I confess, he astonished me; and so we quickly parted. I went to the meeting of the Lords at Whitehall. See the Journal of those proceedings. A letter from Lord Middleton, that the King would lie to-night at Rochester, and be to-morrow at Whitehall.

Dec. 16. Sunday. I went to Windsor, chiefly to carry my brother. Lord Drogheda went in the coach with us: we took up Sir Henry Capell at Brentford. Lord Blessington went with the rest of the lords and gentlemen of Ireland, who carried an address to the Prince. When we came to Windsor, the Prince was gone to church. I went into the bed-chamber, where I found Bentinck. He told me, the King had sent my Lord Feversham with a letter to the Prince: he showed me the letter; the substance whereof was, as I remember, that he hoped they should quickly meet, and referred him to what my Lord Feversham should say to him. But, he told me, the Prince was very angry with my Lord Feversham, and had committed him; that his Highness had answered the King's letter by Monsieur Zulestein,* and de-

* Barillon's account of Zulestein's mission is as follows:—He was not in time to prevent James's return from Rochester, but found him at Whitehall, where he was for some time closeted with the King. Having told him that the Prince of Orange could not make his appearance in London, without a number of troops sufficient to protect his person, James replied, "he may bring as many as he will; I will have myself even only those he may think necessary; or rather, not being sure of my own troops, I would as lieve have none at all." And he immediately gave orders to Lord Craven, who commanded the Guards, to put St. James's at the disposition of the Prince of Orange; and to prepare quarters for the Dutch troops. At the same time he expressed his surprise and indignation at the arrest of Lord Feversham, which he said, was a direct violation of the law of nations.

This same day after supper the King held a conversation with the French ambassador, which deserves to be here recorded, as it is presented to us by M. Mazure in his *Histoire de la Revolution*, tome iii. p. 264. The King said to him, "All England is in arms, and in every town and village unknown or suspected persons are arrested. At Dover a fisherman has taken possession of the Castle; and commands like Masaniello did at Naples." Afterwards speaking of the state of his affairs, he said, "The Prince of Orange would much rather that I had gone away; and will find himself very much embarrassed what form of government to establish. The meeting of a Parliament cannot be authorised without writs under the great seal, and they have been issued for fifteen counties only; the others are burned: the great seal *is missing*. The Chancellor had placed it in my hands eight days before I went away. They cannot make another without me. All this will create difficulties and incidents, which afford me occasion to take suitable measures." "I see," (adds Barillon,) "that he is still determined to seek the means of saving himself: he had intended it at Rochester. He puts no trusts in the acclamations with which he was received yesterday, and the few bonfires which were lighted in the City. He has made new protestations to me that he will not suffer himself to be engaged in any measures against your Majesty."

sired his Majesty to stay at Rochester. I asked Bentinck, what could be the meaning of committing Lord Feversham? To which he made me no answer, but with a shrug, "Alas! my Lord." This proceeding startles me. When the Prince came from church, I presented my brother to him: he received him very coldly, as I expected, and said little or nothing to him. I told the Prince, several lords and persons of quality, English belonging to Ireland, were without to wait on him: the Prince went into the outward room to them. They presented an address to him; which I read. The Prince in a grave way, said, "My lords and gentlemen, I thank you: I will take care of you:" and so went away. The Duke of Beaufort came this morning to Windsor: he waited an hour in the outward room, before he could be admitted to the Prince, and was then received very coldly. The Prince lay below stairs in those rooms called Will. Chiffinch's, and dined above in the King's dining-room: Bentinck had the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodging. I was walking with my brother, when two or three messengers, one upon another, told me the Prince called for me to dine with him, but said nothing to my brother; therefore I looked upon this often sending for me to be done purposely to put a slight upon my brother, with whom, Burnet and others told me, the Prince was much dissatisfied. My brother pressed me to go to the Prince: he had appointed his own coach to be there, and so he went away for New-Park. I found the Prince at table: the Duke of Beaufort was there, and much company, but room was made for me. After dinner I went to the Dean's, who had invited me to dinner; there I found the Bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Burnet. We fell into discourse of the King's being stopped at Feversham, and that he would be at Whitehall to-night; upon which Burnet said, it was foolishly done of those who stopped him at Feversham; and that his coming back to Whitehall would very much disturb things. I said I hoped he would be mistaken; that the King had written to the Prince, and invited him to town; but that I wondered why my Lord Feversham, who came in the errand, was committed;* at which Burnet

* The pretence was that he had come without a pass. But as he had commanded the troops, and chagrined William by disbanding them, there may have been a latent motive; or it might not be thought prudent to let him return to his royal master. James told Zulestein, "that it was against the law of nations to detain a public minister; that he hoped the Prince of Orange would have so much consideration for him, as not to keep him in restraint any longer. But the Prince had

laughed. The Bishop of St. Asaph said, that the King by going away had made a cession. I asked what he meant? He replied it can be nothing but a cession. God bless me, how soon a man is poisoned by one who is more crafty than himself! I really thought by his discourse he was not the same man I left him at Henley. I quickly went from the Dean's to the Duke of Beaufort's lodgings, whom I found just ready to go out of town. We had only some little discourse of what we had observed, and so he went for Chelsea. I went to my lodging, which I had taken at Mr. Hill's, my old landlord. Sir Henry Capell lay there too, and brought me word that the Prince would lie to-morrow at Sion. Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Powell came together to Windsor, and had been a long time in private with the Prince. Colonel Titus and Sir William Williams were there likewise, but could not be admitted to the Prince.

Dec. 17. Monday. I sent for my coach about nine of the clock. Sir Henry Capell told me he would step to the Castle to inquire what time the Prince would be at Sion, that he might inform my Lady Northumberland, and would be back immediately. Dr. Burnet came to see me, and brought Sir Robert Atkyns with him, who had been presented to the Prince by my Lord Macclesfield. It being past ten o'clock, I sent Thomas Apprice to find out Sir Henry Capell, and to tell him that I stayed for him. He presently returned with his message, that Sir H. Capell bid him tell me, the Prince desired to speak with me; whereupon I presently went to the Castle. Lord Chandos, and several other persons of quality were in the outward room. I was presently called into the inner room, but nobody else was suffered to go in. I found there several Lords, (all whose names I cannot call to mind,) and Lord Halifax in the midst of them; who presently turned to me, and said the Prince had sent for all the peers who were at Windsor, to advise with them about what was fit to be done upon the King's being come to Whitehall, and that as I came in late, he would tell me what they had re-

no regard to the King's request, and left him prisoner when he came to Sion; nor did he so much as answer his letter, or indeed keep any sort of measures with his Majesty afterwards." Echard relates that the Prince made a public visit to the Queen-dowager on the last day of the year, and among other questions, asked her pleasantly how she passed her time; and whether she played at basset. The Queen answered that she had not played at that game since the absence of her chamberlain, who used to keep the bank. The Prince took the hint, and told her he would by no means interrupt her diversions, and the next day Lord Feversham was set at liberty.

solved upon. I said if the resolution were taken, there was no need of informing me of any thing; but he went on, and said, that Monsieur Zulestein had missed the King on the road, and that his Majesty was come the last night to Whitehall; that he had written to the Prince, and invited him to St. James's, and to send what forces he pleased to town; but the Lords were of opinion, that the King should be advised to leave Whitehall, and to go to Ham. I asked why the King must leave Whitehall? It was answered, the Prince did not believe he could be safe there. I then asked, "Why must he go to Ham?" Lord Halifax answered, the Lords are agreed, and have sent to desire the Prince to come to them; and while he was yet speaking, the Prince came into the room. My Lord Halifax gave him an account of the resolution the Lords were come to, which was drawn up in writing; and being read, I said again, it seemed strange to me, that the King should be, as it were, directed to go to Ham; that if it were not safe for his Majesty to be at London, why might he not be at liberty to go where he pleased? or be desired to go to some of his own houses, Hampton-Court, or Windsor, and to have his own guards about him? Upon which Lord Delamere, very angrily (a little thing puts him into a passion) said, he did not look upon him as his King, and would never more pay him obedience; and that he ought not to be like a King in one of his own houses, and earnestly pressed that he might be directed to go to Ham. The Prince approved of what the Lords had done, and desired my Lord Mordaunt to transcribe the paper fair over. Lord Halifax then told the Prince there had been very free debates, which would not be very fit to be talked of; whereupon his Highness enjoined secresy. The Prince then said, "Now we must consider who shall carry this message to the King." Lord Halifax said, he thought it were best to be sent by some of the Prince's officers; and I think he named Count Solmes; but the Prince replied, "By your favour, my Lord, it is the advice of the peers here, and some of yourselves shall carry it;" and so in the same breath he named the Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere. The Prince's guards were ordered early in the morning to march to London, and Count Solmes was now commanded to follow them, and to take possession of the posts at Whitehall. The Prince then said, "It must be considered what guard shall attend upon the King at Ham;" and somebody (I cannot call to mind who it was,) said, it would be fit to instruct the officer, that should be appointed to command it, what to do, in case the King should endeavour to make his escape from Ham. This took up some de-

bate; but my Lord Shrewsbury proposed, that nothing might be now resolved in this matter, but that it might be the subject of another consultation; and so it was resolved. The company then parted. I then went to my lodging, and so took coach for London, where I arrived by that time it was dark. Several of my friends came to see me.* I thought it the most melancholy day I had ever seen in my whole life. I was told the King came in his coach last night through the City; and that very great joy was expressed through all the streets as he passed, ringing of bells, and all sorts of acclamations.† As soon as the King came to Whitehall, he called a council, where he made several orders. And I am told he expressed much dissatisfaction at what the Lords had done in his absence.

Dec. 18. Tuesday. I stirred not out. I was told the three Lords came to Whitehall last night after the King was in bed. The English guards being first removed, and the Dutch possessed of their posts, the Lords were quickly admitted to the King; and when they had delivered their message, the King told them, he had rather return to Rochester than go to Ham; whereupon the Lords went back to Sion, and brought the King word by nine this morning, that his Majesty might go to Rochester if he pleased; and about eleven the King took barge and went down the river, Dutch guards being appointed to attend him.‡ About four in the afternoon the Prince

* Among these friends Mr. Evelyn was one. In a letter to his son, dated the 18th of December, he says, "I dined at the Earl of Clarendon's, whom I did not find altogether so well satisfied as I expected, considering that his son, Lord Cornebery, took so considerable a stroke in this turn. I wish he do not *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*."

† This is confirmed in King James's Memoirs. "As soon as he arrived there, he was hugely surprised with the unexpected testimonies of the people's affection to him; it is not to be imagined what acclamations were made, and what joy the people expressed at his Majesty's return; such bonfires, ringing of bells, and all imaginable marks of love and esteem, as made it look liker a day of triumph than humiliation; and this was so universal amongst all ranks of people, that the King, nor none that were with him, had ever seen the like before, the same crowds of people and cries of joy accompanying him to Whitehall, and even to his bed-chamber door itself." Yet the many-headed multitude the next day, hailed William with equal triumph.—*See the extract from Sir Patrick Hume's Diary in a succeeding note.*

Evelyn remarks, "that it being Sunday when he came back, he went to mass, and dined in public, a Jesuit saying grace!"

‡ A great court lady told Sir John Reresby, "That the second time the King went away, he so little designed any such thing, that he knew not which way to set forward; one while he resolved to go northward and throw himself into the hands of Lord Danby; another he had thoughts of going to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of Winchester; and that she herself was

came to St. James's, where he took up his quarters.* I went to Court, but the crowd was so great I could not see the Prince. Lord Mulgrave was at the bed-chamber door, in hopes to get the first admittance. Bentinck accosts him thus—"*Comment! milord, vous avez quitté vôtre bâton.*" The other replied, "*Il est bien temps.*"

Dec. 19. Wednesday. It is not to be imagined what a damp there was upon all sorts of men throughout the town. The treatment the King had met with from the Prince of Orange, and the manner of his being driven, as it were, from Whitehall, with such circumstances, moved compassion even in those who were not very fond of him. Several of the English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur. The King lay last night at Gravesend, and went this morning to Rochester. He took up his quarters at Sir Richard Head's. I was at St. James's; where I presented Lord Preston and Sir John Ernle to the Prince. When the Prince of Orange came from Abingdon, the Prince of Denmark went to Oxford to meet the Princess there; where they refreshed themselves some days, and this evening came to town.

Dec. 20. Thursday. In the morning I went to St. James's, but saw not the Prince: there was no getting to him for the continual concourse of all sorts of people who were there; and every one desired to be admitted to him. I had no business; but resolved every day to go thither, to see how the world went. I saw Mr. Pollexfen come out of the Prince's chamber; and I was told, he had been an hour in private with him. The aldermen and

sent to these last, to know if they would receive and secure him, and that they neither accepted the motion nor rejected it."

* "Tuesday morning, the King went under the Prince's guards to Rochester.—About noon the Prince entered Westminster, with great acclamations and tokens of joy among the people, and ringing of bells and bonfires at night: he lodged at St. James's. That day a meeting of the Lords spiritual and temporal declared for the Prince."—*Sir Patrick Hume.*

"It happened to be a very rainy day, (says Burnet,) and yet great numbers went to see him. But after they had stood long in the wet, he disappointed them; for he, who neither loves shows nor shoutings, went through the Park. And even this trifle helped to set people's spirits on edge."

Bevil Higgons draws a pathetic picture of the contrast which the fortunes of James afforded at this juncture: "The King was carried down the river in a very tempestuous day, not without some danger; and while the poor old King was thus exposed to the mercy of the elements, and an actual prisoner under a guard of Dutchmen, that very moment his daughter Denmark, with her great favourite (Lady Churchill,) both covered with orange ribbons, in her father's coaches, and attended by his guards, went triumphant to the playhouse."—*Short View of English History*, p. 350.

recorder were to compliment the Prince; my Lord Mayor was sick and could not come. About noon Mr. Graham was with me: he came to town last night. He told me he left the King well, and that he was to return to him to-morrow. I desired him to beseech the King not to go from Rochester; that I found by several lords and others, I had discoursed with, that there would be addresses made to him to return, and that all I had discoursed with were of opinion that nothing could be so destructive to him and the public as his going out of the kingdom. In the afternoon summons was sent to all the peers in town to attend the Prince of Orange to-morrow at ten in the morning at St. James's. In the evening Mr. Keightley was with me: Sir Thomas Clarges was likewise with me; and we were talking very melancholy of the public state of affairs, all things looking like confusion. When Sir Thomas was gone, (who wished an accommodation with the King as sincerely as any man,) and Keightley and I were alone, I told him I wished he would go to Rochester, and assure the King of my humble duty; that I would serve him to the utmost of my power; that he should tell the King his enemies wished he would be gone, and that his friends feared it, though they hoped he would not leave us; that he should let the King know the opinions of several lords and others, of whom I gave him the names; that there would certainly be addresses made to him, and therefore to beseech him not to leave Rochester till he saw what the Lords did. Keightley was very ready to undertake the journey, but said he could not pretend to have any credit with the King; and it was not to be imagined that his Majesty would change the resolution he had taken, if he had taken any, upon what he should say to him. I then wished some honest Roman Catholic would try what could be done, by laying things plainly and fairly before the King: upon which he mentioned Mr. Belson, whom I knew to be both a discreet and honest man, and one who never approved the foolish management of Father Peters; as, in truth, did none of the sober Roman Catholics. I desired him to try if Mr. Belson would be persuaded to go to the King upon the terms that we had been speaking of; and, if he would, to get him to be with me to-morrow in the evening, that he might be gone early on Saturday morning.

Dec. 21. Friday. In the morning the Bishop of Ely called upon me, and told me he had got Dr. Brady* to go to the King upon the same errand

* Dr. Thomas Brady, the well-known author of several historical works. He was Physician in Ordinary to the King, and also Keeper of the Records in the Tower. He was twice chosen one of the representatives in Parliament for the University of Cambridge.

Keightley and I had been discoursing of; of which I was very glad. I went to St. James's according to the summons. The peers met in the Queen's presence chamber; whither the Prince came to them. He spake very few words to them out of a paper, which he left with them; and so withdrew. The Lords agreed to meet to-morrow morning in the House of Peers, (as the most convenient place) to consider of what the Prince had said to them; and, as I remember, they sent for some lawyers to assist them, there being no judges, or at least none they would confer with. In the evening Mr. Belson was with me. I found him perfectly of my mind, that the King ought to satisfy his people; and after some discourse, whereby to possess him with the present posture of things, and the grounds I had to believe that addresses would be made to the King, (which I was more confirmed in by the discourse I had with several Lords at the meeting this morning) he and Keightley resolved to go to Rochester to-morrow morning: that he would use his utmost skill, both by himself and what other Catholics he found there, to persuade the King not to stir, and to issue out a declaration to satisfy the minds of his people, and to receive favourably such addresses as should be made to him by the Lords. God give a blessing to these endeavours!

Dec. 22. Saturday. In the morning the peers met in the House of Lords; Mr. Gwyne officiated as clerk. Nothing of moment passed: *(See the journal of the meeting.)* My brother and I dined at Lambeth, where we met the Bishops of Ely and Peterborough. Our business was to persuade the Archbishop to come to the House of Lords; to which he was extremely averse: but at last we prevailed with him, and he promised us to be there on Monday. I sent Thomas Apprice to Rochester with an account of this day's proceedings. This being the time of choosing new common-council-men in the City, for the year ensuing, I am told the Prince wrote a letter to the City not to tender the oath to them.

Dec. 23. Sunday. In the morning I sent Richards to Rochester, with a letter from the Bishop of Ely to Mr. Keightley. In the afternoon I went to St. James's: the Prince took me into his bed-chamber. He asked me, if the peers met again to-morrow? I told him, yes. He then asked what I thought we should do? I said I could only tell him my own mind; and that I should endeavour that we might proceed upon his Highness's declaration; which I hoped he would keep to, as the only foundation upon which to make the King and kingdom happy. The Prince heard me with great

patience; and very calmly said, (when I expected he would make me some answer) "My Lord, the King is gone from Rochester." "Whither, Sir?" said I: "I know not," replied the Prince: he went away about one or two this morning."* I was struck to the heart; and, without saying one word, I made my leg, and went home as fast as I could. I had not been long in my chamber, when Mr. Belson and Mr. Keightley came to me. They told me, that as soon as they got yesterday to Rochester, Keightley went presently to the King, and told him, that Mr. Belson was come to speak with him from several of his old friends, upon matters of the greatest importance. The King was going to supper: when he had done, he told Keightley that he was going in to write letters, and that he would speak with Mr. Belson this morning. That when he went this morning to wait on him, he found his Majesty was gone privately away in the night; that he had left a letter upon his table for my Lord Middleton; and this was all they could tell me. Good God! what will become of this poor, distracted, and distempered nation? In the evening the Bishop of Ely and Sir Thomas Clarges were with me, full of astonishment, as every body was, at the King's being again withdrawn. It is like an earthquake.

Dec. 24. Monday. In the morning the Lords met, and sat till past five at night: a good preparation for Christmas! See the Journal. My Lord of Canterbury came not: the Bishop of Ely and I sent to him; but the King's being gone had cast such a damp upon him, that he would not come; which many of us were sorry for. His declaring himself at this time would have been weight among us. What the Prince had spoken to the Lords at St. James's was first read: to my apprehension there seemed a great consternation among the Lords. Several things were stated, as the reading the Prince's declaration, but that would not be yielded to. It was moved (by Earl Berkeley, as I remember) to inquire what was become of the King, that Lord Aylesbury was in the house, who had been at Rochester, and might possibly

* William received the agreeable intelligence of the King's flight very few hours after it had taken place, and he at once signed an order for the departure of the French Ambassador within twenty-four hours. Barillon, in his last letter to Louis XIV., says that the Prince commanded in London as if in a camp, that his troops mounted guard every where, not without some murmurs on the part of the English regiments at seeing the Tower and other places of strength in the hands of the Dutch; and he speaks of the agitations which troubled the Assembly at Westminster, where the King's cause found defenders.

give some account; that Lord Middleton had a letter from the King; that that letter might be seen. It was moved by several, that the letter might be sent for, which took up some debate, and I believe had been carried, but that Lord Godolphin said, he had seen the letter, and did assure the Lords, it would give them no satisfaction; and so that matter fell. Most men believed that Lord true to the King's interest (which, I confess, I did not) and, therefore acquiesced in what he said. It was urged, that by the King's withdrawing himself the Government was fallen; that it was a demise in law. It was moved, that the learned counsel might give their opinions, as to that point: and it being likewise moved, that the questions put to the counsel might be stated in writing, and they to give their answers in writing, that matter fell. It was moved, that we should take into consideration, how we might get a free Parliament, as the only way to attain to a settlement. I moved again the reading the Prince's declaration, and that we might inquire into the birth of the Prince of Wales: whereupon Lord Wharton replied to this effect—"My Lords, I did not expect, at this time of day, to hear any body mention that child, who was called the Prince of Wales. Indeed I did not; and I hope we shall hear no more of him." It was urged, (as I remember, by Lord Paget,) that the King's withdrawing was a demise in law; and, therefore, he moved, that the Princess of Orange might be declared Queen. He was seconded by the Bishop of London and Lord North; but the Earls of Pembroke and Nottingham opposed that motion: they spoke with great moderation and tenderness towards the King, as did several others. Those who were most bitter and fierce were the Lords Devonshire, Montague, Cornwallis, and Delamere. It was moved by some, that those members who were returned upon the writs, which had been issued out (though the rest were stopped) might meet at the time specified in the writs, and that they should order the other elections to be proceeded in, and adjourn for some days till they were returned; but this was slighted. At last, after many things had been started, the result of all was, that an address should be made to the Prince of Orange to take the Administration of the Government, and to write circular letters to all the counties, cities, and universities, and cinque-ports, to choose Representatives to meet in a Convention at Westminster, on the 22d of January next. *See the Journal.* And, that no time might be lost, the Lords resolved to meet again to-morrow in the afternoon. This morning Sir Henry Reynell, of Ireland, was with me, and very earnestly pressed me to move, that we might proceed upon the writs already returned. Mr. Bowyer, of the Temple,

was with me upon the same point, and Sir Thomas Clarges seemed inclined to the same.

Dec. 25. Monday. In the afternoon I went to Westminster. The business was only to sign the two addresses to the Prince, for taking the administration of the Government, and to issue out circular letters for the summoning a Convention; and then the peers went and presented them in a body at St. James's. The Prince's answer was to this effect—"That he could not give an answer to these Addresses, till he had spoken with the gentlemen who had been formerly of the House of Commons, and whom he had appointed to be with him to-morrow; as likewise the Lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council." In the evening I went to see Sir Joseph Williamson; where I found Sir Thomas Lee, who was very grum; and we had very little discourse.

Dec. 26. Wednesday. In the morning those gentlemen, who had been of the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II. (for so run the printed summons from the Prince of Orange) attended the Prince at St. James's. The Prince spoke to them (out of a paper) to the same effect he had done to the peers. They went immediately together to the House of Commons at Westminster, and quickly agreed to make the same Addresses in substance, to the Prince of Orange, as the Lords had done. In the afternoon my brother showed me the King's letter, which he had left upon the table for my Lord Middleton; of which I took a copy. In the evening the Earl of Danby came to town.

Dec. 27. Thursday. In the morning I went to St. James's with Judge Street,* to present him to the Prince; but I was told the Prince was busy, and I could not get admittance. While I was in the outward room, my Lord Coote† came to me, and told me he was sorry to see me patronize Street. I told his Lordship I had long known the Judge, and that I took him to be a very honest man. My Lord answered to this effect—"I know he did not join in the judgment for the dispensing power: he has married my relation; but he is a very ill man. I have given the Prince a true character of him; and, therefore, I desire your Lordship will not concern yourself any more for him. I told my Lord Coote that I knew no business the Judge had with the Prince, but to kiss his hand as others did; that I had no request to make for him; and that I would not present any one to the Prince to be affronted. The Bishops of Norwich and Ely dined with me. After dinner they went to

* Sir Thomas Street, Puisne Justice of the Common Pleas.

† Charles Viscount Coote, eldest son of the Earl of Mountrath, and who succeeded to the title in 1709.

see my Lord of Danby. They came to me in the evening, and told me his Lordship was very reserved, and they could not make any discovery of his mind. In the evening Lord Roscommon came to me. He was newly come to town: he left Dublin on the 16th instant. He desired me to present him to the Prince of Orange, which I did at the Prince of Denmark's.

Dec. 28. Friday. In the morning Judge Street came to me again: I had appointed him so to do yesterday, before the conference with my Lord Coote. I told him I found the Prince had ill impressions of him, and therefore I advised him to defer waiting on him for some time, for my presenting him would do him no service. The peers were summoned to attend the Prince again this morning at St. James's. He told them his business was to give them answers to their addresses; the substance whereof was, that he would accept the administration of the Government, and issue out circular letters for the summoning a convention, as had been desired. *See the Journal.*

Dec. 29. Saturday. In the morning I went to St. James's; but could not see the Prince: he was shut up a long time with Lord Mordaunt. Mrs. Danvers (having been to-day to visit my wife) told me the Princess was saying yesterday that she had not seen me a great while, which she a little wondered at. The King's reasons for withdrawing from Rochester appeared to-day in print. In the evening the Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely were with me: we read them over together. The Bishop of Ely and I were moved at them; but the Bishop of St. Asaph took the paper, and began to comment upon it, saying it was a jesuitical masterpiece. I think I never heard more malicious inferences, than he drew from the King's expression in that paper. Good God! where is loyalty and Christian charity?

Dec. 30. Sunday. In the afternoon I was at Somerset-house with Sir Richard Bellings. In the evening I visited Lady Ranelagh. Sir Thomas Clarges was with me. He told me he could not tell what to make of Lord Halifax.

Dec. 31. Monday. In the morning I waited on the Princess. She told me she had not seen me a great while. I said I found it was not so easy for me to get access to her Royal Highness as formerly; that I doubted she was displeased at my last discourse I had with her, which had made me not attend her so frequently as I had done; but that she knew she might command me whenever she had any service for me. She said she desired to be informed of what was now in agitation; that she could talk freely with me, and therefore desired I would come to her as I used to do. God grant she may return to her duty. In the evening my brother and Sir Thomas Clarges being with

me, my Lord of Pembroke came to see me. We had much free discourse of the present state of affairs. Lord Pembroke was in a very good temper, and seemed to be of opinion that all endeavours must be used in the convention in January, to provide for the safety of the government with regard to the King's interest.

Thus ends this unhappy year, fatal, I fear, to England. God grant the next may prove more fortunate than it seems to portend.

1688-9.

JANUARY 1. Tuesday. The year begun with hard frost: in the morning I went to Court upon the usual compliments of the day. I visited Sir Edward Seymour. He told me he met Mr. William Harbord yesterday at Court; and that he had sent me word by Mr. Gwynn what passed. I asked Sir Edward Seymour if I might take notice of it; for truly I intended to acquaint the Prince of Orange with it: but he desired me not at the present, in regard it was in discourse between them two only; but he would quickly give me an opportunity of doing it, by talking to him again upon the same subject, when he met him conveniently with other company. Sir Edward Seymour then talked very freely to me upon the state of the public affairs: he said all honest men were startled at the manner of the King's being sent from Whitehall; that all the West went in to the Prince of Orange upon his declaration, thinking in a free Parliament to redress all that was amiss; but that men now began to think that the Prince aimed at something else; and that the countenance he gave the Dissenters, gave too much cause of jealousy to the Church of England; who, he said, were the most considerable and most substantial body of the nation; and, if they were not supported, we should run into a Commonwealth, and all would be ruined. Of all which, he said, he would discourse freely to the Prince; and, if he did not find him upon the bottom of his declaration, it would be impossible for honest men to serve him. I confess I was very glad to find him in this temper; knowing he has a good interest with many men. I dined at home. In the afternoon I waited upon the Prince of Orange, and gave him, according to his command, a list of all the Protestant officers who had been turned out of the army in Ireland, whilst I was in that government. I acquainted him likewise

that the Earl of Meath and the Lord Blessington offered their services to go to Ireland for the reducing of that country; and that the latter desired to have the command of the regiment of dragoons which came from thence, and he would recruit it. This I did to gratify the importunity of those lords: and indeed, all the Protestants of Ireland, who are now here, being very many, are extremely earnest and solicitous for men and arms to be sent into that country; which is not to be wondered at in men whose whole substance lies there; many of whom have suffered great hardships, and all of them find their estates have been impairing these three or four years. The Prince bid me thank those two Lords for their offer, and said, he would take care of Ireland, as soon as things were a little settled here. He then said, he could talk no more with me now, because it was his writing day; and bid me for the future not come to him on Tuesdays nor Fridays, those being his post-days into Holland. In the evening I visited Lord Abingdon; who told me he had not yet been able to have much discourse with Lord Danby; that he seemed troubled the King was gone; but Lord Abingdon said, he fancied he was reserved to him, but he should quickly find him out. I told my Lord Burlington, and my Lord Blessington severally, and I said the same to Sir Oliver St. George, who was with me this evening, that I was as much concerned for the Protestants of Ireland, as any man could be, and would be most glad to have a good occasion to venture my life in their service; but I was afraid things would be put upon such a foot, as that I could not be useful to them. However, I resolved still to continue going to Court once in two or three days, to observe which way the world went; though it was easy to perceive that my company was not very agreeable to those of the Court.

Jan. 2. Wednesday. Several of the gentlemen of Ireland were with me in the morning: they know not to whom else to apply. They told me, they heard the Prince had given order for a declaration to be prepared concerning Ireland; that they found it was contrived between Sir John Temple and William Harbord; that the latter had shown the draft of it to some of them, and they did not at all like it. I found they had great jealousy of Sir John Temple, and were very angry to find William Harbord was to be Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; which he had had the vanity to own to some of them, and as a confirmation, (in these gentlemen's opinions at least,) the Prince had committed all the affairs of Ireland to his care; and all of that kingdom were directed to apply themselves to him. I told these gentlemen, I knew nothing of this declaration, but what they now told me; (which was most

true, but I would endeavour to inform myself. I dined at home, and went no more out all day.

Jan. 3. Thursday. I went to dinner to Lambeth: Dr. Tennison with me. We went over the bridge, by reason the river was so full of ice that boats could not pass. After dinner I spoke to the Archbishop (as I had done several times before) of going to the Prince of Orange, or sending some message to him by some of the Bishops; for he had yet taken no notice at all of him: but he was positive not to do it, for the reasons he formerly gave me. We then spoke to him of the approaching convention, and whether he would not think of preparing something against that time in behalf of the Dissenters. Dr. Tennison added it would be expected something should be offered in pursuance of the petition which the Seven Bishops had given to the King; for which they had been put into the Tower. The Archbishop said, he knew well what was in their petition; and he believed every Bishop in England intended to make it good, when there was an opportunity of debating those matters in convocation; but till then, or without a commission from the King, it was highly penal to enter upon church matters; but however he would have it in his mind, and would be willing to discourse any of the Bishops or other clergy thereupon, if they came to him; though he believed the Dissenters would never agree among themselves with what concessions they would be satisfied. To which Dr. Tennison replied, he believed so too; that he had not discoursed with any of them upon this subject; and the way to do good was, not to discourse with them, but for the Bishops to endeavour to get such concessions settled in Parliament, the granting whereof (whether accepted or not by the Dissenters,) should be good for the Church. The Archbishop answered, that when there was a convocation, those matters would be considered of; and in the mean time he knew not what to say, but that he would think of what had been offered by us.

Jan. 4. Friday. Pretty early in the morning Sir Richard Stevens, Mr. Warburton, and some other gentlemen of Ireland came to me, full of discontent about the declaration which was designed for Ireland; which I had not yet seen. I told them I had not yet had an opportunity to speak with the Prince about it; which I would do, as soon as was possible: but, alas! it is very difficult to get access to the Prince; at least I find it so. But in the forenoon I went to Court. The Prince of Orange was in the withdrawing room, and took every one aside, who presented themselves to him: among the rest he had a very long whisper with Sir William Temple's son in the window; and I could observe the young

gentleman discourse to him out of a paper, which seemed to be of heads, for I could see it figured in the margin, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. When I saw all was clear, I offered myself to speak to the Prince: he told me, it was Friday, and he could not go aside with me. I said I would not trouble his Highness with any long discourse, but desired only to speak one word with him there; to which he said, "Speak then." I told him, I found the gentlemen of Ireland much alarmed with the talk of a declaration, which his Highness was said to be setting out, relating to Ireland; and that, by the account they had of it, they feared it was not well considered; upon which the Prince said, he had been discoursing with William Harbord, and some others, who understood Ireland; and that they thought it the best way to issue a proclamation to invite my Lord Tyrconnel and the rest to lay down their arms and to deliver up the kingdom; that Sir John Temple had made a draft of such a proclamation, which he had seen, and had directed him to show it to some of that kingdom. I said, that Sir John Temple was a very worthy and able man; but the taking such an affair upon himself singly, made all his countrymen jealous: and therefore I humbly begged leave to move his Highness, that, considering the Duke of Ormond, Lord Burlington, Lord Drogheda, and several other of the Protestant nobility and chief gentry of that kingdom were now here, he would please to appoint them to meet together, (as he had done to those of England and Scotland,) and direct them to acquaint him with their sense of the present state of that country; to which he said, he would consider of it: and so I made my obeisance, and retired. As I turned about, the first man I spied was Sir John Temple: I spoke to him of the matter, of which I had been discoursing. He told me he had made a draft of a proclamation; that he did not like it very well himself; that he had showed it to some of his countrymen; that he found they were dissatisfied. As he was going on, the Prince called him; and so I went away. I visited my Lord Tarbott, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland. The first was not at home; the last I found. He discoursed very freely to me, and with great professions of duty towards the King; and seemed much surprized to find things here as they were. In the afternoon my Lord Halifax made me a visit; the first honour I have had of that kind, since my coming to town. He seemed very dark, and to be much upon the reserve in his discourse. In the evening Sir Oliver St. George, Serjeant Osborne, and Sir Richard Stevens came severally to me, and told me, there was a stop put to the Irish proclamation; and that the Prince had appointed all those of that country to meet and consider,

what they would propose to him. Stevens and Osborne were at Court in the morning, and saw me speak to the Prince: so that they gave it about, that I had great credit with the Prince. How easily people take up an imagination, that a man is in credit, but by seeing him speak to a prince or a great man; than which nothing is more ridiculous.

Jan. 5. Saturday. In the forenoon I went to Court, but was only in the crowd. I visited Monsieur de Schomberg, who was civil to me, and that was all; there were a multitude of officers with him, so I concluded he was in business, and quickly left him. I dined at home; the Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely with me. The first told me he had been this morning with Burnet, who had told him he had moved the Prince of Orange for an order to the Bishop of London, for altering the prayers in the liturgy for the King, &c., but that the Prince refused to do it, saying the ecclesiastical affairs were not committed to him. Burnet further told the Bishop of St. Asaph, that the Prince was so far from ambition, that he would not take the title of King though it should be offered him.

Jan. 6. Sunday. I went to church, but stayed at home all the rest of the day.

Jan. 7. Monday. In the morning I visited Monsieur Schomberg, but did not find him. My son went into Wilts to be chosen for the Convention. I dined at home. We all supped at my brother's, where we chose king and queen.

Jan. 8. Tuesday. This morning I had a packet out of Ireland from Mr. Alway of the 30th past, with a full account of the business of Londonderry, the articles between that city and Lord Mountjoy, and several papers relating to the stores, &c. of that kingdom. I went to St. James's, and sent in to the Prince, that I knew it was his writing day, but I had newly received some letters out of Ireland, which I was ready to present to him, if he pleased. But the *valet-de-chambre* returned with this answer, that the Prince could not speak with me to-day: upon which I went home, and considering that it might possibly be known that I had these papers, and that I was looked upon as not to be heartily (as it is called,) in the Prince's interest, I wrote a short letter to the Prince, and enclosed the papers in it, which I had received from Ireland, and so I was quit of them. All the Protestant Lords and gentlemen belonging to Ireland had a meeting this morning at the Duke of Ormond's, by the Prince's direction. There were about two hundred of them; but Sir John Temple was

not with them, which was much wondered at. They agreed on an address to the Prince, and appointed a committee to draw it up against to-morrow. I dined at home, and went no more abroad.

Jan. 9. Wednesday. Towards noon I went to Court; the Prince of Orange saw me, and spoke to me, as to the rest of the company; but took no notice of the papers I had sent to him yesterday out of Ireland. The Lords, &c. of Ireland met again to-day, and finished their address, and agreed to go in a body and present it to the Prince to-morrow morning. I dined at home. The City chose their members for the Convention: remarkable men they were, viz. Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Patrick Ward, Alderman Love, and Mr. Pilkington. They agreed at a common council to lend the Prince two hundred thousand pounds.

Jan. 10. Thursday. In the morning I went to St. James's, and sent in to know if I might wait on the Prince: after above an hour's attendance, I was called into the bed-chamber, where the Prince was alone. I asked his pardon for giving him the trouble of a letter to convey the Irish papers to him: he thanked me for them, and said he had not seen so particular an account of those affairs before, but he was very dry as to all things else. I asked him if he had any thing to command me upon those papers. He said, not for the present, and so I withdrew. As I was going out of the Court, I met the Duke of Ormond, and the rest, who belonged to Ireland, going to present their address to the Prince. In the evening my Lord Blessington brought Baron Worth to me, newly arrived from Dublin, which he left on the first of this month. He told me he was advised to come over by my Lord Primate, Lord Granard, &c. to inquire how things went there; and with an account that the Lord Primate came two days before he came away, had had a visit from Lord Chief Baron Rice, and Mr. N. Purcell, by my Lord Deputy's order, at which he (Worth) was present, to see whether any thing could be done to quiet the minds of the English; and upon the whole, it was believed, if the King would leave my Lord Deputy to himself, he would be easily persuaded to give up the kingdom, for he was satisfied he could not keep it, but he would do nothing till he had heard from the King. When the Baron had given me an account of the state of all things there, and given me my letters, for he brought me many, he desired me to introduce him to the Prince; and though it was now near eight at night, that it might not be said I was backward in giving accounts of Ireland, there being eyes of all sorts upon me, I went immediately to St. James's, and took Worth with me,

and sent into the Prince what my business was; but the answer brought to me was, that the Prince expected the Scotch Lords, and could not speak with me to-night.

Jan. 11. Friday. In the morning I took Baron Worth with me again to St. James's. I sent in to the Prince, the cause my coming on a post-day was only to bring a person to him who was newly arrived from Ireland; but he sent me word he could not speak with me to-day. I dined at Burlington-house. In the evening Dr. Burnet made me a visit: he stayed not long, and we had not much discourse, Sir Thomas Clarges coming in to me, which I was very glad of; for he is always so bitter in talking of deposing the King, that I do not care to be in his company. He told me, it was reported that I was in a cabal with some to bring back the King again. I told him they did me too much honour who reported that; that I was in no cabal, nor would I deny it if I were; but it was well known, I had not the honour to be in the King's confidence; however I should preserve my allegiance. This was all he said to me material.

Jan. 12. Saturday. In the morning I took Baron Worth with me again to St. James's. I sent in to the Prince, and after an hour and half's attendance, an officer of the Guards came round the other way to me, (not from the bed-chamber,) and said, the Prince bade him tell me, he was gone to take the air in Hyde-park, and would be back within an hour. I went to visit Monsieur Dykevelt, which I had attempted twice before since his arrival here, but found him not till now. He talked very freely to me of the public affairs, and told me he was sure the Prince came over full of intentions to show great kindness to me, and he was sure I might have any employment I had a mind to, as soon as the Prince was a little settled. This I thought was a strange language, and confirmed me in the opinion I had of what was aimed at. I answered that I was obliged to his Excellency for the freedom he always treated me with; that I should reckon myself very happy in the Prince's good opinion; that I should be very glad to see my country well settled, which I doubted it was far from as yet; and that I should never be troublesome to the Prince in making requests to him, especially for myself. He then asked me what I thought the Convention would do when they met. To which I answered reservedly, that very few people were yet come to town, and till we saw what persons were chosen, it was impossible to make any guess; that the business, in all probability, would be to pursue the Prince's declaration, that if any thing else were designed, if

he would acquaint me with it, I would tell him my opinion honestly. Then came in my Lord Stair, and some other Scotch Lords, and I took my leave. I went again to St. James's. I spoke with the Prince, and asked him, when he would command Baron Worth to wait on him; he desired me to bring him at six o'clock to-morrow in the evening. Sure this is an odd way of doing business, to let a gentleman, who came out of Ireland purposely to give an account of that country, be three days in town before he would speak with him. I dined at home, and stirred no more abroad.

Jan. 13. Sunday. In the morning I went to church: the Bishop of Ely dined with me. In the evening, according as I was appointed, I took Baron Worth with me to St. James's: but the Prince was shut up with my Lord Churchill; and after above two hours attendance we came away without seeing him.

Jan. 14. Monday. In the morning I took Baron Worth again with me to St. James's. The Prince sent for me in, and said it was so fine weather, he would not lose the opportunity of going to take the air for his health; but desired me to bring the Baron to him to-morrow at ten o'clock in the morning, and he would speak with him, though it was his writing day. Certainly the Prince has very little curiosity, or sets a very small value on Ireland! The Prince dined to-day at Sheene, with Sir W. Temple. I visited the Duke of Queensberry, who came to town from Scotland on Saturday last. I dined at home. In the afternoon I waited on the Princess of Denmark, and desired the honour of a private audience; which she appointed me to-morrow at four in the afternoon. After dinner I visited Monsieur Dykevelt again. He presently fell to discourse with great freedom, and said, he wondered to find several of the clergy in different sentiments, from what he expected. I told him I did not know what he meant: he then said he fancied he found me more cold than when he was last here. I asked him in what? He said, I did not speak so freely to him: he understood by me formerly, that I was against repealing the Penal Laws and Test; that he was very glad to hear, when he was in Holland, that I was gone to the Prince of Orange; but to deal freely with me, he had been told, since he came over, that I had changed my mind, and was not so warm in the Prince's interest as he could wish; which he was extremely sorry for, since he knew particularly how much the Prince was disposed to be kind to me, and that he depended very much upon me. I answered, that I should be found of the same mind I was when there was an opportunity of showing it, to be very

averse to the repealing the Penal Laws and Tests; that I went in to the Prince of Orange upon his declaration, which all honest men heartily concurred in; that when I went in to him, it was not to be against the King, his Majesty having appointed a Parliament, and commissioners to treat with the Prince; that if the Prince went from his declaration, I knew not how far I could comply with him, till I was acquainted with what he designed.* Mr. Dykevelt replied, that certainly I must think the King's going away had totally altered the state of affairs. I said I could not imagine why that should alter them, when I looked upon the resolution of the States-general of October the ——- ; which, I did not doubt, was written in great sincerity. At this he seemed a little startled, but said surely those who did not approve of the management of affairs these late years, and who were sensible how the King had invaded and overturned most of the laws, could never think of calling the King back, who had abdicated the Government; and he could not imagine, but it was as justifiable to set the King quite aside, as to bridle him by stricter laws than there were already. I replied, I would not at this time enter into a dispute with his Excellency about abdication; or whether (if such a thing could be) the King's going away, as he had done, did amount to it: but our religion did not allow of the deposing of Kings; and I believed he would find few of the Church of England would come up to it. That I knew the common talk of the town was that the Prince should be proclaimed King, and perhaps the Princess Queen; one, or both of them, as they could agree upon it: that, for my part, I could not agree to it; nor could I absolve myself from the oaths I have taken to the King. With this Dykevelt was more calm, for he was very warm before, and said he hoped I would consider well of the ill condition of my country; that I would allow him to serve me, and many such fine things. He then extremely pressed to

* Sir John Reresby says, "There were most certainly great and violent discontents at this time, and the causes thereof were these: The Prince had declared he had no design upon the crown, and now sought it all he could," &c. He also relates that he then saw "the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Burlington, the Earl of Scarsdale, and some other Lords, who had all been active in the Prince's cause, which they now seemed in some measure to repent. Some of them said the thing had run a length they little expected; others that they could never have believed the Prince would have contended for the crown, but all agreed it was to be set on the head of the Princess, and so descend in its right course: and the Earl of Scarsdale particularly told me the Princess of Denmark was very sensible of the error she had committed in leaving her father to make herself a party with the Prince, who now in return was endeavouring to put her by her right, and to obtain the priority of succession before her."

me the using my endeavours with the clergy; with whom I had (as he said he knew) great interest; and thereupon seemed to complain much, that the Archbishop had not yet been with the Prince; and that the Bishops did not make their applications to him, as he expected and hoped: to which I told him if a change in the Government were aimed at, he must not expect that many of our clergy could concur in it; and so we parted very friendly, both of us promising to see each other speedily again. In the evening Sir Oliver St. George came to see me; and seemed much concerned that I was so little looked upon at Court. I thanked him for his kind concern; but told him I was too well acquainted with the world to wonder at it; nor in truth could I complain, since I was not forward by undertaking what I found was aimed at, and which I did not like.

Jan. 15. Tuesday. In the morning, according to the appointment, I carried Baron Worth again to St. James's. We were presently called into the bed-chamber. The Prince heard the Baron give an account of the state of Ireland, and asked him some questions, but very few; and dismissed him with saying he would take Ireland into consideration, as soon as he could conveniently: and so Worth withdrew. The Prince then told me, being alone, that he was very much surprised that my Lord Forbes had given up his commission, and did not know what to make of it; he having given him no reasons, but that he was not in a condition in point of fortune to recruit his regiment here, in a strange country, where he pretended to have no interest. The Prince wished I would discourse with him as from myself; but I declined it, telling his Highness that though I was very well acquainted with my Lord Granard, yet I was not so with my Lord Forbes: but I knew he was a man of honour, and had not left the Prince's service out of any peevishness; but for reasons which he had well considered. I dined at Lambeth; where, amongst others, was the Bishop of St. Asaph.* By some words I observed to come from him, I fear he is too much wheedled by Burnet, and will be influenced by him to go further to make the King's going away to be a cession, (a word he is very fond of) than I wish, or than will be for the public good, and infinitely to his disreputation. I moved my Lord

* Dr. Lloyd. Mr. Evelyn was also present at this dinner; after which, he says: "Divers serious matters were discoursed concerning the present state of the public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of the Lords and Commons who were to convene." He says that he found the Bishops all for a Regency, "thereby to salve their oaths, and all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's (James's) name." *Diary*, vol. ii. 4to. p. 1.

of Canterbury, as earnestly as I could, to come to the Convention, though it were but for once, to declare himself, which would have great authority: but he would not promise me. In the afternoon I went to the Princess of Denmark, as she had commanded; but she was gone abroad incognito with my Lady Churchill.

Jan. 16. Wednesday. I dined at home. Monsieur Dykevelt had been to see me in the morning; but I was abroad. In the afternoon my brother was with me: he told me he came from my Lord Nottingham, who was resolved to support the King's cause in the Convention, and was very desirous the Archbishop should come thither; and, therefore, desired me to endeavour to prevail with him.

Jan. 17. Thursday. Towards noon I went to Court. The Prince of Orange asked me if I had any news out of Ireland. I told him I had letters last night from thence, dated the 12th instant, which mentioned that, after Colonel Robert Hamilton's arrival there, the Lord-deputy had sent my Lord Mountjoy and the Chief-baron Rice into France, to give the King an account of the state of the kingdom; and to let him know, as the letters express, that he could destroy the country, but could not keep it. The Prince said, he had heard something of this, but did not like it, and looked on it only as an artifice to gain time. My brother Capell* dined with me, and told me he had been put by his election at Tewkesbury, and seemed to think he should not get into the Convention. In the afternoon I was with the Princess of Denmark. I told her of the discourses of the town, that the Prince of Orange and her sister were to be crowned King and Queen; the Prince to be King during his life, in case the Princess died without children, which would be to the prejudice of her Royal Highness; and that, it was said, she had consented to it, that it should be so: to which she said, she had indeed heard the rumours, that the Prince and Princess of Orange were to be crowned, but she knew nothing of it; but she was sure she had given no occasion to have it said, that she had consented to any thing, for nobody had ever spoken to her of such a thing; that she had indeed been told, that Dr. Burnet should talk of it, but that was all; and she would never consent to any thing that should be to the prejudice of herself, or her children, for she is now with child. She added, that she knew very well the commonwealth party was very busy; but she hoped, the honest party would be most prevalent in the Convention, and would not suffer wrong to be done her. I told her if she were

* Sir Henry Capel (afterwards created Baron Capell of Tewkesbury).

of the mind she seemed to be, she must let it be known to some of both Houses before the meeting, and that she had not much time to lose; to which she replied, she would think of it, and send for some to come to her. I asked her if she thought her father could justly be deposed? To which she said, those were too great points for her to meddle with; that she was very sorry the King had brought things to the pass they were at; but she was afraid it would not be safe for him ever to return again. I asked her what she meant by that? To which she replied "Nothing." I then told her, I hoped her Royal Highness would not be offended if I took the liberty to tell her that many good people were extremely troubled to find she seemed no more concerned for her father's misfortune; that people who were with her in her late progress took notice, that when the news came of the King being gone, she seemed not at all moved, but called for cards, and was as merry as she used to be:* to which she said, they did her wrong to make such reflections upon her actions; that it was true she did call for cards, because she used to play, and she never loved to do any thing that looked like an affected constraint. I answered, that I was sorry her Royal

* The Duchess of Marlborough has told us that the other daughter of the King also "*wanted bowels*. Of this," says the Duchess, "she seemed to me to give an unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. She ran about it, looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come to an inn, and with no sort of concern in her appearance; behaviour which, though at that time I was extremely caressed by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming: for, whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that chamber and that bed; and if she felt no tenderness, I thought she should still have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of his fortune."—*Account of the Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct*, p. 15.

Mary was not, however, deficient in natural sensibility, and was upon the whole a very amiable woman, but she was strongly attached to her husband; and his interests being opposed to those of her father, her parental affection was weakened, if not obliterated. She had not the art to throw a veil over her predominant feelings at the prospect before her.

Evelyn, who was present when Mary arrived, says, "She came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undresse, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from roome to roome to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queene lay, and within a night or two sate down to play at basset, as the Queene, her predecessor, used to do. She smiled upon and talked to every body, so that no change seemed to have taken place at Court since her last going away, save that infinite crouds of people thronged to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This carriage was censured by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart; whilst the Prince, her husband, has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderfull serious and silent, and seems to treate all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affaires."—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 6.

Highness should think, that showing a trouble for the King her father's misfortunes, should be interpreted by any as an affected constraint; that I was afraid, such her behaviour rendered her much less in the opinion of the world, even with her father's enemies, than she ought to be. At all this she seemed not one jot moved. I then asked her if she had shown the letter I wrote to her upon the occasion of my son's deserting the King's service? She assured me she had not, but burnt it immediately.* She desired to know why I asked that question. I told her, because some about the Prince of Orange (Mr. Harbord told Sir Edward Seymour I had written such a letter to the Princess of Denmark; and, therefore, that he thought it was not fit my son should be Knight for Wilts) had said, that I had written a letter to her Royal Highness, showing great dislike at what my son had done; and that from thence prejudice was endeavoured to be done me: that I was sure I had shown my letter to nobody; and, therefore, it must be known from some, that she had shown, or told it to: that I was still of the same mind, and could not but think my son had done a very abominable action; but, if her Royal Highness told all that was said, or written, to her, few people would say any thing to her. She said again, she had shown my letter to nobody; but she could not imagine where the harm was if she had. She then said she had now a complaint to make to me: which was of my son, that he never waited on the Prince: she said, it was more necessary now than ever, in regard the Prince had no person else of quality about him; that she had formerly told my son of it herself, but found he took so little notice of it, that she once intended to have desired him to march off, and leave room for somebody else; but that it was at a time the family seemed to be oppressed, and she had no mind to do a hard thing. I gave her Royal Highness humble thanks for the honour she did me in this; that I would speak to my son, and could not but own he was much to blame for neglecting his duty, though he had often complained of hardships put upon him; which, I said, could no way justify his omitting of his duty. The Princess then said, the Prince was at a great loss for want of some person of quality about him; that he had thoughts of taking Lord Scarsdale again, but that he proved so pitiful a wretch, that they would have no more to do with him. I then asked whom he thought to take? She said, Sir George Hewitt. I said he was no nobleman: she answered, he might be

* This is the letter alluded to by the Duchess of Marlborough, *see p.* 93, *note.* The tenor of the letter seems, however, to have been directly contrary to what is there asserted, and there is good reason to believe the account a piece of calumny.

made one when things were settled; and she hoped such a thing would not be denied to the Prince and her. I asked her how that could be done without the King? She said, sure there would be a way found out at one time or other.

Jan. 18. Friday. In the morning I went to the Tower to visit Lord Peterborough: he took it very kindly of me. I was at the Temple with Mr. Roger North* and Sir Charles Porter, who are the only two honest lawyers I have met with. The first told me he was returned for the Convention; but, he believed, his election would be disputed. In the afternoon I went to visit my Lord Preston, to speak with him to see if any thing could be done towards composing my affair with the Queen-dowager; for, I told him, I had an intimation from a friend, (Mr. Broderick told me he had it from Mr. Roger North, but he was not to be named,) that it might be easily done, if I would make any application in it. He told me he had heard no mention of it since the last Term; but promised me faithfully he would endeavour to serve me in it, which he had several times before; but I found no effect of it, nor heard more of him when he had once told me so, which always made me look upon it as a saying to get rid of me.

Jan. 19. Saturday. In the morning pretty early my Lord Preston came to me, and told me, Ralph Sheldon, the King's equerry, was arrived last night from Paris, with orders to fetch the King's equipage; that he had brought a letter to his Lordship from the King, with one enclosed in it to the Lords of the Privy Council; which he showed me. I read it: it was countersigned "Melford." My Lord asked me, what I thought he had best do; that he had been yet with nobody else. I told him, it was too big an affair for me to meddle in; that I was of opinion, there were several things in the letter, which, I was afraid, would do the King harm, when it came to be public.†

* The honourable Roger North. He was the youngest son of Dudley Lord North, and has left us some biographical accounts of three of his brothers, the Lord-keeper Guildford, Sir Dudley North, and Dr. John North, together with an *Examen* of Kennet's complete History of England: which, though written in a rambling manner and full of inveterate prejudices, have preserved to us many valuable particulars of the history of his time. He was Attorney-general under the reign of James II. and Steward of the Courts to Archbishop Sancroft. In some Extracts from his papers, printed in *Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 36, he enters into a detail of his appointment by the Archbishop, of whom he relates some interesting anecdotes, and says, "He valued me for my fidelity, which, he being a most sagacious judge of persons, could not but discern, and dispense with my other defects."

† This letter and one of subsequent date, may be seen in the Life of King James II. printed in 1703, 8vo.; or in Kennet's Complete History.

But besides, I doubted the authority was not good in law (though there had been no other objection) to act upon, it not being under the great seal; and that the authority of the Council-board must fall by the King's departure; and he might be sure, the Prince of Orange would not suffer them to meet. My Lord Preston said, he was much of the same opinion; but he would advise privately of it with some others of the Board: afterwards in the evening he told me, they had resolved it should be quashed. In the evening I had a visit from Monsieur Bentinck; the first he had made me since their coming over; for which he made many excuses, pretending not so much business, as being tied to so constant attendance, that he had not time to be so civil as he ought to be. We talked of very little but general matters. He asked me, what I thought the Convention would do? I told him it was very hard to know beforehand, what five hundred men would do when they came together: but I found those I conversed with intended to proceed upon the Prince's declaration; to which he said, that would do well.

Jan. 20. Sunday. I went to church, and spent the rest of the day at home.

Jan. 21. Monday. In the afternoon I went to Lambeth, having promised my Lord of Canterbury to see him again before the Convention: most of the Bishops in town were there. We pressed the Archbishop to be at the Convention; but he was obstinately resolved not to be there.

Jan. 22. Tuesday. In the morning the Convention met: there were no prayers. Lord Marquis of Halifax* was appointed Speaker *pro tempore:* then he presented a letter from the Prince of Orange; which was read. *Vide the Lords' Journal.* Then the House proceeded to name their assistants for want of judges. Several, as they were named, were opposed, because they had been for the dispensing power, or had pleaded against my Lord Russell, or had a hand in setting the fine upon my Lord Devonshire. But at last, after some wrangling, the Lord Chief Baron Montague, Sir Robert Atkyns, Sir Christopher Levinz, Sir William Dolben, Sir Edward Nevill, Sergeant Holt, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Bradbury, and Mr. Petyt were agreed on to be assistants. Thursday the 31st instant was appointed to be a day of thanksgiving. *Vide the Lords' Journal.* I dined at my brother's.

Jan. 23. Wednesday. I was at the House of Lords: *for the proceedings there see the Lords' Journal.* I dined at home. In the evening, Sir Thomas Clarges was with me, and told me he moved yesterday, (upon concert with Lord Nottingham and Mr. Finch) that on Monday next, the House would enter

* Sir George Savile, Bart., created Marquess of Halifax, 22d August, 1682: died in 1695.

upon the public state of the kingdom, which was ordered: that he had been to-day with Lord Halifax, who told him with some warmth, that it was very strange he made such a motion; that it was just so much time lost; for the Lords should not proceed upon any public business, till they saw what the Commons did. Sir Thomas was very much concerned; and said, he saw my Lord Halifax would undo us all. He desired me to move my Lord Nottingham to-morrow, that the Lords might enter with all speed upon the public business of the kingdom, whereby to prevent any extravagant votes being made below; which I promised him to do. Prayers were said in the House by the Bishop of Bristol: he omitted the prayer for the King.

Jan. 24. Thursday. Prayers were said to-day in the House by the Bishop of Bristol. The standing committees were named, &c. *Vide the Journal.* Lord Halifax desired Mr. Brown to search, and report to-morrow, whether Lord Manchester had a mace when he was speaker *pro tempore.* Lord Nottingham was not in the House to-day, but was gone a-hunting.

Jan. 25. Friday. Prayers were read in the House by the Bishop of Oxford: he read the prayer for the King; which, I perceived, Lord Halifax observed, but no public notice was taken of it. The House was called over according to order; which being done, the Earl of Berkeley took notice, that there was a peer there who had never been introduced, and so named my Lord Griffin;* who stood up in his place, and said, he was created by the King a little before his going away, and had his writ to come to Parliament; and his patent was at the door ready to be produced. Upon this grew a debate; some Lords averring that no peer could sit till he was introduced: it was alleged, that the introducing contributed nothing to the right of peerage; and that those peers, who had been created by the late King in the time of his exile, upon his Majesty's restoration came into the House of Lords without being introduced. The Lord Delamere was most violent in opposing Lord Griffin's being admitted; but on a sudden my Lord Lovelace moved on his behalf, that he might be admitted, to the wonder of every body; and in the same instant, he and my Lord Delamere went from their places, and introduced him: the first time, I believe, that ever a peer was introduced, when the King's authority was pretended to be set aside; and when the Lords did not pretend to be a Parliament. I cannot imagine, what made the turn about my Lord Griffin, except it was that the violent party had no mind to lose my Lord Carteret; who had never been introduced; and of whom,

* Edward Griffin, created Baron Griffin of Braybroke Castle, co. Northampton, 3rd Dec. 1688.

I believe, they were sure: the Duke of Northumberland likewise had not been introduced before. This being over, it was moved that the House would take into consideration the state of the nation; and that they would proceed upon it presently, or appoint to-morrow for it: which was seconded by several, but was opposed by many Lords; particularly Lord Devonshire said, the House of Commons had appointed to go upon that business on Monday; and therefore he moved, the Lords would not enter upon it till Tuesday; by which time we should be able to gather some lights from below, which might be of use to us. This was seconded by the Marquesses of Winton and Halifax, and others; and accordingly Tuesday was appointed; though the lights did not pass without animadversions. And then the House adjourned till Monday. *Vide the Journal.* When I came from Westminster, I found Captain Layton at my house, newly arrived from the north of Ireland. He left Belfast on Sunday last: he brought an address to the Prince of Orange from the lords and gentlemen of the counties of Down, Antrim, Armagh, and Monaghan; who were associated together to stand upon their defence against the Irish: all his despatches and instructions were directed to me. I carried him immediately to St. James's, and sent the Prince word, I was there with a gentleman newly arrived from Ireland with letters of importance; but his Highness sent me out word, it is post-day, and he was very busy in writing letters; but appointed me to be with him to-morrow, at six in the evening.

Jan. 26. Saturday. In the morning I visited Monsieur Dykevelt; but found him not. The Prince of Orange went a-hunting, and dined at Sir Robert Howard's on Bansted Downs.* At the hour appointed I took Captain Layton with me to St. James's; and, after near three hours attendance, one of his gentlemen told me he was sure the Prince would not speak with any body when he came home so late: so we came away. The Prince did not return till between nine and ten at night.

Jan. 27. Sunday. In the morning I went to the Princess of Denmark, and found the Prince and her together. I asked her if she had yet told her mind to any of the House of Commons upon the matter of the succession; which probably would come into debate to-morrow. She told me, no; but she would certainly do it some time to-day. I told her it was most necessary she should do something; for it was reported that she was willing the Prince of Orange should be King during his life, though the Princess should have no

* Ashstead Park in Surrey.

children; which would be in prejudice of her Royal Highness and her children, (and God be praised she was now with child) besides the Prince of Wales. And I added, that it was given out that my Lord Churchill had undertaken she would give her consent it should go so: to which she answered with some warmth, that she had heard Dr. Burnet should have said so; but she had asked my Lord Churchill about it, and he denied it; and she was confident he would show the falsehood of the report by his behaviour. I said I knew nothing of Dr. Burnet, having never heard him speak of this matter; but, if my Lord Churchill were so clear in it, if he would say any thing to me upon it, I would be the first who should endeavour to do him right; for he was very much wronged: but I found upon inquiry he was gone to St. Alban's; and his being absent at this time would confirm the world, that the reports which were spread of him were true. The Prince of Denmark thanked me for coming to him: he said he had heard of the reports, and had spoken to the Duke of Ormond to tell my Lord of Worcester and others, (who had spoken to his Grace) that there was no ground for them; and that neither he nor his wife would consent to alter the succession. I waited on the Prince of Orange before dinner, and he bade me bring Captain Layton to him in the evening, which I did. He delivered his Highness the address which he brought over, and said all he had in commission by word of mouth. I then read the letters, which I had received by him, to his Highness; and he bid me let him have copies of them; which I gave him, having brought them ready. The Prince bade Layton attend upon Mr. Harbord, and he should quickly give him his despatch. In the evening Mr. James Hamilton, of Cumber, arrived from Ireland, and brought me several letters.

Jan. 28. Monday. The Bishop of St. David's was going to read prayers in the House, when my Lord Halifax whispered him to omit the prayer for the King, as improper at this time; but the Bishop said plainly he would not omit it: upon which my Lord Halifax acquainted the House with it, and moved that prayers might be suspended till further order: which was accordingly directed. My Lord Newport informed the House, that my Lord Castlemain was in Shropshire; and so setting forth how dangerous a man he was, that he had been ambassador at Rome, &c. he moved he might be brought up in custody; which was ordered. *See the Journal.*

Jan. 29. Tuesday. A message from the House of Commons, by Mr. Hampden, with the vote, that the throne was vacant. *See more at large in the Lords' Journal.* Then the House was put into a Committee to consider

the state of the kingdom, according to the order of Friday. The Earl of Danby* was in the chair. The first matter considered of was a Regency, under the style of King James II.; which, after a long debate, was carried in the negative by two votes. The names of the Lords who were for a Regency are on the other side† (page 41,) as well as those who were‡ against it. Then the vote from the House of Commons was read; and, in regard it was late, for it was past eight o'clock, the House was resumed; and it was moved that the Committee might sit again to-morrow, in the afternoon, which was ordered, notwithstanding the solemnity of the day.

Jan. 30. Wednesday. In the morning I went to church to my parish. There was no sermon for the House of Lords: the Dean of Norwich preached before the House of Commons. After church I carried Mr. James Hamilton, of Cumber, to the Prince of Orange: I could not get him an audience till

* In Evelyn's Diary, the Earl of *Derby* is printed by mistake. He also states the numbers to have been fifty-one for, and fifty-four against a Regency. In the Parliamentary History it is said that fifty-one were for a King, and forty-nine for a Regent. The names of the minority are given in the next note from Lord Clarendon's Manuscript.

† Burnet says, that "The Bishop's bench was very full, as were also the benches of the temporal lords. The Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rochester, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a Regency, in opposition to those who were setting up another King."

Lords who were for a Regency.

Duke of Somerset.	Earl of Berkeley.	Lord Godolphin.
Duke of Southampton.	Earl of Rochester.	Lord Griffin.
Duke of Grafton.	Earl of Abingdon.	Lord Maynard.
Duke of Ormond.	Earl of Ailesbury.	Lord Arundel Trer.
Duke of Northumberland.	Earl of Lichfield.	Archbishop of York.
Duke of Beaufort.	Earl of Yarmouth.	Bishop of Winton.
Earl of Kent.	Viscount Weymouth.	Bishop of Norwich.
Earl of Pembroke	Lord de Lawarr.	Bishop of Lincoln.
Earl of Exeter.	Lord Ferrers.	Bishop of Landaffe.
Earl of Scarsdale.	Lord Chandos.	Bishop of Ely.
Earl of Chesterfield.	Lord Brooke.	Bishop of Chichester.
Earl of Westmoreland.	Lord Leigh.	Bishop of Bath and Wells.
Earl of Thanet.	Lord Coventry.	Bishop of Peterborough.
Earl of Clarendon.	Lord Jermyn.	Bishop of Rochester.
Earl of Craven.	Lord Dartmouth	Bishop of Gloucester.
Earl of Nottingham.	Lord Crew.	Bishop of St. David's.
Earl of Feversham.		

‡ The names of the Lords who voted against a Regency are not found in the Manuscript; but half of page 41, where they are here said to be inserted, is left blank.

now; though he arrived here on Sunday last, and left Dublin on this day se'nnight. In the afternoon I went to the House of Lords. The House was in a Committee upon the vote from the House of Commons, and agreed to put in the word "deserted," instead of the word "abdicated." And then the House was moved that the Committee might sit again to-morrow, in the afternoon; which was ordered.

Jan. 31. Thursday. The thanksgiving day. The Bishop of St. Asaph was appointed to preach before the Lords, but being sick, Mr. Gee preached for him: I was not at church. In the afternoon I went to Westminster. The House was in a committee upon the further debate of the vote from the House of Commons; and after much debate, they came to this question, that instead of "the throne is thereby vacant," should be inserted, "the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen." Then the previous question being put, whether this question shall be now put? it was resolved in the negative: contents 47; not contents 52. Then the question was put, whether to agree with the House of Commons in these words of the vote, "that the throne is thereby vacant." Resolved in the negative: contents 41; not contents 55. Thirty-five of the contents entered their dissents: *See the Journal.* Then the House adjourned till to-morrow morning, it being now near eleven at night. In this debate, several peevish and angry things were said of the King, all which I will not take upon me to remember. Lord Montague said he was so perfectly satisfied that the throne was vacant, that he had a dispensation within him, without the help of one from my Lord Jeffries, or Sir Edward Harbert, and therefore did declare, that from this day he looked upon himself to be absolved from all allegiance to King James. Lord Delamere said, it was long since he thought himself absolved from his allegiance to King James; that he owed him none, and never would pay him any; and if King James came again, he was resolved to fight against him, and would die single, with his sword in his hand, rather than pay him any obedience.

FEBRUARY 1. Friday. The Lords sent down to the Commons, the amendments upon which we sate so long the last night; but the Commons were up, and so we adjourned till to-morrow morning: *See the Journal.* I went to the Prince of Denmark, and gave him an account of the proceedings of yesterday, with which he seemed to be well pleased. In the afternoon I did the same to the Princess, but she seemed very indifferent; upon which I had very little discourse with her.

Feb. 2. Saturday. Lord Halifax informed the House, that just then a letter was put into his hands, directed to himself, to be communicated to the Lords spiritual and temporal; that he was told it came from my Lord Preston, and he knew it was my Lord Preston's hand upon the superscription: he desired to know the pleasure of the House whether it should be read. Some cried, "Read it;" others said, "No." Then the Black-rod was asked who gave him the letter: he answered, "Mr. Warr, one of my Lord Preston's secretaries." Mr. Warr was then called in, and asked, whence that letter came? He answered my Lord Preston gave it him, and bid him take care to deliver it safe to my Lord Marquis of Halifax, and that was all he knew of it. Mr. Warr was then directed to let my Lord Preston know, that the House required him to come thither presently. Within less than an hour my Lord Preston came. He was called in, and asked what that letter was which he had sent to the House? He answered, that yesterday morning a Scotch gentleman, one Mr. Hay, came to his house, newly arrived from Paris, and brought him a packet from the King. When he opened it, he found only a cover to himself, and two letters in it, one to their Lordships, and the other to the House of Commons; and this was all he knew. My Lord Preston was then asked where Mr. Hay was? He said, truly, he could not tell where to find him at present, but would undertake he should wait upon their Lordship's on Monday, if they pleased. And accordingly it was ordered he should then attend, and so my Lord Preston withdrew. Just at the rising of the House, my Lord Lovelace offered a petition, which the clerk took. I moved that, according to the standing order, he would open it, and acquaint the House by whom it was signed: my Lord Ferrers seconded me. Upon which Lord Lovelace withdrew the petition, saying it was not signed, but there should be hands enough to it. It seems this petition was from the rabble, of whom there were come great numbers this morning to Westminster, conducted or invited thither by Lord Lovelace or William Killigrew. I dined at Lambeth, where were several Bishops. It was agreed that all the Bishops in town should preach often, and begin to-morrow; to which purpose the Archbishop wrote a short letter to them all.

Feb. 3. Sunday. I went to church: the Bishop of Gloucester preached, and dined with me. In the evening I christened my Lord of Ailesbury's child.

Feb. 4. Monday. In the morning I waited on the Prince of Orange, and showed him a letter I had from the Lords, &c. in the North of Ireland: it

was brought by Dr. Dun, who arrived here on Saturday; but I could not get access to the Prince till now.* There was a conference between the two Houses upon the amendments, sent down by the Lords, to the vote of the throne being vacant: *See the Lords Journal.* Then the House was informed, that Mr. Hay was at the door; who, being called in, was asked where he had the letter he brought to my Lord Preston, out of France? He answered, when he left Paris, which was on this day was a se'nnight, the King told him, he had a packet for my Lord Preston, and bid him call to my Lord Melfort for it, which he did: and that was all he could say, and so withdrew. There was nothing more done in the letter; and methought the King's friends seemed cold after they heard my Lord Melfort named. My Lord Newport said, he hoped the House would not read every private man's letter: and he looked on this as the letter of a private man; for he was no more King.

Feb. 5. Tuesday. The Lords had a conference with the Commons upon the subject of the yesterday's conference: *See the Journal.* After the conference the Lords sat till past three in the afternoon in expectation that the House of Commons would have sent to them, without so much as an intimation of a desire to sit: a thing, I believe, was never yet known. And my Lord Halifax was often called upon to adjourn; (for the House was not so much as adjourned during pleasure,) but so unfair he was in the chair, that he would do nothing but what himself had a mind to. With much importunity at last he was upon the matter forced to say, that if we did not hear from the House of Commons by three of the clock, he thought it would be best to adjourn: so much haste was his Lordship and some others in to overturn the Government. And at length, not hearing from the House of Commons, about half an hour after three the House adjourned till ten to-morrow morning. I dined at my

* "It has been observed, that Lord Clarendon, like many others, was for King James because he was not permitted to serve King William. The Earl of Clarendon was much depended on by the Protestants of Ireland, who made all their applications to the Prince by him. Those who were employed by Tyrconnel to deceive the Prince, said Tyrconnel would never lay down the government of Ireland, unless he was sure that the Earl of Clarendon was not to succeed: he knew his peevishness and spite, that he would take severe revenges for what he thought had been done to himself, if he had them in his power; and therefore he would not treat, till he was assured of that. Upon this the Prince did avoid speaking to the Earl of Clarendon of those matters. And then he, who had possessed himself in his expectation of that post, seeing the Prince thus shut him out of the hopes of it, became a most violent opposer of the new settlement. He reconciled himself to King James; and has been ever since one of the hottest promoters of his interest of any in the nation."—*Burnet's Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 807.

brother's. In the afternoon I went to the Princess of Denmark: I found the Prince with her. I told them, that Dr. Burnet had told the Bishop of Lincoln yesterday, that her Royal Highness had consented that the Prince of Orange should be King for his life, though the Princess her sister should die without issue; and that it should appear, she had done so, upon occasion under her hand: to which they both said, it was an abominable lie. I told them further, that my Lord Churchill had told the Bishop of Bristol, that her Royal Highness had written a long letter to me not to say any thing in the house from her: upon which I said, she was betrayed by those about her; for I had never spoken to any one living of her having written to me. To which the Princess said, she had written to me to burn that note she sent me. I replied, I hoped I had not burnt it; since I found she had said to Lord Churchill, that she had written to me not to say any thing in the House from her: I thought, it would be most necessary for me to keep the note, if there should be occasion to show it; since both she and the Prince had not only told me that they would not consent to any thing to the prejudice of their right, but she had said the same to the Duke of Ormond, Lord Digby, the Bishops of Ely, Peterborough, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and others. They both seemed concerned, that I pressed the matter so close; and that I reflected upon my Lord Churchill. When I came home, I found the Princess's note above-mentioned; which I locked up in my cabinet, that it might be safe. The copy of it is in the margin.*

Feb. 6. Wednesday. The Commons desired a free conference with the Lords upon the subject matter of the last conference: which was presently agreed to. I think, all impartial men who were present, will own, that the Lords had by far the better of the argument, both upon the point of reason, and according as the law now stands; but yet such was the strength of the malicious party, (I think I may so call them,) contrary to all law and right reason, after a long debate, the question was put, whether to agree with the House of Commons in the word "abdicated," instead of the word "deserted," and to the words that follow, "and that the throne is thereby vacant." It was resolved in the affirmative: the contents were 62; the not-contents were 47. The great argument used by my Lord Halifax (who was the head of the prevailing party, and drove furiously,) was necessity; and that the crown was only made elective *pro hac vice*, and then reverted to its hereditary

* There is no such copy as is here mentioned, in the margin of the original MS.

channel again. These weak arguments (for certainly they may be called such,) were substantially answered by Lord Nottingham, and were spoken to by others: but the stream was so strong, that nothing would be hearkened to; and in truth one could scarce be heard. Thirty-eight of the not contents entered their dissents. *See the Journal.* It may seem strange that this question should be thus carried: but under one pretence or other, several Lords who had always voted in favour of the King, were not in the House to-day; as Lords Chesterfield, Weymouth, Ferrers, Hatton, Godolphin, (who said he was to attend the Prince of Orange at the Treasury) and the Bishop of Oxford. Lord Burlington was really very ill, who had always voted with us. All imaginable pains were taken to bring other Lords to the House, who never used to come; as the Earl of Lincoln, who, to confirm the opinion several had of his being half mad, declared he came to do whatever my Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Mordaunt would have him. The Earl of Carlisle was brought upon his crutches: the Lord Lexinton,* who came into England but three days ago; and the Bishop of Durham, who had been at the House but twice before, came to-day to give his vote against the King, who had raised him. These four all voted against the King. And now the throne being declared vacant, the next business was to fill it; and to that end it was proposed that the Prince and Princess of Orange might be declared King and Queen, &c. *See the Journal.* This was opposed upon the account of the succession: but nothing would be hearkened to; and so the question was put for their being King and Queen: and though, as near as I could reckon, there were near forty negatives, and leave asked for those that would enter their dissents, yet it was not thought fit to divide the House. Lord Nottingham moved that new oaths might be made instead of the old ones of allegiance and supremacy; which, he believed, few would take to a new King. Upon which a committee was named and ordered to withdraw immediately; who quickly brought in two new oaths; which, with the vote, were ordered to be sent to the House of Commons for their concurrence: and then the House adjourned till to-morrow morning, it being now past six at night. I chanced to sit by the Earl of Thanet; and, as we were going out, I asked him how he came to leave us in this last vote; for he had gone all along with us in every vote: he is a man of great worth. He told me he was of our mind, and thought we had done ill in admitting the monarchy to be elective; for so this vote had made it: but he thought there was an ab-

* Robert Sutton, Baron Lexinton of Aram, co. Notts, died in 1723, when the title became extinct.

solute necessity of having a Government; and he did not see it likely to be any other way than this. The Earls of Huntingdon and Mulgrave had all along voted against the King. The Bishop of Ely went to supper with me: we had not eaten all day. I think this was the most dismal day I ever saw in my life. God help us: we are certainly a miserable, undone people.*

Feb. 7. Thursday. The votes of yesterday were sent down to the House of Commons. About noon the Lords adjourned till four in the afternoon, when the House met, and sate till seven, in expectation to hear from the Commons, according to the new method, for the Lords did nothing, and had no intimation from the Commons to sit. The House of Commons were busy in preparing new articles of Government to be laid before the new King, that he might know upon what terms he was to have the crown. I gave the Princess of Denmark a short account in writing of what passed yesterday, and did not intend to trouble her again in haste.

Feb. 8. Friday. I went to the House of Lords: but there was very little to do; and besides I had but little heart to take notice of any thing.

Feb. 9. Saturday. I went again to Westminster, but concerned myself in nothing. This day, as well as yesterday, was spent in the two Houses in adjusting the new instrument of Government; the contents whereof is in the Journal. The Lords sate till near five o'clock.

Feb. 10. Sunday. I went only to church, except in the afternoon that I made a visit to my Lady Essex; who came to town last Thursday; but I had not time to see her before.

Feb. 11. Monday. The new frame of Government went on smoothly, and was almost perfected; so that I resolved to go no more to the House of Lords as things now stood. I dined at Lambeth; where was the Bishop of

* It will be curious to see the opinion of Lord Clarendon's friends on his conduct at this critical juncture, as recorded by one of them at the time: "Divers Bishops and noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden an assumption of the crown, without any previous sending and offering some conditions to the absent King; or, on his not returning, or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaim'd him Regent; but the major part of both houses prevail'd to make them King and Queene immediately, and a Crowne was tempting. This was oppos'd and spoken against with such vehemence by Lord Clarendon (her own uncle), that it put him by all preferment, which must doubtlesse have been as great as could have been given him. My Lord of Rochester, his brother, overshot himselfe by the same carriage and stiffnesse, which their friends thought they might well have spared, when they saw how it was like to be overrul'd, and that it had been sufficient to have declar'd their dissent with less passion, acquiescing in due time." *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 7.

London, and several other Bishops. The Bishop of Norwich told the Bishop of London that Sunday next was the first Sunday in Lent, when he was appointed to preach at Court; and he desired to know how it would be expected he should pray, in case the Prince and Princess of Orange were before that time proclaimed King and Queen: that he was willing to pray for the King and Queen and all the Royal Family, without naming any; but that he would not pray for King William and Queen Mary. The Bishop of London answered that he would tell him to-morrow.

Feb. 12. Tuesday. In the morning Mrs. Phelips brought my wife word that the Princess of Orange was in the River, and would be at Whitehall this afternoon. I went, according to my former resolution, to Swallowfield all alone, where I arrived about five in the evening, having baited an hour at Egham. I left a letter with my wife for the Princess of Orange.

Feb. 13. Wednesday. It was so very wet that I could not go to church, being Ash-Wednesday. In the evening I had a letter from my wife, telling me that the Princess of Orange arrived yesterday in the afternoon; that she had waited upon her, and was civilly received by her; but it was in the crowd, and so she had no particular discourse.

Feb. 14. Thursday. This morning, before I was up, I had a letter from my wife, sent by an express, who came all night, and another from my brother, to tell me that the new King and Queen were proclaimed yesterday morning; and they desired me to hasten to town.

Feb. 15. Friday. In the afternoon I had another letter from my wife, telling me that the new King had appointed his Privy Council; whose names she sent me in print. I did a little wonder to see my Lord Nottingham among them.

Feb. 16. Saturday. To gratify my friends I left Swallowfield in the morning, and came to town about six in the evening, having rested my horses a little at Egham. My wife told me she had some discourse with the Princess of Orange on Thursday morning: that she was much dissatisfied with me, and asked what I had to do with the succession? My wife told her what I had done was for her and her sister's service; and she doubted not but I would justify myself very well: that she expected me to-night or to-morrow in town, and she desired her Majesty to appoint me a time when I might wait on her: to which the new Queen answered that she would not appoint me any time. My wife said she hoped she did not forbid me: the Queen said she had nothing to do to forbid any body coming into the withdrawing room;

but she would not see me anywhere else, nor speak in private with me. My brother told me she had refused to see him; but that he had kissed the new King's hand, who received him civilly. My wife told me my brother had advised her not to deliver my letter.

Feb. 17. Sunday. I went only to church, and in the evening made a visit to my Lady Ranelagh. Monsieur de la Bastide came to see me with great kindness, and urged me extremely to go to Court; pretending to have some reason to believe that if I would, I might be very welcome there, and have what station I had a mind to. I thanked him for his friendship.

Feb. 18. Monday. King William went to the House in state, with his robes, and crown on his head, and made a speech to the two Houses. I was not there.

Feb. 19. Tuesday. In the morning King William went into Hyde-park to view seven of his Dutch regiments, which he was sending back into Holland presently, the States having demanded them. My wife told me the new Queen had refused to see my brother's children.

Feb. 20. Wednesday. In the morning I visited my Lord Chesterfield. He told me he had been solicited by my Lords Fauconberg and Mordaunt to be of the Council; pretending that they knew it would be agreeable to King William; and that another great person (whom he did not name to me) had been with him, from the new King, to know what employment he had a mind to: that King William intended to have him in his family; but my Lord told me he went to King William upon it, and desired, by reason of his infirmities, &c. to be excused. I asked him if he intended to take the new oaths when they were settled. He told me he had not yet fully considered that matter, but he thought he should; looking upon them to signify no more than that he did swear to pay him all lawful obedience; which was nothing if ever King James came back again; for he said he was of my opinion, that he could not be absolved from his allegiance to him, whenever he was in a capacity of paying it.

Feb. 21. Thursday. In the afternoon my wife and I went to Chelsea to see the Duchess of Beaufort. The Duke was at home, and pretty well now; but he had been very ill. The Presidentship of Wales was this day promised to my Lord Macclesfield; but there was a motion made in the House of Commons (as I was told) to put it down.

Feb. 22. Friday. In the evening my Lord Chesterfield visited me. He told me he had not been at Court since he first kissed their new Majesties'

hands; which was two days after they had the crown: that he did not like things, and was resolved to go into the country about the end of April; and had gone immediately, but that his family was just come to town.

Feb. 23. Saturday. In the morning I visited the Archbishop at Lambeth. King William passed the Act this morning for making the Convention a Parliament; wherein it was enacted, that the new oaths were to be taken by the Members of both Houses by the first of March. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons to take away the Presidentship of Wales: Mr. Boscowen and Sir William Williams opposed it out of favour to Lord Macclesfield. In the afternoon the King and Queen went to Hampton-Court.

Feb. 24. Sunday. I went to church; and in the afternoon I visited Lady Essex and Lady Ranelagh.

Feb. 25. Monday. Lord Bath had news from Plymouth, brought thither by a vessel from Brest, that King James was gone into Ireland. This was hotly discoursed about the town: as I was walking over the Park, I met William Penn,* who confirmed the same to me, and told me, he believed it. I dined at my brother's. In the afternoon I visited my Lord of Arran, who still kept his chamber upon the account of the hurt he had received some days since, as he was coming from his father's lodgings.† He showed me the letter he had from my Lord Dunbarton; which gave him an account of the King's being gone from Paris to Brest; and that he intended from thence for Ireland, the King of France having furnished him with shipping, money, arms, and ammunition for the expedition.

Feb. 26. Tuesday. This morning the young Lord Ossory died. In the afternoon, Mr. Ferguson Grahame arrived from France. He confirmed the King's being gone to Brest.

Feb. 27. Wednesday. Great discourses about the town of the preparations King James carried for Ireland. The poor gentlemen Protestants of that kingdom were in great trouble that nothing was done for them here. Sir Michael Cole told me, if King James offered them good terms, he would go into Ireland, if he could get over: and he said, many other of his countrymen would do so too.

Feb. 28. Thursday. In the morning my Lord of Arran was seized in his lodgings at Whitehall: he was carried before the King at my Lord Shrews-

* Sir William Penn, Comptroller of the Navy, and Vice-Admiral of England.—*See Pepys's Diary.*

† He was assaulted and severely treated by eight ruffians armed and disguised in Leicester-fields.

bury's office. I am told, the only question asked him was, whether Mr. Grahame and William Penn did not dine with him yesterday? He said, they did. He was bid to withdraw, and was immediately sent to the Tower. All who were in his chamber were likewise secured: and so the Earl of Penmore, his brother-in-law, and Sir Robert Hamilton, who came to visit him, were confined to their respective lodgings. I visited the Archbishop again, and had much discourse with him about the new oaths; upon which I resolved not to take them. He told me, the Bishop of St. Asaph had told him he would not take them; with which his grace seemed much pleased. It is strange to see how many good men have their jealousies of St. Asaph, as if he were not right.

MARCH 1. Friday. Lord Penmore was set at liberty, and began his journey for Scotland to be at the Convention. Sir Robert Hamilton continued under the messenger's care. In the afternoon the Duke of Queensberry visited me. He seemed much dissatisfied with the treatment he and the honest party met with here; but was very reserved what he would do when he came to the Convention. The Bishop of St. Asaph was with me; and in discourse we quickly fell upon the new oaths. I told him, I could not take them; thinking myself bound by the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which I had already taken. He told me, those oaths did no longer oblige me, than the King, to whom I took them, could protect me; and that I was free from my allegiance to King James; and that these new oaths were no more than to live quietly under King William: and he would fain have persuaded me to take them. But I answered, that I was fully satisfied, that I could not be absolved from the oaths I had taken; to which these new ones were contradictory; that, having already taken the former oaths, my allegiance was due to King James, and not in my power to dispose of; that I had taken the oaths according to the plain and common sense therein expressed, and could not admit of any explanations to be put upon them; which would look, in my opinion, but as equivocations against the letter of the oath, and which we condemn so justly in the Jesuits: and so I stopped him from arguing the matter any further with me. The Bishop then told me, he could very well take the new oaths; and that as things were, he took himself to be quite freed from any obligation to King James. Strange doctrine, as I thought, from a Bishop! But, he said, he would not take them yet, because he would not separate from the rest of the Bishops. I told him, he had told the Archbishop of Canterbury he would not take the oaths; and that he had said so to others, who had spoken of it again, and I had met it abroad; and now, if he did take

them, people would be apt to give out, that Burnet had prevailed with him; who had reported, that he could make the Bishop of St. Asaph do any thing. He seemed a little troubled at my speaking so freely to him, for which I asked his pardon; telling him, it was my concern for him that made me do it: and so it growing late, and I not having eaten all day, we parted.

March 2. Saturday. The new oaths were taken to-day in both Houses. My brother told me, seventy-three Lords had taken them in the Lords' House, and that it was ordered that those Lords who were in town, should be sent to attend on Monday next; and that letters should be written to those who were in the country, to attend the House on Monday fortnight.

March 3. Sunday. In the morning I went to church, and stayed the rest of the day at home. In the evening my brother came to me, and told me he had been at Hampton Court, and that the King had at last presented him to the Queen; but it was in the crowd, as she came from church: he kissed her hand, and that was all. The Bishop of Ely was with me, and told me that he and several of the Bishops, who did resolve not to take the oaths, intended to go to-morrow out of town, that, whatever happened, they might be found in their stations. He pressed me very much to go out of England for the present; believing, by what Lord Danby had let fall to my Lord of Canterbury in a visit he made to him on Friday last, that I should be more severely used than any body: upon which I spoke to my brother about my going beyond sea; which, he said, he would think of; and I resolved to go out of town to-morrow, having had a summons this evening to be at the Lords' House to-morrow.

March 4. Monday. I went to Swallowfield, where I arrived about five in the evening, after baiting my horses at Egham. Quickly after I came home, Cornet Richards came to me from his quarters at Farnham. He told me a messenger was at Bagshot yesterday to apprehend Mr. Grahame; but he was not at home.

March 5. Tuesday. I went to Riseley-mill,* and among the other tenants, to see what preparations were wanting; and I ordered them to be made, and timber to be cut for those uses. I had no company with me.

March 6. Wednesday. The weather being very blustering, I stayed all day at home, and had no company. Richards went to London. In the evening I had letters from my wife and my brother, who wrote earnestly to me to make haste to town.

* Riseley is a hamlet in the parish of Swallowfield

March 7. Thursday. I went to London, where I arrived about four in the afternoon. I thank God I found my wife and family well. In the evening my brother came to me, and told me what Lords had taken the oaths since Saturday, and what orders had been made to bring in a bill for the imposing these oaths generally under severe penalties; but finding that I was resolved not to take them, we agreed that he should move my Lord Nottingham to get me a pass to go beyond sea.

March 8. Friday. I stayed all day at home. In the afternoon my brother was with me: he told me he had spoken with Lord Nottingham for a pass for me; that my Lord much wondered how I should enter into the Association at Salisbury and now refuse to take the oaths; but he advised my brother that I should do nothing till we saw what became of the bills now depending concerning the oaths.

March 9. Saturday. I dined at my Lord Abingdon's, where was the Bishop of Bristol. He was in great discontent that he should not have the Bishoprick of Sarum; which, he said, had been promised him, and called my Lord Abingdon to witness it. Lord Abingdon told me he had taken his leave of the King, and had spoken very freely to him touching his own discontents: he made great protestations to me, that if he had thought this revolution of Government would have happened, he would never have gone in to the Prince of Orange; that he apprehended we should be in great troubles, and that King James would be able to do something from Ireland and Scotland, which would cause great disorders; and he wished we might find a way whereby to be safe. I told him the best way was to be quiet, and not to have any thing to do in the Government; but, since he had taken the oaths, that I wished he would take the lieutenancy of Oxon, whereby he would be able to pursue the true interest whenever he thought it convenient, (which I was sure he intended,) and so to leave all to God Almighty, who would direct and finish this great work as he had begun it; and if he did not accept of that employment, he would unavoidably throw us under the government of my Lord Lovelace; to which he said he would think of it.

March 10. Sunday. I went to church, and received the communion. In the evening I visited Lord Burlington, where was Sir John Reresby. He said his brother, a captain in the Duke of Grafton's regiment of guards, was come from Oxford with six companies of that regiment, in order to go to Gravesend; that they quartered last night at Branford; that the Captain was come to town to give the Duke of Grafton an account that he had not

above forty men in his company; that the rest had not above fifteen or twenty men apiece; that they run daily away, and declared publicly they would neither go into Holland, nor Ireland, nor fight against King James.*

March 11. Monday. In the afternoon the Bishop of St. Asaph was with me. He spoke to me again about the oaths, which he had taken this day was a se'nnight. I told him I had very well considered the matter, and I could not take them, and therefore desired him not to trouble himself any more about it. I then asked him whether he would not attend at the coronation, to which he said by no means; for that, by the grace of God, he would have no hand in making kings and queens, at which I could not but laugh. I then asked him if he thought he had done the Church service in making Burnet Bishop of Sarum. At which, after a long pause, too habitual to him, he asked me why I thought he had made him? I told him that was answering me with another question; but since he did so, I would give him a direct answer, hoping he would do the like to me: and so I told him I had from good hands, that when King William was spoken to about that bishoprick, and put in mind that he had promised it both to Bristol and Dr. Patrick, he said, indeed he had promised it to Bristol, but that the Bishop of St. Asaph was so pressing upon him, that he could have no quiet from his importunity till he had given it to Burnet. To this the Bishop said, he could not tell what King William might say; but he did not deny it, nor made me any other answer. In the evening I went to see Lord Abingdon, and took my leave of him. My Lord was much concerned for the Church, and very angry at the Bill of Comprehension. The Bishop of St. Asaph went with me: he is deep in that comprehending project.

March 12. Tuesday. Lord Abingdon went into Wilts. In the morning

* There is a similar relation respecting Lord Dumbarton's regiment in Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, under the date of March 13. "There seemed now to be great discontents among all sorts of men; affairs looked somewhat embroiled; and I heard Lord Privy Seal say, 'That in the posture the nation now stood, the King (James) if but a Protestant, could not be kept out four months:' nay, my Lord Danby went farther, and averred, 'That if he would but give us satisfaction as to our religion, as he easily might, it would be very hard to make head against him.' Sayings which I thought very extraordinary to fall from such great men, and of the times too. A few days afterwards, Lord Dumbarton's regiment, which he had long since brought out of France, and was now quartered at Ipswich, being all Scotch, and consisting of 1300 men, chose rather to march off in a body, with their arms and four pieces of cannon, towards Scotland, than obey orders, which were to embark and sail for Holland."

I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbishop. I asked him about the discourse he had with Lord Danby. He told me that on Friday, the 1st instant, Lord Danby was to visit him; that he told him he came to town but the day before; that he was told at his lodging the Princess of Denmark had sent several times to speak with him; that he went immediately to her; that she had desired him to go to the Archbishop, and to tell him that it was possible he might have heard Lord Clarendon say, that she was not satisfied with what was done in reference to the disposing the crown as now it was settled, whereas she desired he should know she was extremely pleased with what was done. The Archbishop told him, when that matter was transacting, it was the general discourse among those who came to his table, and most people seemed to wonder that the Princess of Denmark could be pleased to be put by her right, and to see the course of succession altered: and that one day when I was there, he heard me say, the Princess had not given her consent to it, as was reported, which the Archbishop said he was very glad to hear, for it seemed strange to him that she should: that Lord Danby replied, Lord Clarendon had a plausible way of speaking, and seemed to be conscientiously concerned for the succession, whereas it was only hypocrisy, for he must assure him the Princess was abundantly pleased. This is an admirable part of the Princess, and shows great favour to me; enough I think to make me look to myself.

March 13. Wednesday. I stayed all day at home.

March 14. Thursday. In the afternoon I visited my Lady Peterborough and Mrs. Dawson.

March 15. Friday. In the morning I went to Swallowfield, where I arrived about six in the evening. I dined by the way at Bagshot-park, with Mr. Grahame.

March 16. Saturday. The weather was very wet and tempestuous, so that I could not stir abroad all day. I had no company.

March 17. Sunday. I went only to Church.

March 18. Monday. Being fair weather I rid abroad. I had no company.

March 19. Tuesday. Mr. Tutt, and Mr. Richards came to see me; they dined with me.

March 20. Wednesday. Mr. Harrison of Beachill dined with me.

March 21. Thursday. I went to Oxford; where I arrived about five in the evening, having baited at Benson. I took hackney coach-horses from Reading, my coachman being ill: at Oxford I lay at my cousin Hyde's. I

found the Bishop of Man* returned home from his island but the Tuesday last. I here found the news of King James's being landed at Kinsale on the 11th instant.

March 22. Friday. In the morning I visited Dr. Turnor at Corpus Christi College: he told me, the Bishop of Ely was in Warwickshire with his mother. After I had dined at my cousin Hyde's, I went to Cornbury; where I arrived about five in the evening. I found letters from London, with the certainty of the King's being landed at Kinsale on the 11th instant: that the Convention of Scotland was met on the 14th instant, and had chosen Duke Hamilton their President, and adjourned for a week. My brother wrote me word, that those Lords, who did not appear on Monday to take the oaths, were passed gently over. I took Dr. Haslewood with me to Cornbury.

March 23. Saturday. The weather was extremely tempestuous; much rain and snow. In the evening Mr. Cole the minister came to see me.

March 24. Sunday. I stayed all day at home, and had prayers in my chapel: I did not go to church, having no coach; by reason that I had left John Fuller sick at Swallowfield. Mr. Mayott came to see me in the afternoon. In the evening I rode into the Park.

March 25. Monday. In the morning I rode into the Park. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston, young Mr. Jordan, and Mr. Mayott dined with me.

March 26. Tuesday. In the morning I rode into the forest. Mr. Warren, one of the regarders, dined with me. He came to speak with me of some disorders, which had been lately committed in the forest; which, I told him, I would consider of; and get him, and Sir Littleton, and some other of the regarders together, before I went out of the country. In the afternoon I went to Langley and Leafield, to settle some concerns I had there.

March 27. Wednesday. The weather was so very bad I could not stir out all day.

March 28. Thursday. I stayed all day at home. In the evening Mr. Mayott came to me from the race at Chipping-Norton.

March 29. Good Friday. I went to Charlbury to church. There was a lieutenant and serjeant beating up for men for my Lord Drogheda, for the service of Ireland: they got but one man here. Mr. Cole the minister supped with me.

March 30. Saturday. Sir Littleton, Mr. Cary, and Mr. Warren dined with me. I had the keepers with me too; and I settled things with Mr.

* Baptist Levinz, Prebendary of Winchester. Consecrated 1684: ob. 1693.

Warren for remedying the abuses in the forest; for which he is to come to me at London the next term.

March 31. Easter-day. I went to church, and received the communion at Charlbury.

April 1. Monday. Mr. Mayott, Mr. Thomas Jordan, and Mr. Shorter dined with me. In the afternoon Sir William Walter came to see me: he told me, he expected to be removed from being Sheriff; that he found it was ill taken he was not at the proclaiming the King and Queen at Oxford, &c. A messenger from court brought me my letter of summons to the Coronation. I did not see him: he told my servants, that he had been in the same errand at Lord Abingdon's and Lord Stowell's; and that they gave him something for his pains. I gave him a guinea. Colonel Fitzpatrick's regiment came to Witney on Saturday, and design to march towards London to-morrow: they were very disorderly, and broke open people's houses, as Mr. Shorter told me; and forced men's horses from them to carry the officers.

April 2. Tuesday. I sent Thomas Apprice to London to attend my wife to Swallowfield. I could not stir abroad by reason of the weather.

April 3. Wednesday. The Bishop of Man dined with me, and in the afternoon returned to Oxford. It was so wet and windy that I could not stir abroad.

April 4. Thursday. In the morning I left Cornbury: I dined at Oxford with the Bishop of Man; where I lay this night. The Vice-chancellor, the Presidents of St. John's and Magdalen dined with us. In the evening I walked in Magdalen walks.

April 5. Friday. In the morning I left Oxford: I baited at Benson; where I found some of Lord Drogheda's new-raised men. One Fitzmorice, an ensign, was the only officer with them. He told me they were marching to Brecknock, the place for their general rendezvous. The men seemed very ordinary: most of them very boys. I likewise met at Benson Mr. Trumbull, the Minister of Witney: he came with me in my coach to Reading. He told me he was going to Easthamsted to look after his brother Sir William's* concerns there. I came to Swallowfield about four in the afternoon. In the evening Mr. Keightley came to me from London, and told me my wife was a little indisposed, but would be here to-morrow. He brought me a letter from my brother; which told me he was to be this day at Windsor at the instalment of the Duke of Ormond; and that, if he could possibly, he would come to me from thence.

* Sir William Trumbull, the early friend of Pope; he figures in the diplomatic records of those times, and is mentioned in other parts of this work.

April 6. Saturday. I could not stir out all day, by reason of the very wet weather. In the evening my wife arrived in very good health, I thank God.

April 7. Sunday. In the morning we went to church. Mr. Pocock from Reading dined with us.

April 8. Monday. I rode out to take the air. Dr. Hungerford dined with us.

April 9. Tuesday. Mr. Bromstead and his wife, and Mr. Richards of Reading, dined with us, and likewise Mr. James.

April 10. Wednesday. I rode abroad to take the air both morning and afternoon. We had no company to-day.

April 11. Thursday. Mr. Grahame and his wife came from Bagshot and dined with us. Dr. Offley, Mr. Hamly, Mr. Baron, and Mr. Lake all dined with us. In the evening Mr. Talman came to me from London. This being the Coronation-day, the bells rung all day long; and in the evening there were bonfires in the parish.

April 12. Friday. I stayed at home; and we had no company all day.

April 13. Saturday. We left Swallowfield. We dined at Bagshot with Mr. Grahame, and came to London about eight at night. I thank God I found my family in good health. My brother came to see me, but told me nothing of news.

April 14. Sunday. I went to church. I dined at home: Baron Worth dined with me. He came to town last night from Chester, full of dreadful stories of Ireland; but he could tell me nothing of certainty. In the afternoon I visited the Archbishop of Dublin, Lady Essex, and Lady Ranelagh.

April 15. Monday. I dined at my brother's. In the afternoon my wife and I visited the Duchess of Beaufort.

April 16. Tuesday. The Archbishop of Dublin dined with me.

April 17. Wednesday. The first of the term. In the King's Bench sat Sir John Holt and Sir William Dolben; in the Common Pleas Sir Thomas Powell, and Sir William Gregory; in the Exchequer Sir Edward Atkyns, Chief Baron, and Sir Edward Nevill. These were all the Judges who were yet made; the rest who were designed, not being yet serjeants. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon I was with Sir Francis Winnington and Mr. Ward, who both told me they had refused to be judges.

April 18. Thursday. I dined with a friend at Hammersmith.

April 19. Friday. My wife and I sealed the agreement for sale of the six shares in the King's moiety. Mr. Temple drowned himself: the manner thus. He took a pair of oars at the Temple stairs, and bid the men row to Greenwich, when going under the bridge, as the men were ordering their oars, he leaped into the Thames. He left a paper in the boat, wherein was written these words, viz. "My folly in undertaking what I was not able to execute, hath done the King great prejudice: may his undertakings prosper, and may he have an abler servant than I."* This was written in the boat, with a black lead, upon the cover of a letter to himself, which was the occasion of the discovery, for the watermen did not know him.

April 20. Saturday. In the afternoon my Lady Katherine O'Brien, Sir Charles Bickerstaffe, and Mr. Sloane were with me about the accounts relating to my daughter's estate. We were three hours together, but did nothing, only agreed to meet again on Wednesday next. In the evening Lord Bellasses visited me. People discoursed to-day very variously of Mr. Temple's having made himself away. Some said it was trouble of mind, for having managed a correspondence in Ireland with Mr. Ellis, for the obtaining of that kingdom, and that he now found his designs frustrated, and that thereby other methods had been neglected; but others said it was a perfect phrenzy, he having had a feverish indisposition for some days, which was true.

April 21. Sunday. I went only to church, and was at home all the rest of the day.

April 22. Monday. I was to dine at my brother's, but the House of Lords sate till past four of the clock, so I did not dine. In the afternoon I went to Chelsea to see the Duchess of Beaufort.†

* He was the son of Sir William, and had been made Secretary at War. It was principally at his recommendation that Lieutenant-general Hamilton had been sent over to Ireland, who betrayed the cause he was sent for, and joined with Tyrconnel in favour of King James. This untoward circumstance, it was supposed, preyed upon his spirits, and made him commit the rash act. Mr. Temple was married to a French lady of large fortune, and came over with King William, whose confidence he very much enjoyed. His death caused great consternation, and was the town talk for some time. He left two daughters, the elder was married to her cousin, and the younger to Mr. Bacon of Suffolk, in whose issue the greater part of Sir William Temple's property became vested; they were supposed to be possessed of some valuable papers of their great ancestor.

† Mary, daughter of Lord Capel, who died at Beaufort House, Chelsea, in January 1714, in the eighty-fifth year of her age. This mansion, after having stood empty for several years, was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane in 1738, and was pulled down in 1740. It stood at the north end of Beaufort Row, extending westward about one hundred yards from the water side.

April 23. Tuesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon I visited Mr. Roper.

April 24. Wednesday. I stayed the whole day at home.

April 25. Thursday. In the morning I went to see Dr. Sherlock: my Lady Rochester dined with us. In the afternoon I went to the Apothecaries' Garden with Dr. Tennison: we had much discourse about the designed Comprehension, which I wonder so good a man should be fond of.

April 26. Friday. I stayed at home all the forenoon: in the afternoon I visited my Lady Ranelagh.* In the evening my wife and I went to the Apothecaries' Garden.

April 27. Saturday. I dined at Lambeth, where were the Archbishops of York† and Dublin,‡ Lord Ailesbury, and the Bishop of Gloucester.§ W—— sent me word of what news he had from Ireland of the 6th instant.

April 28. Sunday. I was only at church, and the rest of the day at home.

April 29. Monday. Sir Stephen Fox and I dined with Sir Richard Bellings.

April 30. Tuesday. In the afternoon I went to Guildhall to a trial wherein my daughter was concerned, but it was put off till Thursday.

May 1. Wednesday. I stayed all day at home, and saw nobody.

May 2. Thursday. I dined at Sir Richard Bellings's: in the afternoon I went again to Guildhall. The cause between Borthwick plaintiff, and Sir Charles Bickerstaffe defendant, (on behalf of my daughter, as executor to the late Duke of Richmond,) was heard, and Borthwick was nonsuited.

May 3. Friday. I did not dine, and stayed at home all day, and saw nobody.

May 4. Saturday. In the morning I visited the Bishop of Ely,‖ who came to town last night: he dined with me. A bill, which had passed the House of Lords, declaring new treasons, was rejected by the House of Commons.

May 5. Sunday. I went to church. I spent the rest of the day at home; only in the evening I visited Lady Ranelagh.

May 6. Monday. I stayed all day at home, and saw nobody.

May 7. Tuesday. I dined at my brother's. News came to court, that the French fleet was certainly sailed for Ireland. I had a summons to be this afternoon at a meeting of the governors of the Charter-house at Whitehall; but I thought it best not to be there. The Earl of Shrewsbury was chosen in the place of the Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Chief Justice Holt, into that

* At Chelsea. † Dr. Thomas Lamplugh. ‡ Dr. Francis Marsh.
§ Dr. Robert Frampton. ‖ Dr. Francis Turner, deprived for not taking the oaths.

of Lord Chancellor Jeffries. Captain Aylmer came this evening to town from the fleet. He brought an account, that Herbert had an engagement with the French fleet in the Bay of Bantry; but that the French had landed their men and money: but the matter was hushed up; and we are left to learn the truth as we can.

May 8. Wednesday. The King and Queen came to town this morning, and went back in the afternoon. I dined with Sir Ralph Bellings.

May 9. Holy-Thursday. In the morning I went to church. I spent the rest of the day at home; only in the evening I was with Serjeant Pemberton about some concerns of my own, relating to the New River.

May 10. Friday. In the morning my wife and I went to Swallowfield.

May 11. Saturday. We had no company. In the afternoon I rode abroad to take the air.

May 12. Sunday. We went to church. In the afternoon Dr. Hungerford came to see us.

May 13. Monday. We went back to London.

May 14. Tuesday. The King and Prince of Denmark went to Portsmouth. The Queen came to Whitehall to stay there till the King returned. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings: he told me, my Lord Halifax had moved at the Queen's council, that the Queen's suit against me might be revived; and that Mr. Marryott was directed to come to me to know if I would wave my privilege, the Parliament being sitting. Lord Devonshire and Schomberg were installed to-day at Windsor.

May 15. Wednesday. I dined at my brother's. I took the liberty to tell him I was very sorry that he was yesterday at the instalment; which I found he did not take well; and so I said no more to him.

May 16. Thursday. I stayed the whole day at home, and saw no company.

May 17. Friday. Being my usual fast day, I was for above three hours in the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea; where I was not disturbed by any company. The House of Lords adjourned till Wednesday. My brother and his children went to New-park. In the evening Mr. Marryott brought me the order of the Queen-dowager's council, directing him to ask me, if I would stand upon my privilege in the suit between her Majesty and me; to which I told him, it was a matter of great concern to me, and I would consider of it, before I gave an answer: whereupon he said, he would call upon me again towards the end of the next week.

May 18. Saturday. I stayed all day at home, and saw nobody.

May 19. Sunday. I went only to church, and spent the rest of the day at home.

May 20. Monday. I stayed all day at home, till towards evening I went to the Apothecaries' Garden.

May 21. Tuesday. I dined at Lord Ailesbury's; where likewise dined the Duchesses of Ormond and Beaufort.

May 22. Wednesday. I stayed the whole day at home, and saw no strangers.

May 23. Thursday. In the afternoon I went to the Archbishop at Lambeth; whom I found very well. He complained much to me of the Bishop of St. Asaph's tormenting him about bringing Burnet to him; and that he was most strangely busy to persuade the clergy to take the new oaths.

May 24 and 25. Friday and Saturday. I spent my time at home, and saw no strangers.

May 26. Sunday. I went to church. In the afternoon I went to see Mr. Fraser at Chelsea College; where I had never been before.

May 27. Monday. In the afternoon my wife and I went to Chelsea to the Duchess of Beaufort; whom we found alone. She told me the whole story how Lady Essex had sent for her and her Lord, and all the relations, Lord Bedford, Devonshire, Bishop Burnet, and young Mr. Hampden, about the matter relating to Lord Essex's death, now depending before the committee of Lords; that she had declared, that she believed he killed himself; and therefore desired the business might fall. She told me, Burnet and Hampden both owned the conspiracy against King Charles II. I should have been there if I had been in town. Brother Capell excused himself, pretending to be indisposed; which looked very odd.

May 28. Tuesday. I went to Finchley to see the Bishop of Ely. I dined with him: in the afternoon we went together, and made a visit to Dr. Sherlock at Highgate. When I came home in the evening, I had an account that the Lords had ordered letters to be sent to all the Peers, who had not taken the oaths, to appear in the House on Thursday next come se'nnight.

May 29. Wednesday. In the morning Lord Wharton came to see me. He was extremely obliging, and assured me of his kindness in this matter of the oaths; but advised me not to be in town, and to send an excuse to Lord Halifax. In the morning I received my summons to attend the House of Lords to-morrow se'nnight: it was a letter from Lord Halifax, brought by a messenger, but not signed; which, I suppose, was a mistake: however I

intend to make no advantage of it. We all dined with my brother at Newpark. Upon advice with him I resolved to go out of town, but to send to Lord Exeter, and to let him know what I thought we were best to do; but that I would join with him, and do what he thought best: accordingly in the evening, as soon as I came home, I despatched Thomas Apprice to my Lord of Exeter.

May 30. Thursday. The Archbishop of Dublin,* the Bishop of Leighlin,† and my brother, dined with me.

May 31. Friday. In the morning I visited Bishop Burnet, upon the civilities my brother told me he professed to me in this matter of the oaths. I likewise went to visit Lord Halifax upon the same account; he having sent me many civil messages by Sir Thomas Clarges and Sir Paul Ryeaut: but I found him not at home.

June 1. Saturday. Just as I had dined, Thomas Apprice came in to me from my Lord Exeter's. He told me my Lord was gone to Lufton, Mr. Nowell's house, to avoid meeting my Lord Devonshire, who lay at Burley, as he went northwards: and that Lord Mordaunt and the rest of the commissioners for the army dined there. Thomas Apprice told me, as he went down, he overtook at Ware a messenger going to Lord Exeter with his summons, and that he met him again at Stilton, as he came back: that he found strict orders upon the road that none should be suffered to go post any where, without a secretary of state's pass. Lord Exeter wrote very fully to me, that he would not take the oaths, and that he would do as I did. In the evening I was with Lord Nottingham, who advised me rather to go out of town, and to send an excuse, than to go to the House and declare that I could not take the oaths.

June 2. Sunday. I went to church. This is my birth-day. I am now complete one-and-fifty years of age: time to prepare for a better world. In the evening my brother was with me. I took my resolution to go to-morrow into the country. I wrote a letter to my Lord Halifax, to make my excuse for not appearing in the House according to the summons: and I despatched Thomas Apprice again to my Lord of Exeter, with the resolution I had taken upon the best advice: and desired him to do the same.

June 3. Monday. In the morning I visited my Lord Abingdon, and acquainted him with the resolution I had taken: which he approved of, and

* Dr. Francis Marsh, ob. 1693.

† Dr. Narcissus Marsh; translated to Dublin, 1694, and died Archbishop of Armagh, in 1713.

promised me his utmost service upon all occasions. In the afternoon I went out of town, and lay at Bagshot Park. I took Mr. Charles Leslie with me.

June 4. Tuesday. In the morning we left Bagshot, and came to Swallowfield to dinner.

June 5. Wednesday. I was all day at home, and had no company.

June 6. Thursday. In the morning some tradesmen of Reading were with me; with whom I agreed about pulling down the old glass and old wainscot. My Lady Dorchester and Mr. Grahame came to dinner from Chertsey, and went away again in the afternoon. She told me some letters of King James's had been intercepted, among which was one to her; which my Lord Shrewsbury had given her an account of, but would not let her have it: at which she was much dissatisfied.

June 7. Friday. We left Swallowfield, and came to Oxford in the evening. At Benson, where we baited, I met my Lord Derby; who told me he was going to Bibery in Gloucestershire, a house he rents there, to visit my Lord and Lady Atholl, to whom he had lent it. We supped with Dr. Levett at Magdalen-Hall: afterwards I went to see the Bishop of Man,* and the good people with him. I lay at the Angel.

June 8. Saturday. In the morning we left Oxford, and came to Cornbury to dinner.

June 9. Sunday. I went to church. Mr. Mayott dined with us. In the evening the Bishop of Man came to me, and stayed all night.

June 10. Monday. The Bishop of Man went to Bibery to visit the Earl of Derby: he came back to me in the evening. I had no company to-day.

June 11. Tuesday. The Bishop of Man went to Oxford: Mr. Mayot dined with me. In the afternoon I perfected the purchase of the several fields on the further side of the meadows, at the foot of the new bridge; for which I paid 100*l.*

June 12. Wednesday. Sir Rowland Lacy, and Mr. Cole dined with me. In the afternoon Colonel Heyling came to see me. I went to visit Sir William Walter.

June 13. Thursday. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston and Mr. Blake dined with me.

June 14. Friday. Mr. Eyans, of Begbrook, and his nephew, of Enston, dined with me. Just before dinner Thomas Apprice arrived from London:

* Dr. Levinz: he was related to Lord Clarendon by marriage; his wife being Mary, the daughter of James Hyde, M.D., and grand-daughter of Sir Lawrence Hyde of Salisbury.

he brought me letters from my wife and my brother, that I should hasten to town; upon which in the afternoon I left Cornbury, and came to Tetsworth by seven in the evening, where I stayed all night.

June 15. Saturday. In the morning I went for London, where I arrived in the evening, having baited at Uxbridge. I thank God I found my wife and family well. My brother was gone to New-park. Mr. Belson came to me, who was but a few days since arrived from France.

June 16. Sunday. I dined with my brother at New-park. He gave me an account of what had passed in the House of Lords, and that matters relating to the absent Lords seemed to be quiet for the present; upon which I took my resolution to go presently for Tunbridge.

June 17. Monday. In the morning I waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth, and from thence took coach for the Wells, where I arrived about seven in the evening. I baited at the Bull in the Bush. At Tunbridge town Mr. Keightley met me. He came into the calash to me. Within twelve-score* of our lodgings poor Sydenham's horse stumbled, and fell upon him, and broke his thigh-bone about a handful above the knee. I got him into a chamber, and a bone-setter, who presently set it; and I hope well, for he was immediately at ease; and, by the grace of God, I hope he will quickly do well: there never was a better youth.

June 18. Tuesday. I took physic. We had the news of the Castle of Edinburgh being surrendered.

June 19. Wednesday. This was the day appointed for the fast to be kept in the country upon account of the war with France. I took Epsom waters, and stirred not abroad till towards evening.

June 20. Thursday. I begun the waters. Dr. Dove and Mr. Strong dined with me. In the evening my Lady Lanesborough came to the Wells from London.

June 21. Friday. I went to the Wells. Mr. Bellasses, Lord Bellasses's grandson, being at Lord Abergavenny's house of Eridge, fell into convulsion fits; so that it was thought he would have died.

June 22. Saturday. I went to the Wells. In the afternoon I rode abroad.

June 23. Sunday. I continued upon the walks till church-time: Mr.

* Twelve-score yards; the distance at which, in times of archery, the bowman stood from the butts. It was a familiar phrase for a short distance.

Cornwell, the minister of the place, preached. Lady Lanesborough, Mrs. Roche, and Mrs. Deane, dined with me. In the evening I rode abroad.

June 27. Monday. In the morning I went to the Wells. In the afternoon I went with Lord Blessington and Mr. Keightley to Eridge, to see Lady Abergavenny and Mrs. Bellasise.

June 25. Tuesday. In the morning I went to the Wells. I dined with Lord Blessington. In the evening my wife arrived. Mr. Bellasise was so well recovered that he came to visit me, to thank me for inquiring after him: he owned his recovery to Dr. Peck's care, who is a very honest man; a divine as well as a physician, beneficed at Mayfield, and frequents the Wells during the season.

June 26. Wednesday. I spent the forenoon at the Wells. Mrs. Roche dined with us. In the evening I rode abroad.

June 27. Thursday. I went only to the Wells in the morning, and stayed the rest of the day at home to keep my wife company, she being indisposed. In the afternoon Lady Abergavenny and Mr. Bellasise came to see her.

June 28. Friday. In the morning I was at the Wells: the Bishop of Kilmore* and his lady, Mrs. Morton, and Mr. Donelan, dined with us. My wife was pretty well.

June 29. Saturday. I was at the Wells. Mr. Strong and Dr. Peck dined with us. In the afternoon Lord and Lady Bristol visited us.

June 30. Sunday. In the morning I was at the Wells, and at church: the Bishop of Kilmore preached. Lady Lanesborough and her company, and Lady Bellew dined with us. In the evening we went to Eridge.

July 1. Monday. I was at the Wells. Lord and Lady Blessington dined with us. In the afternoon we went to see Lord and Lady Bristol, but they were not at home.

July 2. Tuesday. It was so very wet, that I drank the waters at home.

July 3. I drank the waters again at home, by reason of the rain.

July 4. Thursday. My wife went to London: I drank the waters at home, and accompanied her as far as Farnborough, where Mr. Keightley and Mr. Belson met her. I returned in the evening to Mount-Sion.

July 5. Friday. I went to the Wells. Dr. Dove dined with me. He still seemed very averse to taking the new oaths.

* Dr. William Sheridan, elder brother of Patrick, Bishop of Cloyne. He was deprived in the third year of K. William and Q. Mary, for refusing to take the oaths, and died about 1716.

July 6. Saturday. I was at the Wells. Mr. Coote dined with me.

July 7. Sunday. Dr. Dove preached. Little Knatchbull and Dr. Peck dined with me. In the afternoon I had a visit from Lord Abergavenny. I rode abroad.

July 8. Monday. Dr. Hitch and Mr. Buchannon, a minister of Ireland, dined with me. In the evening I rode abroad.

July 9. Tuesday. Mr. Coote dined with me. I found myself a little indisposed; but I rode abroad in the afternoon.

July 10. Wednesday. I took physic, and stayed all day at home.

July 11. Thursday. I went to the Wells, though I did not drink the waters. I dined at Lord Blessington's.

July 12. Friday. I fell to the waters again.

July 13. Saturday. Dr. Hitch and Dr. Peck dined with me. In the evening my wife came from London: the Bishop of Kildare * came likewise to the Wells.

July 14. Sunday. Lord Bristol's chaplain preached. Mrs. Roche and little Knatchbull dined with us. The Bishop of Kildare told me of the Bishop of Worcester's death,† and of the charge he left with his clergy not to take the new oaths, and to persevere in their allegiance to King James.

July 15. Monday. Dr. Dove appeared again upon the walks: he went to London last Wednesday, and returned on Saturday. His business was to take the new oaths; which he did in a sense of his own, with an explanation. I walked with him; but he said nothing to me of what he had done.

July 16. Tuesday. I was at the Wells. In the afternoon I visited Lord Tweedale; who came down on Saturday. He was very civil to me, and seemed to talk very freely of the affairs of Scotland: he discoursed very cautiously. By what I could collect from him, I believe he is not satisfied with the present management of affairs, though he is enough displeased with King James's government; of whom yet he speaks with respect, but laments his being too much influenced by ill and rash men, who were not experienced in affairs; and particularly spoke very sharply of Lord Melfort.

July 17. Wednesday. Upon the walks we had the news of the discovery of a plot in Scotland to assassinate the Commissioner, and most of the Members of Parliament; and that several persons were committed upon it.

* Dr. Wm. Moreton, afterwards Bishop of Meath: ob. 21st Nov. 1715. † Dr. Wm. Thomas.

July 18. Thursday. In the afternoon Lord Tweedale was to see me. He told me he looked on the plot in Scotland to be no more than some persons who designed to rise and go to Lord Dundee with what numbers they could: but he told me, he believed it was true, that some troops were landed in Scotland from Ireland; and he believed they might be about a thousand men.

July 19. The letters to-day brought me the news of my son's regiment being taken from him, and given to his lieutenant-colonel; for which I cannot be concerned. God grant it may make my son reflect, as he ought to do, on the abominable action he committed in deserting the King; which will be a stain in his life, and will stick heavy at my heart as long as I live.

July 20. Saturday. Mr. Coote and his lady dined with us. In the afternoon I rode abroad to take the air.

July 21. Sunday. Mr. Elsby, the minister of Chiswick, preached. Mrs. Roch, little Knatchbull, and Dr. Peck, dined with me. In the evening I rode abroad.

July 22. Monday. The Bishop of Kildare and his wife, Sir John Parker and his lady, dined with us. I went abroad to take the air with my wife.

July 23. Tuesday. In the morning I went to the Wells. In the afternoon I visited Lord Hatton and Lord Tweedale, and rode abroad to take the air.

July 24. In the afternoon my wife and I went abroad to take the air.

July 25. Thursday. The post brought an account that the Princess of Denmark was brought to bed of a son yesterday, about five o'clock in the morning; with which all the company seemed abundantly pleased: and in the evening bonfires were made all about.

July 26. Friday. In the afternoon Lord Tweedale visited me. He told me, he found by his letters from Scotland that there was no great matter in the conspiracy, which was said to be there against the Commissioner and the Parliament; but that Dundee grew considerable in the Highlands.

July 27. In the afternoon I rode abroad. Lord Hatton visited me.

July 28. Sunday. After I had drunk the waters I went to church. Mr. Johnson dined with me: he came to the Wells last night. He seemed dissatisfied, as most of his countrymen are. In the afternoon I visited Lord Tweedale to take my leave of him.

July 29. Monday. In the morning I went to the walks, drank five glasses of water, and then left the Wells, my health being much mended, I thank God; and the difficulty of breathing, which brought me to the waters, being

quite removed. We dined at Farnborough, and came to London about seven at night; where, I thank God, we found the family well. My brother came to me this evening, and told me how the matter relating to the absent Lords had been stirred again on Saturday last; but that it ended in an address to the King for a Proclamation to summon my Lord Griffin; and no farther notice was taken of the rest.

July 30. Tuesday. The Bishop of Duresme * (of whom nobody had heard any thing for some months, and it was generally said he was gone beyond sea) appeared at Guildhall, and took the oaths there. In the afternoon I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury; whom I found in perfect health, and fully resolved to incur suspension: he was very obliging to me.

July 31. Wednesday. I dined at Sir Richard Bellings', where I met Sir Stephen Fox. In the afternoon I visited my Lady Ranelagh and Mr. Boyle, whither came in my Lord Falconberg and Burnet, who were extremely civil to me. I told them I had been but two days in town, and should not stay so much longer: which was the reason I did not wait on them to pay them my acknowledgments for their civilities in the house upon the occasion of my being summoned to appear; which I desired them to continue, in regard I could not as yet satisfy myself to take the oaths. The Lords had a conference to-day with the Commons upon Oates's Bill, and afterwards adhered to their own amendments; which was carried in the House of Lords upon the question by two votes and ten proxies: then the Lords adjourned till Friday.

August 1. Thursday. In the morning I visited Lord Wharton, and thanked him for his civilities in the House. He gave me great assurances of the continuance of his friendship, and advised me not to appear in the town. To-day we had news of an engagement in Scotland between Dundee and Makay: the success was variously discoursed of; some saying Dundee had the advantage, and others quite the contrary.

August 2. Friday. The Scotch letters brought an account of the engagement with Dundee, and that he was killed; but no particulars of the fight, at least none were thought fit to be divulged. Sir Jo. Guise moved in the House of Commons, that an address might be made to the King to remove Lord Halifax; but it went off again.

August 3. Saturday. I went to Lambeth to take my leave of the Arch-

* Nathaniel Lord Crewe, who died in 1721, when the title became extinct till it was restored in 1806, in the person of the present Baron.

bishop. Whilst I was there, the Bishop of St. David's came in, and gave him an account that the master and four-and-twenty fellows of St. John's college in Cambridge had refused the new oaths. In the House of Commons the matter was resumed concerning an address against Lord Halifax; which was put to the question, and was carried in the negative by eleven voices: the House sat till near six at night.

August 4. Sunday. In the morning I went to church: in the afternoon I visited my Lady Ranelagh, and took my leave of her. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me, and gave me a full account of the debate yesterday relating to Lord Halifax; and that his Lordship had desired him to make his acknowledgements to my son for giving his vote in his favour. I desired Sir Thomas to make my excuse to my Lord for not waiting on him; which I avoided in regard the House was sitting. My son told me, in the yesterday's debate Sir Henry Capell was very warm against Lord Halifax; and that, amongst other things which fell from him, he said, he had sat in that House when two Lords of his near relations were addressed against, (meaning the Duke of Beaufort and myself,) and that he did not concern himself for them, because they did not deserve it of him.

August 5. Monday. In the morning my wife and I went to Swallowfield; where we arrived about seven at night. We found the house almost pulled down, and the foundations of the building toward the garden laid, and brought three feet above ground.

August 6. Tuesday. In the morning Mr. Talman came to us to look upon the building.

August 7. Wednesday. Mr. Talman returned to London. I sent Tom Apprice with him, in order to his journey to the Isle of Wight.

August 8. Thursday. In the morning my wife went to London, and I to Oxford, where I arrived about four in the afternoon. I lay at the Angel: Dr. Levett* and Dr. Haslewood supped with me.

August 9. Friday. I dined at Dr. Levett's, and in the afternoon I went to Cornbury: Dr. Haslewood went with me.

August 10. In the afternoon I rode about the park and into the forest.

August 11. Sunday. In the morning I went to church at Charlebury, where a stranger officiated, Mr. Cole not having taken the oaths. Mr. Mayott dined with me. In the afternoon Colonel Heyling came to see me. He told

* William Levett, D.D. principal of Magdalen Hall, and Dean of Bristol, who died Feb. 10, 1694.

me he was in the commission of the peace; but that he had not taken the oaths, and was resolved not to take them.

August 12. Monday. In the afternoon I rode abroad to take the air.

August 13. Tuesday. In the morning I went to Langley.* Mr. Blake, of Coggs,† dined with me: he discovered himself more than ever to be no friend to the church. In the evening I rode to see Enston Wells.

August 14. I went to my cousin Parker's, where I found cousin Robert Hyde‡ and his lady. I dined with them, and came home in the evening.

August 15. Thursday. In the morning I went to Oxford, from whence I sent my horses to meet my wife. I went to Ricott§ to visit Lord Abingdon, and dined with him. In the evening my Lord brought me to Oxford, where I lay at the Angel. I went to see Captain Bertie, who was ill in town. The Bishop of Killala came to see me: he lay in the same house with me.

August 16. Friday. In the morning I went to prayers at New College, where I met the Bishop of Lechlin and Fernes, and Mr. Dodwell. My wife arrived; and after we had dined we went to Cornbury. Sir Robert Jenkinson‖ and family came from London.

August 17. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston¶ and Mr. Cary dined with us.

August 18. Sunday. In the morning we went to church. Mr. Mayott dined with us. In the afternoon Sir R. Jenkinson and the ladies came to visit us.

August 19. Monday. Lord Abingdon, Lord Norreys, Sir Charles Cottrell, and Mr. Mayott dined with us. Lord Abingdon told me that some at Court about King William, who were angry at my behaviour when I was in the Convention, had given it out that whatever I professed now, I was as much against King James as any man; and that I had advised the imprisoning him, and sending him to the Tower. My Lord told me he had contradicted this report, and possibly might have an opportunity of doing me further service therein, if I

* A village adjoining Charlebury in Oxfordshire.

† Lord of the Manor of Coggs, a village near Witney, and who built the Market-cross of that town.

‡ Robert Hyde, of West Hatch and of Heale, in the county of Wilts.

§ His Lordship's seat near Thame, in Oxfordshire, originally belonging to John Lord Williams of Thame, in the reign of Elizabeth, which was in part destroyed by fire, Nov. 12, 1745, when the Earl's eldest son, the Lord Norreys, was unfortunately burnt. The materials of this estate were brought by the present Earl to repair his seat at Witham, near Oxford.

‖ Immediate ancestor of the present Earl of Liverpool and second baronet. He sat in Parliament for the county of Oxford.

¶ Eldest son of Sir John Osbaldeston, Knight, of Chadlington, near Charlbury, and was created a baronet, 17th of Charles II. He sat in Parliament for the borough of Woodstock in 1678.

would tell him any thing that might enable him: whereupon I told him a great part of what passed at Windsor, but withal that we had promised secrecy of what was at that time discoursed; and I further assured his Lordship, that except at that time at Windsor, I had never been present at any discourse about what should be done with King James: but I told him I was indeed against his being sent away.* My Lord was very well satisfied with what I had told him; and we both agreed not to speak of what we had said to each other.

Aug. 20. I stayed at home; only in the afternoon I rode about the park.

August 21. Wednesday. Mr. James Perrot, Mr. Mayott, and Mr. Robert Perrott's son dined with me. In the afternoon my wife and I went to visit my Lady Jenkinson.

August 22. Thursday. By letters this day from London, I had an account that the Parliament was adjourned to the 20th of September. My wife and I dined at Adderbury; where, according to appointment, we met my Lord Abingdon: my lady was there likewise, and Lord and Lady Sandwich.

August 23. Friday. In the afternoon I went to Mr. Mayott's: we rode together into the fields, and had a little course with a greyhound.

August 24. Saturday. Mr. Anthony Eyans, of Begbrook, dined with me. In the afternoon I was going to see Colonel Heyling; but in the forest I met him and his lady coming to us: so I returned back with them.

August 25. Sunday. In the morning we went to Charlebury church: Dr. Haslewood preached. In the afternoon there was very violent rain.

August 26. Monday. In the afternoon Mr. Oakes and his wife came from Swallowfield.

August 27. Tuesday. I stirred not out of the house all day; only in the

* It will be remembered that the Duchess of Marlborough asserts that Lord Clarendon, at the Windsor conference, advised the sending King James to the Tower; but this could only be meant as a means of security from any public outrage against his person. Burnet says, "It was a tender point how to dispose of the King's person. Some proposed rougher methods: the keeping him a prisoner, at least till the nation was settled, and till Ireland was secured. It was thought that his being kept in custody would be such a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to submit and be quiet. Ireland was in great danger; and his restraint might oblige the Earl of Tyrconnel to deliver up the government and disarm the Papists, which would preserve that kingdom and the Protestants in it. But because it might raise too much compassion, and perhaps some disorder, if the King should be kept in restraint within the kingdom, therefore *the sending him to Breda was proposed. The Earl of Clarendon pressed this vehemently,* on account of the Irish Protestants, *as the King himself told me;* for those who gave their opinions in this matter did it secretly and in confidence to the Prince."—*Burnet's Own Times,* vol. ii. p. 800.

evening my wife and I went about the park in the calash. Dr. Haslewood went to Oxford.

August 28. Wednesday. In the morning I went to Witney Park.* In the afternoon Mrs. Roche arrived from London.

August 29. Thursday. The Countess of Rochester, my Lord and Lady Sandwich dined with us.

August 30. Friday. I rode about the park, and went to Langley. Dr. Levett came to us.

August 31. Saturday. Mr. Leslie and Tom Apprice arrived from London, having been in the Isle of Wight with my sister Franke. They came in before dinner: Mr. Talman came with them. In the evening Mr. Keightley and Baron Worth arrived from London.

SEPTEMBER 1. Sunday. In the morning we went to church, and received the communion. Dr. Levett preached. In the afternoon Mr. Talman went away.

Sept. 2. Monday. In the morning Mr. London† arrived, but went away again in the evening. I got him to set out the ground for planting above the spring, where the seat is, and to lay out the walks by the ponds.

Sept. 3. Tuesday. I rode abroad into the forest.

Sept. 4. In the afternoon I was riding about the park, when my brother and his children arrived: they left Mrs. Gednie sick at Oxford.

Sept. 5. Thursday. In the afternoon my brother and I rode about the park; and we went to Sir Robert Jenkinson's.

Sept. 6. Friday. In the afternoon my Lord Abingdon and Lord Norreys came to see my brother: they went away presently. In the evening Sir Robert Jenkinson came to see us.

Sept. 7. Saturday. In the afternoon Sir Edward Read and his lady were to see us. In the evening we rode abroad.

Sept. 8. Sunday. In the morning we went to Charlebury church; where Mr. Leslie preached. Mr. Mayott dined with us.

Sept. 9. Monday. Mr. Robert Perrott‡ and Dr. Bourcher dined with us. In the evening we rode into the forest to take the air. The masons began

* The property of the Bishop of Winchester, upon lease to the Duke of Marlborough, 1827.

† London, the gardener and planter then of most repute, much employed by Sir Christopher Wren. He was constantly consulted by Mr. Evelyn, and corresponded with him.

‡ Of North Leigh, in Oxfordshire.

to work to-day at the wall upon the terrace walk between the new building and the stable, and promised it should be finished in a month's time.

Sept. 10. Tuesday. In the morning my brother and I went to Blunsden; Giles Cleeve and some of the neighbours met us at Letchlade.

Sept. 11. Wednesday. In the morning we went to Purton, and viewed my concerns there: the house was much out of repair. I ordered the mending the slates, and do intend to send a carpenter to look upon, and to make an estimate what is necessary to be done at it. We then went to Vasterne to look upon my brother's concerns there. We returned to Blunsden to dinner; where we found the Bishop of Man, and, I believe, at least twenty more of the neighbourhood, who dined with us.

Sept. 12. Thursday. In the morning we rode about all the estate at Blunsden. I very much pressed Giles Cleeve to take a lease of it; but he would not be persuaded. He complained much of the badness of the times, and importuned me for an abatement; but I refused him absolutely. After dinner we returned to Cornbury; where, I thank God, we found all our people well. I found letters from London, with the news that the confederates had taken Mentz.

Sept. 13. Friday. In the afternoon we rode abroad to take the air.

Sept. 14. Saturday. Being holy-rood day, in the morning my brother and I went a hunting in the forest; which I am sure I had not done at least these fifteen years: we killed one deer, and so went home to dinner. In the afternoon we all took the air in the forest.

Sept. 15. Sunday. In the morning we went to church: Mr. Leslie preached again. Mr. Mayott and his wife dined with us.

Sept. 16. Monday. Most violent rain, and great winds all day; and some thunder.

Sept. 17. Tuesday. In the afternoon we walked a little about the park.

Sept. 18. Wednesday. In the morning I had a letter from Sir George Mackenzie, dated from Witney, in his way from the Bath to Oxford; where, he said, he should stay some days. He excused his not coming to me, by reason of his being in a stage coach. I sent Tom Apprice with a compliment to him to Oxford; and he brought me word in the evening that Sir George would be with me to-morrow, and desired me to send my coach for him in case it rained. In the afternoon Sir William Walter came to visit us.

Sept. 19. Thursday. While we were at dinner, Sir George Mackenzie

came in: he stayed here all night. In the afternoon we went about the park, and had much discourse with him upon the public affairs. He seemed to impute the carrying of all things in the convention of Scotland at the rate they went, to Lord Athol's not being President; which the honest party could have carried, but he declined it. He said, if King James had come into Scotland when Lord Dundee was alive, or had sent 5000 men thither, the whole kingdom would have gone in to him. He said my Lord Melfort had ruined the King, and would suffer nothing to come to him, but what came from his party.

Sept. 20. Friday. Cousin Robert Hyde, of Hatch, and cousin Parker, and their ladies, dined with us; and while we were at dinner, Mr. St. John and his lady came in from Astrop wells. In the afternoon Sir George Mackenzie returned to Oxford.

Sept. 21. Saturday. My brother and Mr. Keightley, Baron Worth, and Mr. Leslie went to Astrop, and dined with Mr. St. John.

Sept. 22. Sunday. We went to church in the morning, and in the afternoon rode about the park.

Sept. 23. Monday. My brother and I, and Keightley went to Ricott, and dined with Lord Abingdon: Mr. Mayott went with us. In the afternoon we went to Oxford, and lay there. We had the news of the Parliament's being adjourned to the 19th of October, and would then certainly sit. I asked my Lord Abingdon if he would be at the meeting; which he could not absolutely resolve; but said, he was going into Wiltshire within these two days, and would certainly send me word, a week before the time, what he would do.

Sept. 24. Tuesday. We dined at the Dean of Bristol's, and in the afternoon returned to Cornbury.

Sept. 25. Wednesday. The elms in the park were begun to be pruned. In the afternoon we visited Sir William Walter. Mr. Leslie and Baron Worth went to London.

Sept. 26. Thursday. The Mayor and Aldermen of Abingdon dined with me, and Mr. Mayott.

Sept. 27. Friday. We all dined at my cousin Parker's: we came home at night. It was very wet all day.

Sept. 28. Saturday. We all dined at Sir Robert Jenkinson's.

Sept. 29. Sunday. We went to church. In the afternoon Sir Robert Jenkinson was to see us.

Sept. 30. Monday. Lord Wenman and his lady dined with us.

October 1. Tuesday. Mr. Mayott dined with us. In the afternoon I rode about the park.

Oct. 2. Wednesday. My brother and his children left us: I have not a long while enjoyed so much comfort in the company of my near relations. They are fine children, God Almighty bless them; and he is a most kind brother; as in other things, so especially in affording me so much of his company at this time in my present melancholy circumstances. God only knows whether I shall ever enjoy so much pleasant society again; and I ought not to set my heart upon it. My wife went up at the same time, her kindness carrying her to my daughter, who grows very near her time; and I went to see her safe up, thinking I could not go to town at a better time, now the court was at Newmarket: so we went all together. We dined with the Dean of Bristol, and lay at Oxford.

Oct. 3. Thursday. My wife and I dined at Sir Thomas Tipping's; whither came in the afternoon Lady Abergavenny, and Lord Aston on a visit. In the evening we came to Wickham, where we met my brother again. We lay there.

Oct. 4. Friday. We dined all together at Uxbridge: my brother turned off about Acton to New Park. We got to London about six in the evening; where, I thank God, I found my daughter very well, and very big: my son was gone with Sir Joseph Williamson and Lady Catherine, to see his wife's concerns at Sutton-Marsh.

Oct. 5. Saturday. In the morning I visited Lord Halifax. He pressed me very much to come to Parliament, telling me what good I might do for the Church of England; which, he said, some men thought to be in danger, by reason of the King's kindness to some of the Dissenters: but he thought there was no reason for those apprehensions. I desired him to continue his kindness, that I might not be disturbed in the country; where I desired to be quiet. He promised me to do all that lay in his power; but he said, he would not be speaker; and so fell a complaining, what hard measure he had met with from some people in the House of Commons, who had endeavoured to ruin him; and said, he would never forget my son's generous behaviour towards him upon that occasion. In the afternoon I visited Lady Ranelagh. In the evening my son came to town: he had taken Newmarket in his way from the Fens.

Oct. 6. Sunday. In the morning I went to church: afterwards I walked

in the park; where I met Duke Hamilton. We saluted each other, but had no discourse. He told me, he did not know I was in town. I said, I was but newly come, and should not stay above a day or two. In the evening my brother came to town.

Oct. 7. Monday. In the morning Lord Masserine came to see me. I dined at Lambeth, where was the Bishop of Ely. My son went to Cobham.

Oct. 8. Tuesday. My brother dined with us, and went in the afternoon to New-Park.

Oct. 9. Wednesday. In the morning I visited Sir Anthony Keck. The Bishop of Ely dined with us. In the evening my son came from Cobham.

Oct. 10. Thursday. In the morning I visited Sir George Mackenzie. He told me there would certainly be great disorders in Scotland, and that his countrymen now here (who are many) would go all together by the ears. He further told me as a great secret, that Lord Halifax would not be Speaker of the House of Lords the next sessions; and that, as soon as the Parliament was up, he would quit all employment and retire. I dined at Somerset-house with Sir Richard Bellings.

Oct. 11. Friday. I went to Bagshot: Mr. Keightley with me. I stayed there all night. There were Sir Gabriel Sylvius and his lady; and in the evening there came thither Mr. Cro. and Monsieur Bude.

Oct. 12. Saturday. I went to Oxford, where I arrived about five in the evening, and lay at Magdalen-hall. Mr. Keightley went to London.

Oct. 13. Sunday. I went to St. Mary's, where the Bishop of Lechlin and Fernes preached, and without his habit. I dined at Dr. Levett's: the Bishop of Man and his lady, and her mother, dined with us. In the afternoon the Bishop of Fernes and the Vice-Chancellor came to see me. In the evening I went to see Mrs. Gednic. I supped at Dr. Haslewood's chamber.

Oct. 14. Monday. In the morning I visited the Vice-Chancellor. I dined at the Bishop of Man's; and in the afternoon I went to Cornbury. Mr. Bath, of Purton, went with me: it was terrible wet weather.

Oct. 15. Tuesday. In the morning Giles Cleeve came to me from Blunsden: his business was to press for an abatement of rent, but I would not hearken to him. Colonel Heyling dined with me. In the afternoon I rode about the park.

Oct. 16. Wednesday. I had no company to-day. In the afternoon I visited Sir Robert Jenkinson.

Oct. 17. Thursday. I dined at Colonel Heyling's. Sir Robert Jenkinson and the ranger went with me.

Oct. 18. Friday. I was at home alone.

Oct. 19. Saturday. I had no company. In the afternoon I rode abroad.

Oct. 20. Sunday. In the morning I went to church: in the afternoon Sir William Walter and Sir Robert Jenkinson came to see me.

Oct. 21. Monday. I had an account from London of the opening of the Parliament, and that Sir Robert Atkins was Speaker of the House of Lords. I dined at Mr. Mayott's, where were Sir William Walter, Sir Robert Jenkinson, Colonel Heyling, and Mr. Ja. Perrott.

Oct. 22. Tuesday. In the morning I went to Langley to take some order about Jo. Day's house, part of which was fallen down.

Oct. 23. Wednesday. After dinner I went to Oxford to divert myself a little, being quite alone. I lay at Magdalen-hall. I went to see Mrs. Gednie.

Oct. 24. Thursday. In the morning I went to see the Bishop of Man. I dined with Dr. Levett, and then returned to Cornbury.

Oct. 25. Friday. I dined at Sir Robert Jenkinson's, where was Sir William Walter and his lady, and Mr. Ja. Perrott.

Oct. 26. Saturday. I dined at Sir William Walter's: the ranger and Mr. Mayott went with me. Sir Robert Jenkinson and his lady dined there likewise.

Oct. 27. Sunday. In the morning I went to church. In the afternoon I went to take my leave of Sir Robert Jenkinson, he intending to go for London to-morrow.

Oct. 28. In the afternoon I went to Oxford, and lay at Magdalen-hall.

Oct. 29. Tuesday. I went to Reading: I lay at Mr. Pocock's. Mr. Blagrave and Mr. Aldworth came separately to see me; we had nothing of particular discourse. In the evening Mr. Keightley came to me from London: I thank God he assured me of the good health of my wife and family. My brother sent me word that the House of Lords had been called over yesterday, and ordered the absent Lords to be summoned to appear on a day certain; and therefore he advised me not to come to town.

Oct. 30. Wednesday. I went to Swallowfield to see the building. I dined with Mr. Okes, and in the afternoon returned to Reading. Dr. Hungerford supped with me at Mr. Pocock's.

Oct. 31. Thursday. I returned to Oxford: Mr. Keightley went back to London. I lay at Magdalen-hall.

NOVEMBER 1. Friday. In the morning I went to church at St. Mary's. I dined at the Bishop of Man's. In the afternoon I returned to Cornbury.

Nov. 2. Saturday. In the morning I rode abroad. Mr. Cole dined with me. In the evening my cousin Hyde* and her daughter Levins, cousin Venn, and cousin Mary St. Lo came to me from Oxford.

Nov. 3. Sunday. Being cold raw weather, we did not go to church, but had prayers at home.

Nov. 4. Monday. In the morning the Bishop of Man came from Oxford. Mr. Collier of Witney dined with me. In the afternoon I went with the Bishop and the women to see Enston well.

Nov. 5. Tuesday. I stayed all day at home.

Nov. 6. Wednesday. I rode abroad with the Bishop of Man. Mr. Shorter of Witney dined with me.

Nov. 7. Thursday. As we were at dinner, we had an account that Sarsden house† was burnt quite down this last night. I presently sent Tom Apprice to see Sir William Walter, and to invite him and my lady hither; but he brought me word, they were going to Sir William Juxon. He told me the house was totally burnt, except two rooms, and that it was done in three hours' time. Sir William Walter sent me word he had saved his writings and his books; but, he doubted, most of his furniture was spoiled, if not burnt. God be thanked, nobody was hurt. In the afternoon the Bishop of Man and his company went away.

Nov. 8. Friday. I stayed at home all alone.

Nov. 9. Saturday. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston dined with me.

Nov. 10. Sunday. In the afternoon I visited the Lady Jenkinson.

Nov. 11. Monday. In the morning I rode abroad: Mr. Crisp, Dr. Hinton, and Mr. Cole dined with me.

Nov. 12. Tuesday. I rode abroad into the forest.

Nov. 13. Wednesday. I went to Oxford: I lay at the Bishop of Man's.

Nov. 14. Thursday. I continued at Oxford, and dined at my cousin Venn's, with the rest of my kindred.

* Margaret, widow of Dr. James Hyde, a Physician: her daughter Mary was the wife of Dr. Levinz, Bishop of Sodor and Man. The person Lord Clarendon mentions as "cousin Mary Saint Lo," must have been related to Mrs. Margaret Hyde above-mentioned; whose name, previous to her marriage with Dr. Hyde, was Saint Lo.

† The seat of Sir William Walter, Bart., near Chipping-Norton, in Oxfordshire—now the property of James Haughton Langston, Esq., at this time one of the representatives for the city of Oxford. 1827.

Nov. 15. Friday. I went to Reading: I lay at Mr. Pocock's. About eight at night came in a groom of my son's with a letter from my brother, telling me, that my wife had been very ill this week; and therefore he desired me to make haste to town.

Nov. 16. Saturday. I went to London; where I arrived about five in the evening. I thank God, I found my wife pretty well, and out of danger, but very weak: she was reduced very low. My brother was gone to New Park.

Nov. 17. Sunday. I stayed all day at home with my wife; who, I thank God, is much better. The Dean of Bristol dined with me: in the afternoon my brother came to me. He gave me an account, how the Bishop of Sarum had told him, that I had been very busy to disappoint the proceeding towards a comprehension; and that the Deans of Gloucester and Christ Church forbearing going to the Ecclesiastical commission was imputed to my interest with them: whereas, God knows, I am not at all acquainted with the latter, not so much as by sight, and but very little with the former; and have not spoken with him near a twelvemonth. In the evening Sir Robert Hamilton came to see me.

Nov. 18. Monday. In the morning I visited Lady Essex and Lady Ranelagh.

Nov. 19. Tuesday. My wife was finely well to-day. Lord Burlington and Lord Abingdon were to see me, and likewise Sir Robert Jenkinson and Mr. Grahame.

Nov. 20. Wednesday. I dined at Lambeth; where were the Bishops of Gloucester, Ely, Bath and Wells, Captain Hatton, Mr. Fr. Cholmeley, Sir Jos. Tredenham, and auditor Done. The convocation met according to their adjournment: Dr. Beveridge preached the Latin sermon. Dr. Jane was chosen prolocutor by great odds in opposition to Dr. Tillotson; and then they adjourned to Monday next. My daughter was brought to bed of a lusty girl about half a quarter of an hour before seven o'clock this evening, not having been two hours in labour: God be thanked, that work is well over. My wife was much out of order all this day. Last night King William's picture at Guildhall had the crown and sceptre cut out of it.

Nov. 21. Thursday. My wife had a pretty good night. I stayed all day at home.

Nov. 22. Friday. My wife had a good night, and, I thank God, is much better. I stayed all day at home. My brother told me Lord Mordaunt had

been speaking to him to be against Lord Halifax; but I advised him not to be engaged otherwise, than according to the true merits of the cause, and not to do any thing, that might look like revenge, against truth.

Nov. 23. Saturday. I stayed all day at home, and had no company.

Nov. 24. Sunday. I stirred not abroad. My wife was not so well to-day, as she had been: my brother dined with me. In the evening Lord Fauconberg was to see me with great professions of friendship: Sir George Mackenzie was to see me.

Nov. 25. Monday. I stirred not abroad. My little grandchild was christened: my Lady Catherine, my wife, and my brother were gossips. The name was Catherine: Dr. Tenison christened it. I thank God, my wife was pretty well to-day.

Nov. 26. Tuesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the evening I went to speak with one in Lombard-street.

Nov. 27. Wednesday. I stirred not abroad. My Lord Preston was discharged by the House of Peers upon his petition.

Nov. 28. Thursday. This being the last day of the term, all the prisoners who had been bailed, were discharged, except Sir Robert Hamilton; who, upon Sir George Treby's motion, was continued upon bail till next term. Lady Worcester, Mr. Grahame, Dr. Offley, and Mr. Baron dined with me. My wife was much out of order to-day; but the doctors assured me there was no danger.

Nov. 29. Friday. My wife continued out of order. In the morning I went to visit Sir George Mackenzie: in the afternoon Lord Preston was to see me. In the evening I went to speak with Mr. Lawton.

Nov. 30. Saturday. I thank God, my wife had a pretty good night, and is much better. I stirred not abroad.

DECEMBER 1. Sunday. I thank God, my wife is much better. I stayed all day at home.

Dec. 2. Monday. In the morning Sir George Mackenzie was to see me. He was in very great trouble upon the news he had heard out of Scotland, that his son-in-law was clapped up there for holding correspondence with Cannon. In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me: my brother came in, and told us that Lord Nottingham had given him a visit yesterday; that he had said much to him, how King William was now convinced that he had taken wrong measures in relying so much upon the dissenters, and that he would hereafter put himself into the hands of the Church of Eng-

land. These are fine stories, given out to amuse and wheedle people: the same was done in the summer upon the prorogation of the Parliament. I stirred not abroad all day.

Dec. 3. Tuesday. Lady Worcester dined with us. I stayed at home.

Dec. 4. Wednesday. From the 20th of the last month the Convocation had been adjourned from day to day without doing any thing: to-day they met; and the Earl of Nottingham carried them a commission, and a message from the King. I dined at Lambeth; where was the Bishop of Ely.

Dec. 5. Thursday. I stayed all day at home. In the evening Lord Abingdon was to see me: Lord Carnarvon supped with us.

Dec. 6. Friday. I stirred not out. In the evening Sir Edward Seymour was with me.

Dec. 7. Saturday. My wife, I thank God, was so well that she dined below stairs. My Lady Lisle dined with us.

Dec. 8. Sunday. My wife was out of order. I stirred not abroad. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me, and Mr. de la Bastide.

Dec. 9. Monday. My wife complained much of the cholic. I stayed at home. In the evening my Lord Pembroke was with me.

Dec. 10. Tuesday. My wife is much better to-day, God be thanked. I stirred not out.

Dec. 11. Wednesday. In the afternoon I visited my Lady Wiseman upon the death of her brother.

Dec. 12. Thursday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon the Convocation attended the King with their address. In the evening Lord Abingdon was with me: Lord Tarbut was likewise to see me. He talks much of living in Orkney, and says, he is positively resolved to take no employment.

Dec. 13. Friday. Sir William Walter dined with us. I went not abroad.

Dec. 14. Saturday. The Convocation was adjourned to the 24th of January, with an intimation, that if they were then to sit, they should have notice of it. I stayed all day at home.

Dec. 15. Sunday. I stirred not abroad. In the afternoon I had much company, being visited by Lord Fauconberg, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Tenison, Sir H. Capell, and Sir Edward Seymour. In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me; and my Lord Abingdon came in while he was

there. He said he was glad to find the Bishop there; and told him there was a bill now depending to give the King a power of dispensing in some cases, and that he thought this a proper season to give the King power in that act to dispense with the suspended Bishops and clergy; and he desired the Bishop of Ely to tell him how he should proceed, and what they would do, and proposed their petitioning the King in the case. I replied, that I thought it was by no means proper for the Bishops to petition; that it might be ill interpreted; but if his Lordship would move my Lord Danby in it, and if my Lord Danby was convinced that it was not for the King's service that those Bishops should be deprived, then possibly it might come to something; which he said he would do.

Dec. 16. Monday. Lord and Lady Worcester, the Bishop of Ely, Sir Robert Jenkinson, Sir Thomas Clarges, cousin Parker, and Mr. H. Seymour dined with us. In the evening the Bishop of Sarum was to see me: we had no conversation but upon indifferent things.

Dec. 17. Tuesday. I went in the morning to see Dr. Sherlock.

Dec. 18. Wednesday. I dined at Lambeth; where were the Bishops of Norwich and Ely. In the afternoon the Bishop of Ely and I went to see Mr. Pepys. My daughter was churched. We supped at Sir Joseph Williamson's.

Dec. 19. Thursday. I stirred not out. In the morning the Duke of Queensberry was with me.

Dec. 20. Friday. In the morning I left the town. I baited at Uxbridge, and in the evening I came to Wiccomb; where I lay at the Antelope. The Deans of Christ-church and Gloucester were there before me, going down to Oxford: after supper they came to see me. Mr. Clarke, the Judge Advocate, was with them.

Dec. 21. Saturday. I got to Oxford about four in the afternoon. It was then too late to go further, the ways being very bad; so I lay at the Bishop of Man's.

Dec. 22. Sunday. I went to church at St. Mary's in the morning, and to New College prayers in the afternoon.

Dec. 23. Monday. I went to Cornbury, but was above five hours upon the road, by reason of the very bad ways; and some of the tackle of my coach broke: but, being frosty weather, I walked about two miles, while it was mending.

Dec. 25. Wednesday. I went to Charlebury to church; where I received

the communion. Mr. Mayott, Mr. Cole the minister, and his curate Mr. Osbaldeston dined with me.

Dec. 26. Thursday. I rode about the park. The ranger, and Mr. Cole dined with me.

Dec. 28. Saturday. I went into the park, and set out the new work by the spring, and made the agreement for it.

Dec. 29. Sunday. Being wet weather, I stayed all day at home. In the afternoon Mr. Mayott came to see me.

Dec. 30. Monday. About seven o'clock in the morning I left Cornbury, and came to Oxford, about a quarter before eleven; where I baited, and got to Wiccomb a little before six in the evening. The ways were extremely bad, and it rained all day.

Dec. 31. Tuesday. I got to London about four in the afternoon. I thank God, I found my wife very much recovered, and the rest of my family in good health. In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me, and told me, that a few days since the Bishops of London and St. Asaph had been with Lord Canterbury, pressing to know what he and the rest could do to prevent being deprived; that the first of February drew near. Could they make no steps towards the government? Some expedients they proposed; as, that a short bill should be passed, giving the King power to dispense with them during pleasure: to all which the Archbishop, and those who were with him, viz. Norwich and Ely, answered, that they could do nothing; if the King thought it fit for his own sake, that they should not be deprived, he must make it his business; they could not vary from what they had done; and besides, they were not now all together, and therefore could make no other answer. Sir William Walter, and his daughter, Sir Robert Jenkinson, and his lady supped with us.

This ends the year: God send the next may be better.

1690.

JANUARY 1. Wednesday. I visited my friends at Somerset-House: in the evening I went to see a gentlewoman in the square; where I met Mr. Hill. My brother dined with us.

Jan. 2. Thursday. I was with Mr. Grant; where I met W———, and read the letters we had from Mr. Weston in Holland. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Jan. 3. Friday. I was all day at home; only in the evening I was again with my friend in the square. Dr. Horneck* supped with me.

Jan. 4. Saturday. In the morning I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbishop, and told him what had passed between Mr. Hill and me.

Jan. 5. Sunday. I went to church at Ely-house; where I received the communion: there was the Marquess of Athol, his lady and family, and not above twelve people besides. I told the Bishop of Ely Mr. Hill would be with him in the evening.

Jan. 6. Monday. I dined at Lambeth; where were the Bishops of Ely and Kilmore, Lord Forbes, the Dean of Worcester, and Mr. Hatton.

Jan. 7. Tuesday. The Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, the Dean of Worcester, and Dr. Tenison dined with me. After dinner, as we were talking together, we fell upon the subject of the times, and concerning the Bishops who were to be deprived. Dr. Tenison owned, there had been irregularities in our settlement; that it was to be wished things had been otherwise; but we were now to make the best of it, and to join in the support of this government, as it was, for fear of worse. Strange doctrine! The Dean of Worcester was gone away. The Bishop of St. Asaph said, that it was known, while things were in debate, he had voted against abdication, and for a regency; but now, things being as they are, and that the Prince of Orange was crowned King, he looked upon acquisition to beget a right: upon which I interrupted him in great heat, and said, if he preached such doctrine, he should not preach to me.† The Bishop of Ely interposed. I confess I was too passionate; for which I am very sorry: but really to hear clergymen in these days so vary in their practice from what themselves have formerly taught, as if we were to change our principles as often as they change their humours, would give provocations. What passed between those two bishops I do not remember; but the discourse quickly ended: and so we all parted.

Jan. 8. I stayed all day at home: Lady Dorchester dined with us.

* Dr. Anthony Horneck, an eminent divine, Chaplain to the King and Queen, and Prebendary of Wells; born at Baccharack, a town in the Lower Palatinate, in 1641; died in January 1696.

† The clergy had so long and so strenuously preached the doctrine of passive obedience, that this must have appeared to Lord Clarendon doctrine of a very heterodox nature. Nor can we wonder at his indignation, when we remember how entirely it was opposed to his own principles and practice. Indeed, it was suspected that the Archbishop was very much influenced by his example, in his resolution not to take the oaths.

Jan. 9. Thursday. I stirred not abroad. Mr. Francis Cholmeley appeared this day in the House of Commons, according to his summons; but refusing to take the oaths was committed to the Tower. Certainly a most arbitrary proceeding, and even against their own new law, and all other laws. Upon this a motion was made, and agreed to, for tendering the oaths to all persons, men and women, above the age of sixteen; and Mr. Hawles was ordered to bring it in. My brother told me of a conference Lord Danby had had with him about the bill now depending in the House of Commons concerning the corporations; that the King did not like the bill; and that he told him, he really believed the King did intend to go himself into Ireland.

Jan. 10. Friday. The House of Commons sate till past nine at night about the Corporation Act. There was a great trial of skill between the courtiers and fanatics on one side, and the church party on the other: the latter carried the day.

Jan. 11. Saturday. In the morning I carried my wife into Hyde-Park to take the air. Lady Dorchester dined with us. In the evening my daughter sent for me to come to her mother's. When I came, I found my son and Mr. Sloane there with Sir Joseph Williamson about their accounts: my Lady Catherine and my daughter and the servants were in the room. They were very loud and hot; and by all that I could learn, my son was to blame: but, in the temper they were, there was no discoursing; so I left them, seeing my son first go away. God send he does not at one time or other run himself into some great inconvenience by his passion.

Jan. 12. Sunday. In the night was the most dismal storm of rain, snow, and wind, that I ever knew. About midnight my wife waked me. Our chamber being to the wind, the sash windows were all blown down, and the wooden shuts all blown open, the iron hooks, which held the staples for the bars, being all driven out; so that the room lay open, like the street. We were fain to rise, and to sit in the great room towards the street; and so were my son and daughter. The servants, who lay in the garrets, were all wet in their beds, the tiles being all blown off the house. We sate up till about three in the morning, and then, the wind abating, we went to-bed again. I went to church at Ely-house, and in all the streets, I found the wind had done much hurt.*

* Evelyn, in his Diary, alludes to the same storm: vol. ii. p. 16.

Jan. 13. Monday. My wife and I dined with Mr. Grahame: Lady Dorchester dined there too: she supped with us. In the afternoon I visited Lord Athol.

Jan. 14. Tuesday. In the morning I visited Colonel Werden: I stayed the rest of the day at home. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Jan. 15. Wednesday. I stirred not abroad. The Bishop of Ely was with me, and told me he had given his answer to Mr. Hill; which was very full.

Jan. 16. Thursday. I dined at Sir Richard Bellings's; and in the afternoon I went about some business to the Temple.

Jan. 17. Friday. I stirred not abroad.

Jan. 18. Saturday. In the morning the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells came to see me. My brother dined with us: in the afternoon he and I went to see my Lady Finetta Hyde.

Jan. 19. Sunday. I went to church at Ely-house; where were the Bishops of Gloucester and Bath and Wells, and not above twenty strangers more. My Lord of Worcester dined with us.

Jan. 20. Monday. In the morning I went to take the air as far as Hammersmith. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Jan. 21. Tuesday. In the morning my son went to Portsmouth to compliment the Queen of Spain from the Prince of Denmark: Mr. Berkeley went from the Princess; and the Duke of Norfolk from the King and Queen. In the afternoon I went into the square to meet a friend, who is newly come to town from beyond sea.

Jan. 22. Wednesday. I stirred not out all day. Lady Worcester dined with us.

Jan. 23. Thursday. About three in the morning I waked very ill of the cholic; which I never had before in my life: I fell into great purging and vomiting. About eight o'clock the pain went off; bnt I continued much out of order. I sent for Dr. Lower; who ordered me to take some Venice treacle, and to sweat; which I did, but could not sweat.

Jan. 24. Friday. I stirred not out. I was very faint, and much out of order all day, and had no stomach.

Jan. 25. Saturday. I rested well last night, and found myself restored to-day. I visited the Archbishop of Dublin and my friends at Somerset House.

Jan. 26. Sunday. In the morning I went to church at Ely-house. In the afternoon my Lady Athol made me a visit.

Jan. 27. Monday. Lady Dorchester and her daughter dined with us. The Parliament was prorogued this day to the 2d of April, to the surprise of all men. I stirred not abroad to-day.

Jan. 28. Tuesday. In the morning I went to see my brother; where I had not been all this winter, because I had resolved not to go near Whitehall during the sitting of the Parliament. He dined with us; as did my Lady Dorchester and her daughter. In the afternoon I went to see Mr. Grant.

Jan. 29. Wednesday. I stirred not out all day: in the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Jan. 30. Thursday. This being the anniversary fast for the murder of King Charles I., I went to church to Ely-house, where Mr. Leslie preached at my desire: he made a most excellent sermon. I believe there might be about threescore people present; a great auditory at this time.

Jan. 31. Friday. I stirred not out. In the afternoon my son returned from performing his compliment to the Queen of Spain.

February 1. Saturday. I was visited by my Lord Fauconberg, with wonderful compliments; that he had been nowhere abroad since his sickness, but once at court, or else he would have come sooner to me. I went not out to-day. In the afternoon Lord Abingdon came to see me: he seemed much dissatisfied, and inclined to give up his lieutenancy; from which I dissuaded him, and obtained his promise not to do it without speaking to me again of it. In the evening I took my leave of Mr. Croke, he being to go out of town to-morrow.

Feb. 2. Sunday. I went to the communion at Ely-house. In the evening Sir G. Mackenzie came to see me.

Feb. 3. Monday. I dined with Lord Athol at Mr. Grahame's. The Bishop of Ely was with me in the evening, and told me the Bishop of St. Asaph had been with him, and told him the King had been told of the great concourse of people that resorted to his chapel, and therefore he advised him to shut it up. Strange! that this poor Bishop should come in such an errand, which certainly he might easily have diverted.

Feb. 4. Tuesday. I went with my wife to dine at Mr. Grahame's, she being engaged to dine there with my Lady Dorchester.

Feb. 5. Wednesday. Lord and Lady Worcester, Colonel Phelips and his Lady, dined with us. In the afternoon Lord Athol was to see me. My wife

and I supped at Mrs. Gilly's,' where were likewise Lord Fanshaw and Sir Robert Jenkinson.

Feb. 6. Thursday. I went to Bagshot with Lord Worcester, Lord Aylesbury, and Mr. Keightley.

Feb. 7. Friday. We all went in the morning to Swallowfield, to see how the work went on, and returned again to Bagshot about four in the afternoon, where we found letters from London, with the news that the Parliament was yesterday dissolved, and another to meet on the 20th of the next month.

Feb. 8. Saturday. About ten in the morning we left Bagshot: we set my Lord of Worcester down at Putney, at the Bishop of Ely's; where his coach met him to carry him to Streatham, his lady being now there with her sister. The Bishop came to town with us. I thank God I found my wife and family well. My son had already engaged himself to stand for knight of Wilts.

Feb. 9. Sunday. I went to church at Ely-house: I stayed at home the rest of the day. The Bishop of Ely dined with us. Several of my friends were with me in the afternoon, and told me, the King had declared himself for the Church of England, and had given public encouragement to all gentlemen who took their leave of him upon going into the country, to choose Church of England men; which pleased men wonderfully. Strange blindness!

Feb. 10. Monday. I went with the Bishop of Ely to dine at Lambeth.

Feb. 11. Tuesday. The Bishop of Ely dined with me. He told me, the Bishop of St. Asaph had been again with him, and told him plainly, he must let no more company come to his chapel: so that I perceive all people are to have liberty of conscience, but those of the true Church of England. He told me likewise, that the Bishops of London, St. Asaph, and Bangor, had been at Lambeth to acquaint the Archbishop, that the King would continue the deprived Bishops in their sees, and not put any others into their places; that they should enjoy their revenues, and that the King would make their receivers his receivers, to collect and pay the rents to themselves. A fine project to determine the point! In the afternoon Lord Worcester came to me in great trouble. He told me his brother Arthur was run away from home; that he came to town on Saturday, and was married on Sunday at Knightsbridge to the widow Cotton, Sir William Russell's daughter; that neither he, nor my Lady Ormond knew of this till this day. A very melancholy thing; and I doubt the young Lord is ruined! I stirred not out the whole day.

Feb. 12. Wednesday. In the morning I went to Westminster Hall, being the last day of the term, to be bail for Colonel Lundie. Sir William Walter, Mr. Keightley, and Mr. Vyner were bound with me, each of us in 2000*l.* and Lundie in 4000*l.* for his appearance the first day of the next term. In the afternoon I visited Lord Athol and Lord Fauconberg.

Feb. 13. Thursday. In the afternoon I visited Lord Aylesbury, and Lord Weymouth, and Lady Ormond.

Feb. 14. Friday. I sent Tom Apprice to Christ Church to look after my concerns at the election there; where I find my Lord Marquess of Winton will give me trouble, he having recommended Dore of Lymington, and Tom Hooper; and sets up a pretence of recommending, as being Lord Lieutenant of the county. I stirred not out all day.

Feb. 15. Saturday. Mr. Gwyn went this morning towards Christ Church upon my recommendation to be chosen there. I visited Lord Fauconberg, and Lord Weymouth, who was not at home.

Feb. 16. Sunday. The Bishop of Ely read prayers at my house, and dined with me. In the afternoon my son went towards Sarum with my cousin Hyde in order to his election. The Bishop of Ely and I visited my Lord Weymouth.

Feb. 17. The Bishop of Ely and I went to Lambeth; where likewise dined my Lord Weymouth, and the Bishops of Norwich and Peterborough.

Feb. 18. Tuesday. I stayed all day at home.

Feb. 19. Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Grant to Hammersmith.

Feb. 20. Thursday. My Lady Finetta Hyde dined with us. In the afternoon I visited my Lord Athol.

Feb. 21. Friday. I went to see Colonel Werden.

Feb. 22. The Bishop of Ely and I went with Mr. Grahame to Bagshot.

Feb. 23. Sunday. In the afternoon I left Bagshot, and went to Reading, to be at the election of knights for the county; which is to be to-morrow. I lay at Mr. Pocock's.

Feb. 24. Monday. Between seven and eight in the morning, appeared in the skies three suns, and three rainbows: it seemed very strange to me. About nine o'clock Lord Abingdon came to Reading. The candidates for Knights were Lord Norreys, Sir Humphry Forster, Sir Henry Winchcomb, Sir Robert Pye, and Mr. Richard Neville. I went with Lord Abingdon to the publishing of the writ; where was likewise Lord Lovelace. All five de-

manded the poll: which being agreed upon, I took my leave of Lord Abingdon, and went to London; where I arrived about eight at night.

Feb. 25. Tuesday. I visited my friends at Somerset House, Lady Thanet and Lord Preston, who were newly come to town. The poll for the city election, which had been adjourned from Friday to this day, was this evening closed; and the sheriff sealed up the books, and said, the election should not be published till this day sennight.

Feb. 26. Wednesday. I stirred not out all day. I was visited by Sir Thomas Clarges and Sir Stephen Fox. I told the latter, I heard there was to be a change in the commission of the Treasury, and that he was to come into it: to which he said, it had been mentioned to him; that he was much involved in all his affairs, and that it would be very convenient to him to be in that station; but that he was not yet resolved within himself.

Feb. 27. Thursday. I took physic, and stirred not abroad. Lord Preston and my brother dined with me.

Feb. 28. Friday. I was with my friends at Somerset House.

March 1. Saturday. Lady Dorchester and Lady Wiseman dined with us. I stirred not abroad all day.

March 2. Sunday. I stayed all day at home. In the evening I had an express from my son at Sarum, that he was like to find great opposition in his election; whereupon I sent away this evening a man on purpose into North Wilts, to see what friends I could make there. Mr. Croke came to town to-day.

March 3. Monday. I dined at Lambeth.

March 4. Tuesday. I stayed all day at home. There was a great noise in town of one Morgan being taken in Wales, as he was going into Ireland; that several letters were taken about him, which were all sent up to Lord Shrewsbury by an express; who arrived here on Sunday, as was said, though it was not talked of till to-day.

March 5. Ash-Wednesday. I supped at Lord Aylesbury's, and afterwards went to see a friend in the Square.

March 6. Thursday. One Mrs. Clifford's house was searched last night about midnight for one Crone,* who, they say, came lately out of France. He was betrayed by one Fowler,† who came over with him. But Crone not

* Matthew Crone, alias Long.

† *Id est*, the famous or rather infamous *William Fuller*, who was tried for a cheat, and sentenced to the pillory at a subsequent period. In a pamphlet published by him, called "A Brief Discovery of the True Mother of the Pretended Prince of Wales, p. 24, he says, "Mr. Crone, with myself,

being found, the messenger seized Mrs. Clifford, and carried her away this morning to his house. About noon Crone was taken upon the Exchange, and brought before my Lord Shrewsbury, who committed him close prisoner to the Tower, for high treason in levying war against their Majesties. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings.

March 7. Friday. My Lord Aylesbury, Lord Preston, the Bishop of Ely, and myself, went together to my Lord of Worcester's and dined with him at Southgate.

March 8. Saturday. I stirred not out. Lord Worcester and Captain Lloyd dined with me.

March 9. Sunday. I stirred not abroad: the Bishop of Ely dined with me. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges and Sir Stephen Fox were to see me.

was sent to England with several commissions and letters from King James, for raising men," and at p. 28, "After my return from France with Mr. Crone, I informed his Majesty of all I knew."—"They (the Jacobites) finding their whole design unravelled, and that I had discovered all I knew, and Mr. Crone safe and to be suddenly tried, which might make him confess, they (the Jacobites) got me poisoned, in hopes to have prevented Crone's trial; but it pleased Almighty God to restore me to my health after ten weeks' sickness. I was able to come to the Old Bailey, where Mr. Crone was tried and condemned for high treason. He had several reprieves from time to time, on his promise of making a full confession, but as he was lingering it out, about six months after his conviction, I received a letter from the Earl of Melford, King James's Secretary, in which I was promised King James's pardon, and all the favour I could desire from him and the Court of France, and 500*l.* if I would return to France, and recant what I had done. I carried this letter to King William, who sent me to Chief-justice Holt for his advice; but his lordship was of opinion, it was all a trick to invalidate my evidence, they being apprehensive of Mr. Crone's confessions, which they must know would be so agreeable to my informations, that the heads of King James's party had been entirely at King William's mercy. And this matter highly concerned the French Court; for had Crone been just to him that gave him life, there might have been but small encouragement from England to the French, and consequently no plotting now. They of King James's party made it their interest to have Crone hanged, and stop his mouth; and that, as I am informed, occasioned him to make almost a full discovery: though he went for France, as soon as he was let out of Newgate, being invited back with great promises. I must thank him for his justice to me in his last and most authentic confession. He affirms on oath, that all my information was true. For the confirmation of this, I appeal to any member of Parliament that heard Mr. Crone's or Lord Preston's confessions read before that honourable House. After this it may seem strange to some, how the House came to be so angry with me. I beg leave to inform them that the Jacobites, by Mr. Crone's going off, knew they had partly secured themselves from the just power of the law." In a "Life of William Fuller," published by Abel Roper in 1692, 4to., tending to discredit his evidence upon another occasion, it is said: "In this five months he had been in France, as we suppose, and 'twas here that he picked up his plot, the vengeance whereof fell upon Mr. Crone: when senior Mr. Harfleet, and junior William Fuller, with Major Kidgewell, were the triumvirate testimony against him."

March 10. Monday. I visited Lord Burlington and Lord Athol.

March 11. Tuesday. My wife was extremely ill of the cholic. Mrs. Clifford was bailed.

March 12. Wednesday. Was the fast appointed by the King's proclamation for the reducing of Ireland: it was observed very strictly. I should have met my brother to-night at Wiccomb, in order to have gone together to Cornbury; but I sent a messenger to him with a letter, that I could not go by reason of my wife's illness. I thank God she is much better than she was yesterday; but I cannot think fit to leave her yet.

March 13. Thursday. I stirred not out: in the evening my son returned from Sarum. He carried his election, but with great trouble and expense, by the great unkindness of Sir Walter St. John: but no obligation or friendship will bind some men.

March 14. Friday. I carried my wife into Hyde-park to take the air. I visited Lady Ranelagh.

March 15. Saturday. I stayed all day at home, and saw nobody.

March 16. Sunday. I stayed all day at home. In the afternoon my Lord Athol and Sir Thomas Clarges were to see me.

March 17. Monday. In the morning I left London, and lay this night at Wiccomb.

March 18. Thursday. About eight in the morning I left Wiccomb. I baited my horses at Islip, and came to Cornbury by five in the evening, where I hoped to have found my brother, and went not by Oxford in hopes that I might do so: but he was gone this afternoon two or three hours before I came, which I was very sorry for. He had been here at Cornbury since Friday.

March 19. In the afternoon my neighbour Mr. Mayott was to see me. Mr. Cole dined with me, and the ranger. I rode into the park.

March 20. Tuesday. Mr. Mayott and Mr. Crispe dined with me. In the evening I walked a little into the park; but the north-east wind was so very sharp, that it was very unpleasant, and extreme cold.

March 21. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston and Mr. Cary dined with me.

March 22. Saturday. Being all alone, I went to dinner to the ranger's: I took Mr. Mayott with me. Mr. Collyer was with me to renew his lease. He told me, my Lord Wenman* died last night: a great loss in this county. He was a very well principled man: he has left one son, not above two years old, and two daughters.

* Philip Lord Viscount Wenman, of Thame Park, in Oxfordshire.

March 23. The wind was so very sharp that I stayed all day at home.

March 24. Monday. The Bishop of Man came from Oxford, and dined with me, and went back at night. I rode with him as far as Woodstock, and so came home. Mr. Shorter was with me to-day from Witney.

March 25. Tuesday. I went to Oxford, and dined with the Bishop of Man. I came back to Cornbury in the evening. Just as I was come out of Oxford, Tom Apprice overtook me from London: he brought me word my wife and family were well, God be thanked!

March 26. Wednesday. Mr. Blake, the High-sheriff, dined with me: he is grown much more bitter in his expressions against the Church than ever he was. Mr. Warren was with me, and gave me an account of the trespassers in the forest.

March 27. Thursday. In the morning I went to Langley, and settled the pulling down of that part of the house which John Day lives in. In the afternoon I visited my Lady Jenkinson.

March 28. Friday. Mr. Mayott and the ranger dined with me. I rode abroad to take the air in the afternoon.

March 29. Saturday. I rode into the forest. I sent Tom Apprice with my coach to London to my wife.

March 30. Sunday. I went to church.

March 31. Monday. Mr. James Perrott, Mr. Mayott, Mr. Crispe, Mr. Wheeler, and Mr. Warren dined with me.

April 1. Tuesday. I went to Swallowfield on horseback. I met my wife there much better, I thank God, than I left her; though she was indisposed with a cold: Mr. Keightley came with her. We found the building in good forwardness.

April 2. Wednesday. Mr. Keightley and I went to dinner to Bagshot; where we found Mr. Nos. and his kinsman C———, who were going a great journey westward.

April 3. Thursday. Mr. Keightley went back to London.

April 4. Friday. My wife went to London, and I to Oxford; where I lay at the Bishop of Man's.

April 5. Saturday. In the morning my cousin Levens was brought to bed of a girl. After dinner I went to Cornbury.

April 6. Sunday. I stirred not out, being a little out of order.

April 7. Monday. Mr. Goodier, Mr. Cole of Enston, and Mr. Fyans, Mr. Mayott, and the minister of Chipping-Norton, dined with me

April 8. Tuesday. In the afternoon I visited the ladies at Walcott.

April 9. Wednesday. I dined at the ranger's; where was Sir Rowland Lacy, Mr. T. Jorden, Mr. Mayott, and Mr. Cole the minister. Tom Apprice came from London.

April 10. I sent Tom Apprice back again to London. I dined with Mr. James Perrott: there was nobody but the ranger and Mr. Mayott. We had a very great dinner; but I could not eat, having indeed been much indisposed ever since my return from Swallowfield. As I came home, I went to see Mrs. Mayott; who gave me a little cordial water, and some Venice treacle, which she advised me to take when I went to bed; as I did.

April 11. Friday. I thank God, I had a very good night, and found myself much better for the treacle. Mrs. Mayott dined with me.

April 12. Saturday. The Bishop of Man dined with me, and returned to Oxford in the evening.

April 13. Sunday. I stirred not abroad.

April 14. Monday. Mr. Trumbull and Mr. Jo. Jorden dined with me. Poor Captain Eastwood came to me to get my recommendation to the Commissioners of the Irish Brief: he came on foot from London.

April 15. Tuesday. I sent my coach-horses to Dorchester, to meet the Bishop of Ely; who had sent me word he would keep Easter with me. I drew the two uppermost ponds by the warren, and laid them dry to be cleansed: the fish was put into the upper island pond.*

April 16. Wednesday. In the evening the Bishop of Ely, Mr. Keightley, Mr. Hescott, and Mr. As———,† arrived here.

* In an interleaved Almanack (Rider's British Merlin for 1690) Lord Clarendon has noted some transactions of a similar nature at a later period, which it may not be improper to subjoin. It appears that the whole of Lord Clarendon's Diary was written in the blank leaves of his Almanacks of each succeeding year.

1690. August 29th. I drew the upper Island Pond (at Cornbury), and sent home six large carps: put into the stew twenty large ones, and into the pond by the Warren corner ninety-eight very fair ones. Put into the pond by the dog-kennel sixteen young jacks.

Sept. 17. Drawn great Newill pond, and put into the pond by the Warren corner two hundred and eighty-three carps. Into the upper Island Pond three hundred and sixty-eight; and in the lower Island Pond five hundred and thirty-two.

Jan. 2d. Sent to Cornbury sixty sets of the large Dutch willows.

Jan. 9th. Sent forty more.

About the middle of this month, the ground in Finstock quarter was plowed up for oats.

† Most probably Mr. *Ashcton*, who afterwards suffered for engaging with Lord Clarendon and others in a plot for a counter-revolution.—*See note on p. 241, post.*

Cornbury Oxfordshire

THE SEAT OF HENRY HYDE 3rd EARL OF CLARENDON

Now the Residence of Francis Almeric Spencer Baron Churchill

Pub.d by H Colburn 1841

April 17. Thursday. In the morning Mr. As——— went to London.

April 18. Good-Friday. In the morning we went to church.

April 19. Saturday. Mr. Hescott went away. Mr. Thomas Jorden dined with me.

April 20. Easter-Day. We went to church; where we all received the communion.

April 21. Monday. We went to church. The Bishop of Man, Dr. Turner, Dr. Aleworth, and Mr. Warren dined with us. In the afternoon the Bishop of Ely and I visited my Lady Jenkinson.

April 22. Tuesday. We went to church. Mr. Mayott dined with us. In the afternoon I went to Witney.

April 23. Wednesday. Colonel Heyling dined with me. In the afternoon the Bishop of Gloucester came in.

April 24. Thursday. Mr. Eyans of Begbrook, and Mr. Jorden dined with us. In the afternoon Mr. Mildmay and his son were to see me.

April 25. Friday. I stirred not abroad.

April 26. Saturday. In the morning we left Cornbury: we broke fast at Mr. Mayott's. The Bishop of Gloucester went home, and the Bishop of Ely: Mr. Keightley and I to Bagshot, where we lay.

April 27. Sunday. We stayed at Bagshot.

April 28. Monday. We went to London, where we came about noon. Lord Tiviot and the Bishop of St. David's were to see me: in the evening my brother was with me. All the news in the town was, that Lord Shrewsbury would give up his place and retire from court; that he had acquainted the King to-day with his intention, and offered him the Seals; at which (as it is said) the King seemed much surprised, and bade him think of it till to-morrow. This seems very mysterious.

April 29. Tuesday. In the morning I visited my friends at Somerset House. Lord Shrewsbury went to Kensington, and (as I am credibly assured) carried the Seals with him; but the King would not take them, and bade his Lordship consider further of it. Lord Aylesbury was to see me; and so was the Bishop of Kilmore and the Bishop of Man, and Mr. Baron Worth. In the evening I went to see Lady Essex.

April 30. Wednesday. In the morning I visited the Archbishop of Dublin, Lady Thanet, and Lady Orrery. In the afternoon Lord Abingdon, the Bishop of Ely, Bishop of Kildare, Sir Oliver St. George, Sir Thomas Clarges, Mr. Leslie, and Captain Ferdinand Gorges were to see me.

May 1. Thursday. In the morning I went about a little business to the Temple. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

May 2. Friday. Lady Sylvius dined with us. The House of Lords sat till past five at night. Lord Churchill and Lord Godolphin went away, and gave no votes in the matter which was upon the tapis.

May 3. Saturday. In the morning I went to Lady Essex, who went out of town. The Lords sat till nine at night.

May 4. Sunday. I stirred not out.

May 5. Monday. In the evening my Lord Crew and the Bishop of St. David's came to see me, rejoicing at the victory they had received; the Peers having passed a vote that no oath nor subscription should be imposed upon Peers, whereby they should lose their seats in Parliament in case of refusal.

May 6. Tuesday. In the evening Lord Fauconberg made me a visit: I went to see Lady Ranelagh.

May 7. Wednesday. The first day of the term: I went to Westminster to appear for Colonel Lundie, who was continued upon his bail to the end of the term. In the afternoon I visited the Archbishop at Lambeth.

May 8. Thursday. In the afternoon I went to Charing Cross to meet Mr. Phelips,* who brought me a message from Mr. Banks. The House of Lords sat till seven at night.

May 9. Friday. I stirred not abroad. Lady Dorchester and Mr. Grahame supped with us.

May 10. Saturday. In the morning I visited Mr. Phelips. It was reported that Mr. Tempest was taken at Canterbury, coming out of France, and that he had many letters about him, which were sent up to the Secretary. News came that Colonel Butler, Major Matthews, Mr. Ashton, and one or two more, were taken going into France, and carried into Dover Castle.

May 11. Sunday. I stirred not abroad.

May 12. Monday. I visited the Bishop of Ely, my friends at Somerset House, and Lady Ranelagh. Mr. Tempest was brought to town, and committed to the King's Bench.

May 13. Tuesday. In the morning I went to the Temple about business.

May 14. Wednesday. I stirred not out. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

* As this gentleman is frequently mentioned in the Diary, it may be as well to remark that his character may be found in a note at p. 285 of vol. i.

May 15. Thursday. Lady Dorchester dined with us. Colonel Butler, Mathews, and Ashton, were brought to town.

May 16. Friday. I stirred not out.

May 17. Saturday. I was let blood. I went into the Strand to speak with Mr. Giles. Lady Dorchester dined with us. In the evening Lord Huntingdon and the Bishop of St. David's were with me; and told me they were informed they with some others were to be excepted out of the Act of Grace that was intended; and they desired to advise what might be done in that case. I told them Bills of Grace, though they came from the King, had been debated upon and altered; for which I gave them several precedents.

May 18. Sunday. Lady Dorchester, Lady Howard, and Mr. Fraser dined with us. I stirred not out.

May 19. Monday. In the morning I went to see Lady Ranelagh. Lady Dorchester, Lord Aylesbury, and Lord Dunmore, dined with us, and went afterwards to hear Crone's trial, which had been put off once before; and it being alleged that one of the King's witnesses was not to be found, it was put off till Friday fortnight.

May 20. Tuesday. The Act of Grace was read in the House of Lords, and much opposed; but passed by my Lord Huntingdon's withdrawing his motion.

May 21. Wednesday. In the morning I went to speak with Sir William Sharp. This was the King's fast, kept very strictly in the town.

May 22. Thursday. In the morning I went to see the Bishop of Ely. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings.

May 23. Friday. The Parliament was adjourned to the 7th of July. In the afternoon I was visited by Lord Wharton, the Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, and Monsieur de la Bastide.

May 24. Saturday. Lady Dorchester dined with us.

May 25. Sunday. Lady Dorchester, cousin Dean, and Mr. Hungerford dined with us. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

May 26. Monday. In the morning I went to Westminster. Lord and Lady Worcester dined with us.

May 27. Tuesday. Lady Dorchester* dined with us. Lord Salisbury

* The frequent intercourse of Lady Dorchester with Lord Clarendon gives some colour to what Barillon asserted, that Lord Rochester and his brother favoured her intimacy with the late King,

and Lord Peterborough were brought to the King's Bench bar by Habeas Corpus; but the Judges took time to consider of what their counsel said till Friday, and gave a rule for their Lordships to be then brought into court again. Mr. Tempest was likewise brought into court by Habeas Corpus; but by reason of a long trial was remanded till Friday.

May 28. Wednesday. I stirred not out. In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me.

May 29. Thursday. In the afternoon I went about some business to the Temple.

May 30. Friday. Mr. Tempest was bailed: Lord Salisbury and Lord Peterborough were remanded; the Judges saying there was nothing before them. I went with the Bishop of St. Asaph to the Bishop of Winton, and settled my affair about the stewardship. My brother came to me from New-Park: he told me he had waited on the King on Monday last; that he was in private with him; that the King talked very freely to him of several things, and at last told him I had been very busy in caballing against him; that he was satisfied I had been so, and could show it under my hand; that he had been moved to except me out of the Act of Grace, but that he would not do it, for the Queen's sake; that I would do well to be careful, for it would be no jesting matter. My brother told me the King said all this, as if he would have him tell it me; and he believed it necessary he should say something again to the King from me; to which I was very indifferent, believing all I could say would signify little: for I am very well satisfied that the court is more angry with me, than with any man else who has not taken the oath, because of what I have the honour to be to the Queen. But I desired my brother, if he saw the King again, and had a good opportunity, to let him know that he had acquainted me with what his Majesty had said to him; and that he was very confident I desired nothing but to be quiet, and would live as obediently to the government as any man could do. In the afternoon my son went to the Prince, to acquaint him with the reasons why he desired his pardon that he could not wait on his Highness into Ireland; which was because that the regiment, which he formerly commanded, was now in Ireland; and that he could not think it consistent with his honour to go thither, the King having put such a mark of disgrace upon

in order to thwart the intrigues of the Catholics, and that by so doing they incurred the Queen's displeasure, who joined with Sunderland in endeavours to remove them from power.

him, as to take away his regiment, after what he had done upon the first invasion. All which the Prince heard, and answered, that others were in the same circumstances with him, and yet went now into Ireland, naming the Dukes of Grafton and Ormond: to which my son replied, that for the first, though his regiment was taken from him, yet he had the command of a ship given him with marks of great favour; and, for the Duke of Ormond, he was the King's servant, and went into his own country: the Prince said he would think of it, and so went away. My brother went to the Princess to acquaint her with this of my son; which, he found, the Prince had given her an account of. She said, the Prince must be waited on, and could not go upon such an affair, as he was now, with only an equerry and a groom of the bedchamber. To which my brother replied, that he had nothing to say to that: he did not come to advise her; but he heard the Prince had given my Lord Falkland leave to stay behind upon the score only of private business; and he hoped he would be as favourable to my Lord Cornbury, considering that there was great reason in what he alleged, why he did not go. The Princess said, the Prince was so good-natured that he gave his servants leave to do any thing, and did not regard how he was waited on; and he was attended accordingly; that she was very angry when she heard he had given my Lord Falkland leave to stay behind, and she hoped he would recall his leave. Thus my brother and she parted. In the evening my Lord Halifax was to see me.

May 31. Saturday. In the morning Mr. Tempest was with me. I went to see my brother, and so to the Temple upon some business.

JUNE 1. Sunday. I stirred not out. Lady Dorchester dined with us.

June 2. Monday. I stirred not out. In the evening my brother was with me. He said he came from the Prince and Princess, to tell my son that the Princess said he could not go this expedition without somebody in his place, and therefore that he had given it to my Lord Lexinton; and that he intended likewise to dispose of my Lord Falkland's place: the common rumour is, that my Lord Berkeley is to have it. This evening Lord Nottingham went to the Queen-dowager, in a message from the King, to tell her that it was observed there were great meetings and caballings against the Government at Somerset-house; and therefore the King desired her Majesty to leave the town, and to go and live at Windsor or Audley-end. The Queen seemed surprised, and said she had been desirous to go into Por-

tugal, if the King would have given her ships; but to go now out of her house, which was her own by treaty, she could not do it; that she would send to the King about it to-morrow.

June 3. Tuesday. In the morning the Prince began his journey towards Chester: my son waited on him before he went. My Lord Lexinton did not go with him. Lord Halifax and Lord Feversham went to the King about the message he sent yesterday to the Queen-dowager: Lord Nottingham was present. They argued the matter freely with the King, and made him sensible of the frivolousness of the information which had been given him. His Majesty said he would think of it; and accordingly in the evening he bade Lord Feversham tell the Queen she need not remove, with many fine compliments. This evening Lord Shrewsbury sent the seals to the King by Mr. Russell:* so that matter (which had made the discourse of the town for some weeks, and is to many yet a mystery) is now out of suspense. To-day the King brought the Queen to the council, and declared the nine who were to assist her in the government.

June 4. Wednesday. The King began his journey for Ireland: Sir Robert Southwell went with him as secretary for this expedition. The Queen came to Whitehall to continue there during the King's absence. Lady Dorchester dined with us.

June 5. Thursday. In the morning I visited Sir Henry Capell, who discoursed with more freedom to me than he had done a great while. Lady Lisle and cousin Venn dined with us. I was at the Temple about some business: in the afternoon I went with my wife to Mr. Vespriet's garden upon Lambeth-Marsh. Sir Jo. Cochrane and Mr. Ferguson were seized for high treason by warrants from Lord Nottingham.

* It appears from a letter of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, that he had made many previous attempts to resign. "I must observe, (says the Duke) that if I was blamed for not personally delivering the seals, the last time, it was very unjustly; for I carried them four or five times, and would have left them in his Majesty's closet, but he still positively commanded my taking them back; so they continued for some days in my possession, without my acting, till at last I was seized with so violent a fever, that nobody thought I could live; and, when the King went for Ireland, was too weak even to turn myself in my bed, and, of a month after, could not walk the length of my chamber. My Lord Portland knows that when he came to speak to me upon that subject, he found me almost speechless, and so weak, that he confessed he did not expect I had been so ill, and, going away, forbore troubling me, out of mere pity." *Correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury by Mr. Archdeacon Coxe*, p. 497.

June 6. Friday. In the morning I visited Lord Halifax, Lord Chesterfield, and Lord Wharton: the last was not at home. Crone was brought to his trial, in which were many remarkable passages. The Judges were very severe, especially the Chief Baron. The jury sat up all night.

June 7. Saturday. About noon the jury brought in their verdict, that Crone was guilty, though one of them declared he was not satisfied that the evidence spoke truth: and he urged Sir Robert Atkyns's book in defence of Lord Russell's innocence; but it signified nothing. The prisoner being then asked why sentence should not be awarded against him, he said there was an error in the indictment before the grand jury; that the bill was endorsed "Billa verra," instead of "vera." The King's counsel not being there, it was put off till five in the afternoon; and then, the prisoner insisting to be heard, the Court appointed to hear it argued on Thursday next, and assigned counsel to the prisoner: in the mean time sentence was respited.

June 8. Whit-Sunday. In the morning early, Mr. Tempest sent to me, that he was very ill, and thought he could not live. He desired to speak with me, and that I would send a clergyman to him. I went presently to him, and took Mr. Leslie with me: I found him in a high fever, but sensible, though Mr. Ridley, who had been with him all night, told me he had raved much. He said he would endeavour to compose himself till ten of the clock, when he expected the doctors; and if they had not then more hopes of him than he had of himself, he would desire to see me again. He asked me, if the minister I brought to him (Mr. Leslie) had taken the oaths? I told him, he had not. He said that was well, and desired him to come again in the afternoon: and so we left him. I went to the communion at Ely-house, where I found the Bishops of Ely, Gloucester, and Peterborough. In the afternoon I went again to Mr. Tempest; but he was raving, and so I did not see him. In the morning Mrs. Clifford was with me. She told me she had been to see Crone; that he was in a rage to think of death; that he said he was too young to be a martyr; and that she did believe, rather than die he would tell all he knew.

June 9. Monday. Early this morning Mr. Ridley brought me word, that poor Tempest was dead. I went to Sir Bartholomew Shower's. Lady Dorchester dined with us. Mrs. Clifford told me she had been again with Crone; that he was in a better humour, and talked courageously. The Bishop of St.

Asaph and Sir Thomas Clarges were to see me. I sent an express into Westmoreland.*

June 10. Tuesday. In the morning I went about business into Lombard-street. I visited my friends at Somerset House. My brother dined with me. In the afternoon Sir Henry Capell was to see me.

June 11. Wednesday. In the morning I was at my brother's. My two nieces dined with me. In the afternoon I went into the city.

June 12. Thursday. In the morning Crone's plea was argued, and overruled. The three Chief Judges and Ayres were in Court. I had been in the city, and dined at the Wonder.

June 13. Friday. I stirred not out.

June 14. Saturday. I visited Monsieur de la Bastide, the Bishop of Ely, and my friends at Somerset House, whose child died yesterday.

June 15. Sunday. I dined with my brother at New-Park. In the afternoon he and I came to town together: we visited the Bishop of Ely by the way at Putney. The Bishops of Peterborough and Bath and Wells were with him.

June 17. Tuesday. In the morning I went to see Lord Essex. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the evening I went with Sir Henry Capell to walk in Chelsea Garden.

June 18. Wednesday. The fast day: very strictly observed. I stirred not out.

News came that the King landed in Ireland on Saturday last.

June 19. Thursday. I stirred not out. In the morning Lord Nottingham went to Crone in Newgate, upon a letter (as was said) he had from him last night. My Lord (as it is given out) urged him much to confess, that he might deserve his life; but the fellow said, he had told all at his trial, and that he knew nothing more: upon which his Lordship said, he doubted he should see him no more, for he would certainly die to-morrow, if he did not confess; but he would acquaint the Queen with what he had said. In the evening Lord Monmouth and Lord Lincoln were at Newgate, pressing Crone to make a full confession, making him many fair promises in case he

* Lord Clarendon was in correspondence with the party who favoured the exiled King and wished to promote his return. This express into Westmoreland was probably to give information connected with the plot, for which he was a few days afterwards placed under arrest.

would be ingenuous; but he still said, he could say nothing. At ten at night Mr. Finch brought him a reprieve till Wednesday next.

June 20. Friday. The first day of the term. Sir Francis Winnington moved, at the King's Bench-bar, in the behalf of Ferguson, who had been taken up by Lord Nottingham's warrant upon suspicion of treason. I went with my wife to Kensington to see the child. In the evening the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, and Sir Thomas Clarges were with me.

June 21. Saturday. Ferguson's affair was again argued in the King's Bench, and the Secretary's warrant notably exposed. Lord Worcester, the Bishops of Ely and Bath dined with us. In the afternoon I went to Lambeth.

June 22. Sunday. I stirred not out. In the evening Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

June 23. Monday. I dined at Sir Richard Bellings's. I met Mr. Terry at Charing-Cross, and settled all things with him, he being to go into the north to-morrow.

June 24. Tuesday. About ten at night (my brother being with me) Tom Apprice brought me word, that Serjeant Topham was without to speak with me: he told me likewise, that he was just now told at Whitehall, that several warrants were out for taking up me and several others. However, after my brother and I had a little considered together, I thought it best not to abscond; and so I bade the serjeant be brought in: who, after making me a compliment, that he was sorry to come upon such an occasion, showed me a warrant from the Privy Council to take me into custody, and to carry me to the Tower for high treason.* I asked the serjeant, if I might not stay in my own house that night, my brother engaging that I would not go away. The man was very civil, but said he durst not let me stay: so, after I had acquainted my wife, I went with him to his house in Berkeley-garden, in Holborn, where I lay, it being too late to go to the Tower. The serjeant

* For engaging in a design to bring about a counter-revolution in favour of James. The persons engaged with him in this design were the Bishop of Ely, Lord Preston, and his brother Mr. Graham, William Penn the Quaker, and one Ashton, a servant of the ex-queen. Ashton was the only victim, as he would enter into no compromise with the court; and suffered with great firmness, vindicating his conduct on the score of fidelity to his exiled master. *See Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 69-70—who says, that "The King, in regard to the Earl of Clarendon's relation to the Queen, would proceed to no extremities against him, but gave him leave to live confined to his house in the country."

told me he had a warrant for my Lord Lichfield; but he was not to be found.

June 25. Wednesday. In the morning my brother and my son came to me to the serjeant's. I gave them a copy of the warrant of my commitment, that they might advise with counsel, if it were proper for me to do any thing this term. About eleven o'clock I came to the Tower. Neither Lord Lucas nor his deputy were at home, but came within an hour; all which time I was in a chamber in the Governor's house. After my Lord had passed some compliments upon me, he asked me if there were any house I had a mind to be at? I answered, that I had no acquaintance in the Tower, but had once been at the Chaplain's; and I should take it for a favour, if I might be there: but he said, the Dean was not in town; and so he carried me to Mr. Sap's (a warder) where I was to take up my quarters. As I was going over the parade, I asked my Lord, who lay at that house where formerly the Duchess of Monmouth was? He told me, Sir John Fenwick; but that he had not been civil to his Lordship, and therefore he would remove him: to which I said, I hoped his Lordship would not revenge a private pique upon a gentleman who was now his prisoner; and I did assure him I would not lodge there. Mr. Francis Morley came to see me, and dined with me: I had a joint of mutton from the sutler's. In the afternoon my wife, Lady Thanet, Lady Orrery, my brother, and my son came to see me; but the gentleman-porter (Hawley) was by all the time, he having, as he said, orders from my Lord Lucas so to be: which I thought a little strange, there being no mention in my warrant that I was to be a close prisoner. My brother told me he had spoken with my counsel, and that they were to meet again this evening to take their full resolution what to do concerning me. He told me he had been with Lord Nottingham, but found no hopes of my liberty, till the French fleet was gone off our coast. Crone was this day to have been executed; the sledge was at Newgate; and all the people thronged together, as usual upon those occasions; but he was again reprieved, in hopes he would deserve his life by the confession he might make.* About ten at night, just as I was in bed, Mr. Dod, the gentleman-gaoler, set a padlock on my chamber door, so that, if I were not well, my servant could not get to me. This, I

* Crone appears to have been a person of some consequence, for he was one of those excepted by name out of the Act of Indemnity, passed in 1690. The next day after his reprieve, a warrant was addressed to Major Richardson, the keeper of Newgate, to bring him before the Council at Whitehall: the information he gave seems to have ultimately procured his release.

From a Picture by Sir Peter Lely

confess, looked a little odd. Mr. Stafford, Colonel Hastings, and Lieutenant-colonel Knyvet were brought prisoners into the Tower, just before me, this morning: Lord Newburgh and Sir John Fenwick were brought in yesterday.

June 26. Thursday. In the morning Major (George) Mathews was brought in prisoner. Lord Worcester and Sir Henry Capell were to see me; as likewise Sir St. Jo. Broderick, and his son, and Mr. Firmin: the Lieutenant-governor, Colonel (John) Farewell, was by all the while. My brother Capell* made many professions of kindness to me, and said he hoped I did not take it ill that he had signed the warrant for my commitment; for every body was ordered to sign it. I told him I had no reason to take that ill of him which all the board were directed to do; but I was very confident nothing could be sworn against me; and then it was very hard I should be committed; to which he said nothing. Mr. Fraser came to see me: and having invited Major Hawley to dinner, I sent to the Lieutenant-governor, that Mr. Fraser might dine with me; but was refused. In the evening my Lord Lucas came to see me. I told him I was a little surprised to find myself a close prisoner, when there was no such thing mentioned in my warrant of commitment; whereupon he showed me an Order of Council, dated the 24th instant, directing that the Lord Lucas do not permit any person or persons whatsoever to visit any of the prisoners committed, or to be committed to the Tower for high treason, without leave, &c. He further told me, I must have but one servant, and him to be a close prisoner with me: but he told me this strictness would not last many days. In the evening my wife came to me with an order to be a close prisoner. Mr. Dod brought me a note of the fees, which came to 130*l.*† Late in the evening Captain Hatton was brought in prisoner.

* Sir Henry Capel, whose name so frequently occurs in this Diary, was the second son of Arthur, first Lord Capel of Hadham, whose daughter, Theodosia, was Lord Clarendon's first wife. Sir Henry Capel was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II. and seems to have been in high favour with James at his accession. Evelyn speaks of dining with that monarch at Sir Henry Capel's house at Kew, and mentions the Orangerie and Myrtelum there, as being the most beautiful and well kept that he had seen; that the garden contained the choicest fruit of any in England, and that the owner was remarkable for his knowledge and skill in horticulture. In 1692, his adherence to the cause of William was rewarded by a peerage: on the 11th of April he was created Baron Capel of Tewksbury. In 1693, on the recall of Lord Sydney, he was appointed one of the Lords Justices for the government of that kingdom, of which he afterwards became Lord Lieutenant, and died in possession of that honourable appointment at Dublin Castle in May 1696. Leaving no issue by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Richard Bennet, Esq. of London, the title became extinct. The portrait which accompanies this work is engraven from the original picture in the collection of the present Earl of Clarendon, at the Grove, near Watford, in Hertfordshire.

† The governor 100*l.*; gentleman porter 20*l.*; gentleman gaoler 10*l.*

June 27. Friday. In the evening Lord Lucas came to see me, full of compliments, and said he had ordered the padlock not to be set upon the door in respect to my wife. Major Hawley supped with us.

June 28. Saturday. My brother sent me word he could not get leave to come to me; and so he would go to New-Park for two or three days, and leave Mr. Shaw to solicit my Lord Nottingham.

June 29. Sunday. News that the French had obtained a great victory in Flanders. Major Hawley dined with us. In the evening my wife went home, being indisposed for want of air; the weather being hot, and the lodgings very close.

June 30. Monday. Dr. Hawkins sent me word he would have waited on me, but Lord Lucas would not allow him.

July 1. Tuesday. Major Hawley dined with me. In the afternoon Mr. Dod told my servants, (for a footman came every day with necessaries to me) that the cook and footman must go no more out. They asked him, (for he had dined with them every day since I came into the Tower) how then I should get meat? He said I might be supplied from the sutler. I presently sent the cook and footman home, and charged them to return no more. I sent to my wife that I might have a joint of cold meat every day sent to me: I thank God it is very indifferent to me what I eat.

July 2. Wednesday. In the morning I sent to Lord Lucas that I might speak with him: he presently came. I told him what had passed between Mr. Dod and my servants yesterday concerning my cook: at which he seemed much troubled; but said his orders were very strict; that none of the prisoners were to have more than one servant a-piece, who must be close prisoners too. I told him a cook was a useless servant, if he had no meat to dress; and I knew not how to get any, if my cook might not go out to buy it, for I had no other caterer; besides, my lodgings were so strait, that there was no room for him. I assured his Lordship I never spoke with my cook; and he might have him searched (if he pleased) every day as he went in and out; to which he replied, his orders were very strict, and he could not help it; and so he left me.

July 3. Thursday. In the morning my Lord Lucas sent Mr. Dod to me, that he was going abroad upon earnest business, and so could not come to me, but that my cook might come and go as I pleased; but I told Mr. Dod, if there was no order in writing for it, I would not be the occasion of my Lord's transgressing his orders. In the evening my Lord Yarmouth was brought in prisoner.

July 5. Saturday. In the afternoon my daughter came to the window to see me.

July 6. Sunday. My wife sent me word she should have an order to come to me to-morrow.

July 7. Monday. In the morning my Lord Yarmouth went to Westminster by habeas corpus; but was remanded, with a rule of court to be brought thither again to-morrow. About noon my wife came to me; but with an order to be close prisoner, as the last time. News that King William had passed the Boyne; that the day before a cannon bullet had grazed upon his shoulder, without doing him any considerable harm; that he was marching to Dublin; that King James was totally defeated, and fled; that Schomberg was killed. At night the great guns upon Tower wharf went off.

July 8. Tuesday. Lord Yarmouth went again to the King's Bench, but was remanded. When his counsel urged his being committed without information upon oath, the judges answered, that did not appear, and they must presume the warrant was good. The King's counsel said, many men had been put to death upon less matter than was against some of those lords now in the Tower.

July 9. Wednesday. In the afternoon Mr. Bernard Howard and Colonel (John) Butler were brought in prisoners.

July 10. Thursday. At noon Lord Griffin was brought in prisoner; and in the evening my Lord Torrington: his warrant of commitment was for high misdemeanour.

July 11. Friday. In the afternoon Lord Rosse of Scotland was brought in prisoner for high treason.

July 12. Saturday. Major Hawley dined with us.

July 13. Sunday. My brother dined with me. He had acquainted Lord Nottingham that he was going to Tunbridge, and therefore desired he might have leave to come to me: upon which my lord moved the Queen, and gave him an order to come and be alone with me. A day of jubilee indeed! the twentieth day since I was taken up; all which time I have been kept close, and nobody suffered to come to me. In the afternoon my Lord Lucas came to my lodgings to see my brother: in the evening Sir John Gage was brought in prisoner.

July 14. Monday. Lord Lucas dined with us.

July 15. Tuesday. Major Hawley supped with us.

July 16. Wednesday. The fast-day. My brother came to me. He told

me, he had asked Lord Nottingham, whether the prisoners must be kept in till the term; and that he had told him, he believed not; but they would be enlarged when our fleet was got to sea. In the afternoon my wife went home with my brother, having need of air.

July 17. Thursday. In the morning Mr. Evelyn and Mr. Rustat were to see me at the window. My son dined with me: he had just now procured an order to be with me in the presence of a warder. He told me he was but newly out of a fit of the stone, and that he had voided a large one yesterday. My wife sent me word, the Bishop* had been with her, and that he was very sour and severe upon me.

July 18. Friday. My brother dined with me. In the afternoon the Bishop of St. Asaph came to see me: his order was to be in the presence of a warder. My brother advised me to write to the Duchess of Monmouth such a letter as she might show the Queen. In the evening Dr. Lower† was with me: his order was to be in the presence of the doctor of the Tower, one Gideon Hervey; at which Lower was very angry, and said he would complain of it. Lord Lucas was to see me: Major Hawley supped with me.

July 19. Saturday. In the afternoon Mr. Longueville was to see me. He had obtained an order, being my counsel, to be with me in the presence of the warder, for which, he said, he was asked 40*s.*; my son had paid as much. My two servants, Heyton and Apprice, were likewise with me, having obtained the like order. In the evening my son was with me. I sent my letter for the Duchess of Monmouth to my brother, such an one as we had agreed on. In the evening Lord Lucas was to see me. He showed me the order of council for the prisoners to have the liberty of the Tower, as he called it: it was to walk about the Tower with their warders, but not to speak to each other, nor to any body else. I have a copy of it.

July 20. Sunday. I took Epsom waters, being very much out of order, but they did not do well with me. In the afternoon my wife and my brother were to see me, and told me, they were preparing a petition to the Queen and Council for my enlargement, which they did upon an intimation the Bishop

* Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph.

† Dr. Lower, one of the ablest physicians of his age: he succeeded Dr. Willis in his extensive practice; but his attachment to the Whig party at the time of the Popish plot brought him into discredit at court, so that his practice declined considerably before his death, which took place in January 1690-1.

of Sarum had given my Lady Ranelagh. In the evening I walked about the Tower for the first time.

July 21. Monday. Mr. Longueville dined with me: in the afternoon my brother was with me. He told me there was a mistake in the apprehension my wife had of the petition she was to deliver to the Queen and Council; that it was not to be for my enlargement, but only for her to have liberty to go and come to me. My brother likewise told me, the Duchess of Monmouth had showed my letter to the Queen, but without any benefit. In the evening the Bishop of St. Asaph was to see me: Dr. Lower came also. He has got his order changed: it is now to be in the presence of the gentleman gaoler, or a warder. News that King James was landed at Dieppe, and gone to Paris.

July 22. Tuesday. My brother went to Tunbridge: in the afternoon my son was with me, and told me my wife had given her petition to Lady Ranelagh, who had promised to recommend it effectually to Lord Nottingham.

July 23. Wednesday. My son dined with me.

July 24. Thursday. News that the French fleet appeared at Torbay. In the evening Sir Walter Vavasor was brought in prisoner.

July 25. Friday. In the evening the Bishop of St. Asaph and my son were with me.

July 26. Saturday. Major Hawley dined with me.

July 27. Saturday. In the morning Major Hawley came to me, and told me, Lord Lucas had been very angry with him last night for being so often with the prisoners; and that he was very sorry he must come no more to me and the rest, as he had done.

July 28. Monday. I had an account that Lord Aylesbury had rendered himself, and was bailed. The Parliament met, and was prorogued to the 18th of August.

July 29. Tuesday. My son dined with me. My wife sent me word, the Queen had forbid the Bishop of St. Asaph coming to see me. In the evening Dr. Lower was with me: he told me the King's coaches were gone to Chester to meet him.

July 30. Wednesday. In the morning Mr. Dod came to my lodging, and told the warder, that neither my son, nor my servants, who had orders to come to me, were to be admitted any more without new orders; upon which I sent to speak with Mr. Dod. I believe the poor man was troubled, for he said so, and that he much wondered at it; but he was to obey my

Lord Lucas's orders; to which I said he ought to do so; but I desired to see the order. He said there was none in writing; but the warrant not having the clause, that such a one should come from time to time to me, my Lord thought himself not sufficiently impowered to suffer any one to come more to me without fresh orders; upon which I desired to speak with my Lord Lucas at his leisure. I confess, this is a ready way to bring money to the Secretary of State, if he and the Governor of the Tower agree together. In the evening my wife came to the window to see me: she had yet heard nothing of her petition.

July 31. Thursday. In the morning Mr. Dod was with me. He told me, my Lord Lucas bade him tell me that he had been reproved at Court for letting my son come so often to me; but if I would apply to my Lord Nottingham, the order would be easily renewed, and from time to time put into it. Further he said, my Lord bade him tell me, I should have what other lodging I pleased. I told him I did not send to my Lord Lucas for other lodgings; I only desired the favour of speaking with him. To which he replied, my Lord intended to come to me some time to-day, if he could get time. I verily believe, poor Lord Lucas is out of countenance to see me. In the evening he came, with many compliments for not seeing him oftener; and, as for my son's and servants not being allowed to come to me, he vowed he could not help it; but that he had spoken this morning to have the orders mended, and doubted not it would be done. I told him, he must give me leave to deal a little freely with him for old acquaintance sake; that I was very well satisfied he was himself the cause, that he was directed not to suffer my son, &c. to come to me: at which he startled. I told him I believed he thought to ingratiate himself at Court, in seeming to be strict to his prisoners, in which he would find himself deceived; that his interest was to be kind and obliging to them, if he expected any fees from them; and that he should solicit for graces for them at Court, as his predecessors had always done. And one thing I would advise him as an old friend, never to bring disobliging orders to prisoners of quality, but in writing: those he could not help executing; but ungrateful verbal orders, men would believe, he might divert. He seemed to take this kindly of me; and so we parted. Lord Fauconberg sent a gentleman to see me.

August 1. Friday. The Council being sat, the Queen sent word to them that she had some reason to believe the King was landed; and therefore she would not come thither, nor do any public business. My wife sent me

word she had no answer to her petition; and that she believed she should have none now till the King came to town. In the afternoon Mr. Per. Bertie came to see me at the window, and gave me very obliging compliments from Lord Abingdon.

August 2. Saturday. News that the King would not be here so soon as was expected; and that he was gone to Limerick. In the evening Dr. Hawkins came to see me.

August 3. Sunday. Dr. Hawkins dined with me. He told me he had been with me sooner and oftener, for he knew it was his duty, but my Lord Lucas had forbid him; which was never done before, and he had now been seventeen years chaplain in the Tower. In the afternoon my wife and my son came to see me at the window. She told me she had yet heard nothing of her petition: upon which I advised her to go to-morrow, being Council-day, and deliver a petition herself to the Queen in Council; that she would be sure then to have some sort of answer. In the evening Lord Castlemain was brought in prisoner.

August 4. Monday. A poor man, who is said to be distracted, leaped into the moat, and was drowned. My wife went to the Council Chamber, and delivered her petition. My Lord and Lady Lovelace were very civil to her, and went with her to the Council Chamber. Before the Council was up, Lord Lovelace brought her an order to come to me. Lord Nottingham had her petition three weeks, and had not the humanity to deliver it; and used her most scurvily when she went to him.

August 5. Tuesday. About noon my wife came to me; her order was, as the former, to be a close prisoner with me.

August 6. Wednesday. There came a letter to my wife from Mrs. Nicholas; but Mr. Dod would not let her have it till he had opened it. There happened a quarrel between my Lord Newburgh and his warder; upon which my Lord left his lodging. It made much noise.

August 7. Thursday. News that the French fleet was gone off our coast. In the evening Dr. Lower was to see me.

August 9. Saturday. Lord Lucas was to see me. I asked him to have Rotier* the graver come to me. He said Mr. Dod should come with him at any time; but he must not be alone with me, because he was a Papist. Very pleasant!

* "Monsieur Rotier, that excellent graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates the ancients both in metal and stone."—*Evelyn*, Vol. i. p. 468.

August 10. Sunday. Dr. Hawkins dined with me.

August 11. Monday. In the morning Lord Lucas came to me as he was going abroad, and said, he was going to Court; that the Council was to sit, and he intended to move that the prisoners might have leave for their friends to come to them. Sir Jo. Talbot sent to see me. In the evening Lord Lucas called upon me again, and said, the debate concerning the prisoners was put off till Wednesday, because the civilians were attending about Lord Torrington.

August 13. Wednesday. When we were at dinner, Tom Apprice came in and told me, the Council had made an order, that all the prisoners should be bailed. In the afternoon my son and daughter came to see me: I visited Lord Peterborough. Upon the parade we now, all the prisoners, spoke to each other. In the evening Lord Lucas came to see me, and told me the same news, that the Lord Chief Justice was to bail all the prisoners in the Tower, except Lord Castlemain, Lord Rosse, and Mr. Hatton; and that the order would be signed on Friday.

August 14. Thursday. I was visited by Lord Peterborough, and Sir Jo. Gage. My son and daughter dined with me. I gave my son a list of several persons to be bail for me, to be approved of by Mr. Ar. Smith.* In the evening Lord Newburgh, and Mr. Hoar of the Mint were to see me.

August 15. Friday. Lord and Lady Montrath, and my son and daughter dined with me. In the afternoon I showed them the Mint, and the coining of money. Lord Worcester, Lord Bulkeley, Sir Jo. Parsons, and Sir Peter Rich were my bail. About six in the evening my Lord Lucas went with me to my Lord Chief Justice Holt's. My brother came just from Tunbridge, and went with me: my wife stayed in the coach. My Lord Chief Justice presently took my recognizance to appear in the King's Bench the first day of the next term; and in the mean time to give my word and honour not to disturb the Government, and to keep the peace. I said, I agreed to all, but to the

* In this list Lord Clarendon did not forget his eminently worthy friend John Evelyn, who records in his Diary, "August 15. I was desired to be one of the bail for the Earl of Clarendon for his release from the Tower, with divers noblemen." It appears that he was not wanted, though his name was given in with others to select from. Lord Clarendon was again committed to the Tower with Lord Preston and others on the 4th of January, 1691, upon a charge of projecting a general rising in favour of King James. Upon this occasion, Mr. Evelyn records two or three visits he made him during his confinement, and mentions on the 11th of July, that by the Queen's permission he was gone into the country for air, under the care of his warden.

last clause; which seemed a very odd one, and I could say nothing to it. At Lord Lucas's desire, I spoke to my Lord Chief Justice about Lord Forbes's bail; who could get none but gentlemen of Ireland. The Lord Chief Justice was very snappish, and said he would take none, whom Mr. Ar. Smith did not approve of. I got home before nine. The Duchess of Monmouth came presently to me: I have been all along extremely obliged to her. Mrs. Phelips was likewise with me.

August 16. Saturday. In the morning I visited Lady Ranelagh, and Mr. Boyle. In the afternoon I waited on the Duchess of Monmouth.

August 17. Sunday. Major Hawley dined with me. In the afternoon Lord Ranelagh, Lord Bulkeley, and Mr. Blathwait were with me. I went to see my friends at Somerset House; where I saw Mr. G———

END OF THE DIARY.

[Lord Clarendon appears to have made the memoranda for his Diary in the blank leaves of his Almanack. In a Goldsmith's Almanack for 1691, I find the following record of his arrest and confinement in the Tower in that year. Evelyn thus notices the circumstance in his Kalendarium: "1691, Jan. 4.—This weeke a plot for a general rising was discovered against the new Government, for wch Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. The next day I went to see Lord Clarendon."]

1691.

JANUARY 3. I was arrested by warrant from Lord Nottingham.

Jan. 4. In the evening was carried before the cabinet council and examined, and returned to my own house under the same confinement.

Jan. 5. Monday. The Parliament was adjourned to the 31st of March next. In the evening, Allen, the messenger, showed me his warrant [for me] to go to the Tower: in the evening the guards were doubled.

Jan. 6. Tuesday. At two in the morning, Lady Burlington died. About ten in the morning I went to the Tower: the Captain of the Guard, a Dutchman, and Allen, went in the coach with me; my wife went with me. Lord Lucas was not at home. The Lieutenant-governor carried me to Sap's: Lord Lucas came twice to me to-day. Dod and Hawley were with me: two warders were set upon me: at night Dod set his padlock on my door: Lord Preston's man was taken from him.

Jan. 7. Wednesday. Dod dined with me: he did not set his padlock at night: in the evening Lord Lucas was to see me.

Jan. 8. Thursday. Hawley dined with me.

Jan. 9. Friday. Dod dined with me. In the afternoon Lord Lucas showed me a warrant from the Lords of the Council, directing him to carry all such persons to see any of his prisoners as the Attorney-general should certify for under his hand: he brought an old woman in a hat, and an odd fellow, to see me; but they said they did not know me; which I desired Lord Lucas to take notice of. Beale came with them, who said he was employed in their Majesties' affairs. Lord Lucas told me, Lord Preston was to be tried this day.

Jan. 10. Saturday. A week since I was here. Lord Lucas was to see me.

Jan. 11. Sunday. Dod dined with me.

Jan. 13. Tuesday. A week since Lord P. came to the Tower. Hawley dined with me.

Jan. 14. Wednesday. Dod dined with me.

Jan. 15. Thursday. My brother surprised me with a visit.

Jan. 16. Friday. Lord P. &c. were carried to the Old Bailey to be arraigned. Lord Lucas was with me.

Jan. 17. Saturday. Lord P. &c. were tried; he was cast. Hawley dined with me: a fortnight since I was arrested.

Jan. 18. Sunday. Lord R. dined with me. Mr. Ashton was tried, and cast: he and Lord P. were condemned: Elliot was not tried.

Jan. 20. Tuesday. My brother and son were with me, he told me much of Lord P.

A fortnight in the Tower. A woman was brought to see me.

Jan. 21. Wednesday. My wife went home. My son dined with me; in the afternoon Lord Lucas was to see me.

Jan. 23. Friday. Morning, Lord Lucas brought Tom Apprice to me; my son was with me; my brother dined with me. Afternoon, Lord Lucas was again with me; he told me Ashton was to suffer on Monday next or Wednesday.

Jan. 24. Saturday. Lord Marlborough dined with Lord Lucas. My wife went home. Dod dined with me. Three weeks since I was arrested.

Jan. 25. Sunday. Hawley dined with us.

Jan. 26. Dod dined with us.

Jan. 27. Three weeks in the Tower. Hawley dined with me, my Lord Lucas visited me, my wife went home.

Jan. 28. Wednesday. Ashton was executed. My brother dined with us. Q. D. went out of town. We spoke of entering my prayer; he went to my counsel about it. My son was with me.

Jan. 29. Thursday. Hawley dined with us. Lord R. was with me in the morning.

Jan. 30. Friday, fast. Lady Lanesborow, &c. were to see us, and Lord Lucas.

Jan. 31. Saturday. Lord R. was with me; my son in the evening.

Feb. 2. Monday. Lord R. was with me and Lord Lucas; I spoke about the warder. Dod dined with us.

Feb. 3. Tuesday. Hawley dined with me. My wife went home; my son came back with her.

Feb. 4. Wednesday. Lord R. dined with us; told me much. Conference S. In the evening my son was with me.

Feb. 6. Friday. My son was with me.

Feb. 7. Saturday. My brother dined with me. The woman was with Cane. Five weeks since I was taken up.

Feb. 8. Sunday. My wife went to church; in the evening my son was with me.

Feb. 9. Monday. Lord R. dined with us. Sir Joseph Williamson sent to see us.

Feb. 10. Tuesday. My son was with me. Five weeks in the Tower.

Feb. 11. Wednesday. My wife went home.

* * * * * *

[It appears from Evelyn's Diary, that Lord Clarendon remained in confinement for many months, until at length, on the intercession of the Queen, he was allowed to retire to his country seat. Evelyn records on the 25th March, 1691: "Lord Sidney, principal Secretary of State, gave me a letter to Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit me to visit Lord Clarendon, which I this day did, and dined with him." Again: "April 22, I dined with Lord Clarendon in the Tower;" and on the 10th June, "I went to visit Lord Clarendon, still a prisoner in the Tower, though Lord Preston being pardoned was released." At length, on the 11th of July, he mentions: "I went to visit Lord Clarendon in the Tower, but he was gone into the country for aire, by the Queene's permission, under the care of his warden."]

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

LAURENCE HYDE, EARL OF ROCHESTER,

CONTINUED.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

LAURENCE HYDE, EARL OF ROCHESTER,

CONTINUED.

CXXXIX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

[A very curious and circumstantial relation of the intrigues with the fleet on this occasion, is contained in the MS. Memoirs of Byng, Lord Torrington, in the collection of the Earl of Hardwicke; from which some extracts were published in Sir J. Dalrymple's Memoirs, *Appendix*, part i. p. 314. Byng was the negotiator, and this letter was brought from the Prince of Orange by him. The circumstances are too interesting to be omitted:—"When the fleet was here, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, those of the fleet who were well inclined to him, thought it time to show themselves, and even some that were timorous and silent hitherto, at a meeting they had, determined to send him a message, and to assure his Highness of their assistance and readiness to obey his orders. This was to be done in secrecy, and by word of mouth, and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this message, and to that purpose first addressed himself to Mr. Russell, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly, Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be absent, upon pretence of going into Huntingdonshire, upon affairs that very much concerned him. The Prince of Orange had passed Exeter in his way to Salisbury, and was at the Earl of Bristol's house at Sherborne when Mr. Byng came to him. The first person he met with that knew him, was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the stairs' head asked him what he did there? Mr. Byng desired he would ask no questions, but carry him to a private room, where he might see Mr. Russell; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his message, and was then conducted by him to the Prince of Orange; all the company then retiring except Mr. Russell: and he then delivered to his Highness the message of the officers of the fleet, naming those who had engaged to assist him. The Prince expressed great satisfaction at such wel-

come assurances, received Mr. Byng with courtesy, and promised him, if he succeeded, he would take care particularly to remember him. He sent him back with an answer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the necessity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet, with promises that Admiral Herbert (between whom there was some variance) should not be advanced over him.* This letter the Prince advised Mr. Byng to put in the stuffing of his saddle, lest, in case he was seized, it should be found upon him; but he thought it best to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches. So Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned safely to the fleet again. There was some difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whose zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr Aylmer undertook it, and took one morning an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilette. This letter had some effect on him, for from that time he seemed inclinable to the Prince's party, though his real thoughts could no ways agree with the measures then taken; yet he was so terrified at the disposition of the nation, and of the fleet, that he thought it to no purpose to oppose them, and knew not what might be the consequences to himself, since the Prince of Orange advanced with such success, and all the people were daily rising against the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour, from a design that was discovered to seize him on board the * * * * commanded by Captain Hastings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpose; in which case they intended to give the command of the fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Flood, who had found himself neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it, discovered their design to Lord Dartmouth, by which means he avoided their putting it in execution, by excusing himself from going. He continued in great doubt how to behave in regard to the Prince's party in the fleet, and to act according to his principles, and consistent with his duty to the King, seeing himself in the power of the other party, and not able to refuse his assistance in an attempt of the most dangerous consequence." This was to seize the young Prince of Wales, who had been brought down to Portsmouth in order to be conveyed into France. Burnet tells us, it was thought that Lord Dartmouth frustrated the design, by giving private intimation to the King; but James in his Memoirs, on the contrary, says, that he prevented the sending of the child away, and this is confirmed by the following letters. The Prince was on this removed from Portsmouth to London. "The Prince of Orange making great progress in his march to London, and all the country joining with him; the King abandoned by those he most confided in, and the Queen sent with the young Prince away to France: deserted by his army, and seeming himself to have no remedy but in his flight; circumstances that so terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, offering the fleet to his Highness's service, and sent it by Captains Aylmer, Hastings, and Byng."

It cannot but be considered a fortunate circumstance which has preserved the copies of the following letters, verifying in most particulars this narrative. They afford a still further developement of a part of the events leading to the Revolution; which, as Sir John Dalrymple remarks, had been very little understood.]

MY LORD, November 29, 1688.

The Protestant religion and the liberties of England being now at stake, I cannot believe you will contribute towards the destruction of either: I

* These promises may have been verbally communicated; we see that there is nothing of the kind in the Prince's letter.

therefore send you this letter, to invite you earnestly to join the fleet under your command with mine, and to declare, as I have done in my declaration, for the religion and liberties. It will be an act so commendable, that it will not only oblige me for ever to be your friend, but even to study which way I may show my kindness to you in the most particular manner. I expect and desire you to consider well of this my proposition and advice, and that I may speedily receive the news of your compliance, which will make me

Your affectionate friend,

PRINCE DE ORANGE.

Copy.

CXL.

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

In answer to his invitation to join the Fleet under his command to that of the Prince.

Resolution, at Spithead, December 12, 1688.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Out of duty to my country and the reformed religion of the Church of England, (which, as I am, I have always professed myself a true son of,) I embrace readily the fair invitation given me by your Highness's particular letter of the 29th of November (come just now to my hands) to dispose the fleet under my command to join with your Highness's, and concur in the good ends you have hitherto pursued with so much vigour and success towards the supporting our religion, laws, liberties, and properties; not doubting, according to your Highness's declarations, but you will prosecute the same with the utmost regard and tenderness to the person and safety of the King my master, whose just commands all his Majesty's subjects (but men of honour especially under his commission and pay) are bound to execute; and among that number I held myself very particularly obliged: but to my great amazement (which I cannot but tell your Highness with great confusion and grief of heart) I understand, just this moment, that his Majesty hath sent away the Queen and Prince of Wales (contrary not only to my advices but earnest endeavours to prevent), and is resolved to withdraw himself, which (on a firm belief of your Highness's just duty and care for him) I cannot apprehend his Majesty can have any reason to do, otherwise than that he is not willing to be a witness of, or consenter to, what the laws and a free Parliament (which myself and the fleet addressed for eleven or twelve days

ago) shall inflict on his evil advisers, who have put the kingdom into that ferment, which has invited your Highness to come and expose your person for re-establishing it, and rooting out of the government all Papist officers, as well military as civil.

I have well deliberated on your Highness's most merciful proceedings hitherto, in preventing the effusion of Christian blood, and do believe it not only a just but commendable act, to join with your Highness in acquiring your declared purposes, which I promise to do heartily, and to that end will purge the fleet of all Papist officers immediately.

I do farther promise solemnly to your Highness, to do my utmost to prevent any French forces landing, or making any descent on these kingdoms, and doing every thing (like a true Protestant of the Church of England, and lover of my country) that may conduce to the safety of the King and his kingdoms, and the religion, laws, and liberties thereof, by all such means and counsels as to your Highness and the kingdom shall seem meet; and in full reliance thereon, I put myself, and the fleet of England, under your Highness's gracious protection. So that both fleets being at your Highness's disposal, in the joining whereof, and the time you think best and necessary, I doubt not but you will have a just regard that no distastes may be given, that either may be liable to, I hope to receive your directions by the bearer, Captain Aylmer, who is my very good friend, and is entirely devoted to your Highness, being a firm Protestant and an honest man: to him I pray your Highness will be referred for many particulars, as well in relation to the fleet as the garrison of Portsmouth, too long to trouble your Highness with here, humbly submitting all concerns to your Highness's better judgment, as becomes,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most obedient humble Servant,

(Copy.) DARTMOUTH.

"To his Highness the Prince of Orange,
most humbly."

CXLI.

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Professing his attachment to King James, and enclosing Copies of the Prince of Orange's letter and his answer.

MY DEAR LORD, Resolution, Spithead, Dec. 15, 1688.

Though nothing could bind me more to your Lordship than the friendship I have always professed to you, and will persist in to the utmost, as

becomes a man of honour, yet the favour of your opinion and judgment, especially at this distracted time, I must own does not a little heighten the obligation, and I pray your Lordship (who is at the seat of affairs that now call for the most judicious and nice management) will continue your friendly advices, for they are not only grateful, but the chiefest I have to rely on. O God! who could have expected our great master would have withdrawn himself thus? in which misfortunes we must put all our hands (as becomes loyal Church of England men) to the re-establishing him in the Government, and resettlement of our holy religion, laws, and properties; for which glorious ends I doubt not but the Peers will unanimously apply themselves, and I will concur therein as becomes my present command of this fleet, which I neither have nor hold any intention of leaving, as you kindly caution me, and before the receipt of the direction of the Peers there meeting at Guild-Hall. On the notice I had received of the King's having withdrawn himself, I was putting out all Papists from any employment in the fleet, and have actually done it, as believing it (at this juncture especially) the most essential service I could do my King and my country, than whose preservation, with that of our laws and religion, nothing can be more sacred to me; and for these just ends I have (with the joint concurrence of the fleet) applied myself to the Prince of Orange, as I find your Lordship and the Peers have done, whose dispositions in the settlement of all affairs, as well ecclesiastical as civil, I am heartily glad do suit so well with those of

Your Lordship's most obliged humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

For your Lordship's perfect knowledge of my proceedings, I here inclose you a copy of a letter from the Prince of Orange to me, and my answer, by which your Lordship will be the more enlightened in advising me what is fittest to be done for the King and my country's service; and just as I am ending this, I hear his Majesty is coming back to you, which will still make me more and more beg your advice, which I rely upon. God Almighty preserve his Majesty, and send it in the hearts of all that are able to advise him to his own and the relief of his kingdoms.

CXLII.

MR. SHAW TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Letter of News.

MY LORD, July 13, 1691.

The sessions are now ended, and none of the Bills talked on there that I heard on. I hear that Lord Preston went out of town without waiting upon the Queen or any of the Ministers, which hath given such displeasure, that a stop (it is said) is put to the grant that was making to Lord Preston of his estate.

It is reported this morning that Mr. Chiffinch* is dead at Philberts. I happened to be this afternoon within with the Lords, when a petition was read there from the several parishes wherein New-Park lies, for discharge of so much of the tax as is laid upon the said Park. Upon the debate, Mr. Lownds (who was by) told the Lords that he believed I knew what had usually been done there as well as any body else. Mr. Hampden was pleased to say the same thing, and called upon me to speak: I told their Lordships I understood they never paid that proportion in money, but were always allowed discharges for it by the Receiver-general, upon certificates from the Exchequer; whereupon it was referred to Mr. Lownds, who I believe will report to have it allowed as formerly. A confirmation is come this afternoon of the arrival of the Smyrna fleet at Kinsale, but nothing more from Flanders than I sent to your Lordship on Saturday. I am ever most faithfully,

My Lord, your most dutiful, &c.

WM. SHAW.

* This person, who had been closet-keeper and page of the back-stairs to King Charles, was familiarly known by the name of Will Chiffinch. He was the manager or go-between in the secret intrigues of the court. He figures in all the secret history of these times, and his memory has been enshrined by the pencil of the immortal author of "Waverley," in the Fortunes of Nigel.

CXLIII.

LORD KENDALL TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Containing an account of the death of his son, Mr. Richard Hyde.

MY GOOD LORD, Barbadoes, March 3, 1692-3.

On the 14th of February, Captain Phillips sailed from hence with an express; and on the last day of that month, much beyond my expectation, Sir Francis Wheeler arrived here with all his fleet, who before he came to an anchor sent me my packets, wherein I found a very kind letter from your Lordship. It was no small satisfaction to know that my friend Mr. Richard was so near me. I gave immediate orders for a chamber to be made ready for him in my house, and sent my coach with a gentleman to Sir Francis Wheeler, to desire he would give him leave to come on shore and lie with me for some time, to refresh him after so long a voyage. The answer that was brought me, I must confess, extremely surprised and afflicted me, that the poor gentleman died within a few days after they had left the coast of England: knowing your Lordship to be the tenderest father that ever was born, I dare not remain upon this melancholy subject, I will therefore leave it with begging God Almighty to preserve your life, and those of all your family. My niece assures me that my Lord Hyde and his Lady make the finest couple she ever saw, and that she with all those that see them are in love with your other three charming daughters. I humbly desire to have my duty given to them all; may they prove long and lasting blessings, and make a numerous reparation for the loss of that gentleman of whom Providence has thought fit to deprive your Lordship! I dare complain to no person but your Lordship, that I think I have a great deal of wrong done me, by having a gentleman sent hither to command in chief, where I have been Captain-general for some years. I am sorry their Majesties and their Ministers have no better opinion of me, though (without vanity be it said) perhaps I might have served them as well here as a more experienced officer, the ways of making war in this part of the world being very different from those in Europe. I say, my Lord, I dare complain to none but you; because, if I have reason, I know you will be so good as to make the best use of it, and if you think them unreasonable, I hope your Lordship will stifle them in your memory, as I will endeavour to do in my breast.

I am now more desirous than ever to remove to Jamaica, because in truth

it is very uneasy for me to live in a place with disgrace, where I have hitherto past my time with some reputation; but all this is said with humble submission to your Lordship, who are the best of friends as well as the best of men in taking so much notice of me, who have nothing to value myself upon but the favour and friendship of your Lordship, my Lord of Ormond, and my Lord Ranelagh; and who desires to live no longer than he is

My dear Lord, &c.

KENDALL.

Sir Francis Wheeler was very kind to poor Mr. Hyde, whose servant was with me, and seemed so much concerned for the loss of his master that I was willing to provide for him here; but he being very desirous to go for England, I send him by this ship with Mr. Hyde's equipage.

CXLIV.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanking him for his favour and kindness, shown during Lord Monmouth's attempt at implicating him in Fenwick's plot.

MY LORD, Eyford, 23d January, 1696-7.

I have received so many accounts of your Lordship's favour and kindness to me in the business that has lately been before the House of Lords, that I cannot forbear troubling you with my acknowledgments for them. Besides the good fortune of meeting with such generosity at a time that I am disabled from contributing in the least to my own justification,* it is a very sensible satisfaction to owe an obligation to a person that one values, because it is a pleasure as well as a duty, in that case, to profess, what to the last day of my life, I am sure, you shall ever find me,

My Lord, &c.

"Lord Rochester." SHREWSBURY.

* This alludes to the infamous machinations of Lord Monmouth (afterwards Peterborough, Pope's hero,) to endeavour to implicate the Duke of Shrewsbury in Sir John Fenwick's plot. *See the account in Burnet's History*, vol. ii. 191, 192, and *Ralph's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 709—714. Shrewsbury was at this time Secretary of State. He had been educated a Catholic, but embraced the Protestant religion with other persons of distinction, at the time of the Popish plot. He was highly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution; in effecting which he exposed himself to many

CXLV.

LORD RANELAGH * TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Solicitations in favour of Lord Suffolk, &c. and thanks for his place of Paymaster.

MY DEAR LORD, Sunday morning.

Having a great deal of claret still for my head and my belly, and never a black suit to my back, I dare not come near the Castle this morning, but intend to keep my ignominious head at home: your Lordship, therefore, will forgive me, if I desire you by this, to get the enclosed signed, before you go to London, I having nothing as yet to vouch the several payments I have made to the Hospital. I must also put your Lordship in mind of my good Lord Suffolk, whose solicitor I own myself; a word of yours to the King will, I do not doubt, settle his pretence: and if you would at the same time remember his son-in-law, Squire Thomas, of Trelton, for the 300*l.* due from the late King for his bed, you would oblige the Squire for ever to be your servant.

And now, my dear Lord, being shown the way by H. Newcastle, I return you a thousand thanks for my Paymaster's place, and a hundred thousand for the place you are pleased to give me in your good opinion; and having thus given you a hundred and eleven thousand thanks, I subscribe myself, what I am sure I am, Your Lordship's, &c.

" Lord Rochester." RANELAGH.

hazards. He is said to have been possessed of many amiable qualities, and to have always been a great favourite with the nation. Lord Dartmouth says, with all these advantages he was a very unhappy man. He was ambitious, but naturally so timorous and quick of apprehension, that he was ever impressed with imaginary dangers. After this period he spent several years in Italy, and was inveigled or intimidated into a match with a Roman lady, named Paliotti, who proved a domestic tyrant, and was the constant plague of his life, and the real cause of his death. In Lord Dartmouth's very curious note, above-cited, he says that Jack How, who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne, told him that "if Queen Mary had outlived the King she would certainly have married the Duke, and that she used to manifest her emotion by trembling all over whenever he came into her presence." The reader will find the proceedings alluded to in this letter fully detailed in Archdeacon Coxe's recent publication of the *Correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury*, part iii. chap. 3.

* Richard Jones, Earl of Ranelagh; he was for many years Paymaster of the Army in Ireland, and afterwards filled the same post in England. The letter has no date, and probably belongs to an earlier period, as he thanks Lord Rochester for his paymaster's place; it was probably that of Paymaster of the Army in Ireland.

In the Characters of the Court of Great Britain, written in 1714, published with Mackay's Memoirs; this nobleman is thus described: " The Earl of Ranelagh is a peer of Ireland of a great

CXLVI.

LORD RANELAGH TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

Respecting the disposal of 2000l., part of his Daughter's portion.

MY LORDS, London, August 3, 1697.

There being two thousand pound (formerly lent, upon paper and parchment,) paid in the last week to Mr. John Rogers, Goldsmith, part of the ten thousand pound lodged in his hands for my daughter Frances' portion, I humbly desire your Lordships to give your directions to the said Mr. Rogers, to pay one thousand pound, of the said two thousand pound, to Mr. Mordecca Abbott, upon his delivering to him a hundred tickets, of ten pound each, upon the Malt Duty, which is known to be the best parliamentary fund now in being; and as to the remaining thousand pound, I desire it may be paid to my Lord Rochester's orders, he having promised once to secure that sum, together with the former thousand pound lent him, out of my said daughter's portion, by a mortgage upon land.

I am, with all respect, your Lordship's, &c.

RANELAGH.

" To the Right Honourable Richard Earle of Burlington,
Laurence Earle of Rochester, Sidney Lord Godolphin,
Sir Stephen Fox, and Edward Progers, Esqrs. These."

CXLVII.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Wishing to know if Lord Clarendon is disposed to let Cornbury, as he is willing to become his tenant.

MY LORD, February 3, 1699.

I am ashamed to give you another trouble about Cornbury, but I think it is better doing so, than to make any step in an affair you have been so obliging in, without your Lordship's knowledge and approbation. The condition of my health requiring me to be almost always in the country, the wretchedness

deal of wit, had originally no great estate, yet hath spent more money, built more fine houses, and laid out more on household furniture and gardening than any other nobleman in England. He is a great epicure, and prodigious expensive; was Paymaster-general all the last war, and is above a hundred thousand pound sterling in arrear, which several parliaments have been calling him to account for, yet he escapes with the punishment only of losing his place, which the Queen took from him and divided between Mr. Fox and Mr. Howe. He is a bold man, and very happy in jests and repartees, and hath often turned the humour of the House of Commons, when they have designed to be very severe. He is very fat, black, and turned of sixty years old."

of the house I am now in, and my other house in Worcestershire being lately in part burned down, has put me upon fresh thoughts of building, for want of a decent place to live in; but since my Lord Clarendon has no thoughts of selling Cornbury, if he were disposed to let it for any term, I would rather choose to be his tenant, than enter upon building, which is what I very much dread, and very little understand. I know the house and stables suffer for want of being lived in, and the maintaining them and the gardens are a considerable expense, so that upon account of good husbandry I am sure it were advisable to admit a tenant; but this I submit to those concerned, and when I know my Lord Clarendon's inclinations, if they be to let it, I desire he will appoint somebody to treat with one I shall name; but if he have no such thoughts, I beg both your Lordship's and his pardon, and must begin this summer to build, which I am very unwilling to come to. Pray, my Lord, tell me you have forgiven this one trouble more, and believe me, with the greatest truth and esteem,

My Lord, &c.

SHREWSBURY.

CXLVIII.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further negociations about Cornbury.

MY LORD, Heythrop, Feb. 12, 1699.

I agree the difficulties your Lordship proposes are very just, and would be insurmountable, if I pretended to take the whole Park at Cornbury, and to have deer in it, as formerly has been; but my chief aim being only the house, and that part of the lands next the house being at present grazed, and not let, I shall be satisfied with what you do not design to plough, which I suppose is that which lies under the gardens, between them and the ponds, and between the stable and Charlbery. If there be any person here in the country you entrust with the management of the estate, and thought fit to direct him to discourse with me about it, it is possible we might agree to offer something which might not be unacceptable; and if the profits of the estate by what I would give, will answer to what your Lordship expects by husbandry, I suppose you would think it an advantage to the place, if less of the land (especially of that near the house) were ploughed. I have heard

there are advantages of wood and other particulars, which arise from the command of the forest, which, if I should live there, would be such a convenience to me, that I would either rent that, or not, as should be most agreeable to your Lordship. There are so many particulars in this affair to be discoursed, that it is unreasonable to trouble your Lordship with so long a letter as would be necessary, nor can they be adjusted by any method but by two persons discoursing upon the place, which I only offer and submit, with the assurance of my being, with the greatest truth and esteem,

My Lord, &c.

SHREWSBURY

CXLIX.

The same subject.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

MY LORD, March 1, 1699.

Since I had the favour of your Lordship's of the 17th of February, I have discoursed with Mr. Rew, and received from him a very fair intelligent account of all the concerns about Cornbury. We agreed that in case I became tenant to the house, I must necessarily rent that part of the park which is not broken up, and which lies between the house and the ponds; he told me whereabouts he thought the value of that piece of ground was, viz. about eight score pounds a year. I do not doubt but the bargain will be pretty hard, but however, if we can agree upon all other points, I shall not differ for that, and therefore, if your Lordship have no objection to letting the house, I earnestly desire I may have some price set upon it with this piece of ground. I should likewise wish that all or most of the furniture might remain: most of it is not very good, and will hardly be worth removing, but will be of great convenience to me if I may have the use of it; but this I entirely submit to what shall be most agreeable to your Lordship. And in case you are pleased to make any proposal, it will be necessary that you appoint somebody here to treat with me, or that I appoint somebody at London to attend on your Lordship, either of which I shall be ready to do, as may be most convenient to you, for there are many small particulars which must be agreed on, and are too many and inconsiderable for a letter.

I am much ashamed to reflect how much trouble I have given your Lordship upon this affair, but if you saw in what a place I live, you would pity and excuse the importunity of,

My Lord, &c.

SHREWSBURY.

CL.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

*Thanking him for his attention about Cornbury, but declining to rent it.**

MY LORD, Dean, near Rockingham, March 16, 1699.

I had sooner acknowledged the favour of your Lordship's of the 7th, but that it was longer coming to my hands than usual, by reason I was removed from Oxfordshire to Northamptonshire, where I now am and shall continue for about a fortnight. There can be nothing in the world more obliging than the offer you make me to rent Cornbury at my own terms, and the sincerity you use, in trusting me with your concerns relating to that matter, which kindness I am extremely sensible of, and shall be most careful that what you desire should be a secret shall continue so for me; but that I may deal with the same openness to your Lordship that you have done to me, I must ingenuously confess, that from the moment I understood the place was in the possession of a master it is very improbable should part with it, my eagerness to become a tenant to it is much or altogether abated, and I find I must at last resolve on what I was very unwilling to come to, which is to build; and as soon as I can get back into Oxfordshire, I will set myself heartily about it. Your Lordship's kindness from the beginning to the end of this negociation shall ever be acknowledged by,

My Lord, &c.

SHREWSBURY.

* Some apology may seem necessary for inserting letters relating to mere matters of private business, but as illustrations of character, and of the mode in which a negotiation of this kind was conducted by the great in former times, they have been thought not entirely devoid of interest.

CLI.

THE PURCHASERS OF FORFEITED ESTATES IN IRELAND TO THE LORD-LIEUTENANT.

Congratulations upon his appointment as Lord-lieutenant, and petitioning that the remainder of their purchase-money may be secured to them.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Dublin, Feb. 20, 1700.

We, the purchasers of inheritance of part of the forfeited estates in Ireland, do most humbly crave leave to acquaint your Excellency, that not only we, but the whole kingdom, look upon his Majesty's appointing your Excellency our Chief Governor as a particular mark of his care and concern for us.

We find to our great misfortune, for reasons unknown to us, that of late the Parliament of England have not had that kind regard to our liberties and properties we might reasonably expect upon a just representation of us: for the future we hope to meet with kinder treatment, knowing that your Excellency has interest enough with his Majesty and people of England to represent us, as we really are, faithful and dutiful to his Majesty, and united both in our interests and affections to the people.

We have been all of us great sufferers by the late wars, and many of us have hazarded our lives in reducing this country to its obedience to the crown of England, and we may with great assurance say, that we had never purchased any part of the forfeitures, had we not resolved to hazard all that remained to us in the same bottom with the present constitution.

* It will have been seen from several passages in Lord Clarendon's Diary, that King William had conceived a prejudice against Lord Rochester, and it is said that it arose from his having passed through Holland without waiting upon him. His aversion was confirmed by Lord Rochester warmly insisting upon the hereditary right of James to the throne, and vehemently pressing for a Regency in the Convention Parliament. Though he acquiesced in the new settlement, and was by Burnet's interference reconciled to his niece, Queen Mary, it was long before the King placed any confidence in him, and he was not even admitted a Privy-counsellor till March 1691-2. And it was not until Harley had used his influence to remove those prejudices, that he was appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This took place at the commencement of the year 1700. He went over to Ireland soon after, but made a very short stay, leaving the government in the hands of Lords Justices, with whom we have a portion of his correspondence in the following pages. At the accession of Queen Anne, he was still in possession of this appointment, but being ordered to proceed to Ireland, and declining to do so, he was dismissed from all his employments.

We are well assured, by those employed to solicit our affair last year in England, that we were in a particular manner obliged to your Excellency's interest in the House of Commons for the twenty-one thousand pounds allowed us by the late Act; and now that it plainly appears that there is thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds remaining to us of our purchase-money, and that the remedy prescribed by the Act for the recovery of it is like to prove ineffectual, we must entreat your Excellency to assist us in having this affair laid before the Parliament in a true light, in order to have what remains of our purchase-money secured upon the lands respectively purchased by us, which is the only security can prove of benefit to us, being in no condition to wage law with the Peers of England, though they themselves should wave privilege.

This sum will prove but very inconsiderable to the public, yet the ruin of many of us will attend the loss of it; and if it be considered that the value of the forfeitures will be enhanced by removing the claim and clamour of so many impoverished English Protestants, and that purchasers for a valuable consideration have been always favourites of the law, we cannot doubt success under your Excellency's protection.

But we have more regard to your Excellency's repose than to press this matter farther than is consistent with your Excellency's inclinations, or to trouble your Excellency more at this time than to beg pardon for this presumption, and humbly recommend the bearer hereof, Captain Edmund Stafford, our agent, to your Excellency's favour, and leave to subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's

Most humble Servants,

Thomas Domvile; T. Molyneux; Richard Westby; Den. Chetwoode; Charles Campbell; Francis Burton; William Sotheby; John Grahame; Samuel Dopping; Wal. Delamere; Peter Partington; Henry Ogle; N. Donnelan; Jo. Dillon; John Kent; Edward Reyley; William Robinson; Frederick French; Jo. French; W. Palmer; William French; William Conolly; Henry Westenra; John Leigh; Thomas Twig; Abraham Dixon.

CLII.

THE EARL OF GALWAY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[Henry de Rouvigné (son to the Marquis of that name, who had been ambassador to Charles II. and was the Representative or Deputé of the Protestants in the Parliament of Paris,) took refuge in England with his father in 1686, and was with King William in Ireland, who created him Earl of Galway for his gallantry at the battle of the Boyne, where his brother was killed. Lord Galway commanded afterwards in Italy and Spain: the fatal battle of Almanza, in 1707, put an end to his military glory. Mr. Evelyn, in his Diary, 22 June, 1701, says: "I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person, my Lord Gallway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behaved himself so honestly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of the people; but he was removed thence for being a Frenchman; tho' they had not a more valiant, worthy, discreet, and trusty person in the two kingdoms, on whom they could have relied for his courage and fitnesse. He was one of those who had deeply suffered, as well as his father, for being Protestants."—In the characters which accompany Mackay's Memoirs, it is said of Lord Galway: "He is one of the finest gentlemen in the army, with a head fitted for the cabinet as well as the camp; is very sincere; a man of honour and honesty; without pride or affectation:" and it is added, that "he wore his own hair, and was plain in his dress and manners." To this Swift has subjoined the following caustic manuscript note: "In all directly otherwise. A deceitful hypocritical factious knave; a damnable hypocrite."]

Is happy that Lord Rochester approves his conduct.—Will join with the Brigadiers in placing the army in proper order.—The new Commission for Lord Justices arrived, but cannot be completed till the appointment of a Keeper of the Seals.—Proposes to establish a State-Paper Office for Ireland.—Should the King not approve of it, will take copies of all papers during his government, and preserve the originals for his future justification.

MI LORD, Au Chateau de Dublin, le 23 Janvier, 1700-1.

J'ay receu les deux lettres dont il a plu à votre Excellence de m'honorer, je m'estime fort heureux de ce qu'elle a la bonté d'aprouver ma conduite, c'est une marque de l'amitié qu'elle m'a acordée depuis plusieurs années, et que j'espere qu'elle me voudra bien continuer. Je peus justifier mes intentions pendant tout le temps que j'ay eu l'honneur de servir le Roy, et particulierement dans ce royaume; mais j'avoue que je n'ay pas la même opinion de ma capacité, à quoy j'ay remedié autant que j'ay pu, par une grande application aux affaires, et en prenant et recevant très volontiers les avis de ceux que j'ay cru capables de m'en donner: je me suis beaucoup aidé de ceux du Major-general Erle, pendant qu'il a esté icy. Je suis persuadé que les Brigadiers auront grand soin de toutes choses, et qu'ils agiront d'intelligence; ce sont deux très bons officiers, zelés pour le service du Roy. Nous verrons ensemble ce que nous croirons le plus propre pour maintenir l'armée dans un ordre qui

puisse satisfaire votre Excellence lorsqu'elle arrivera dans ce pays ci, dont je lui rendrai conte lorsque j'aurai l'honneur de la voir.

L'ordre pour faire la nouvelle commission est arrivé, mais My Lord Chancellor Methuen estant parti, avant que l'ordre pour nommer le Garde des Sçeaux soit arrivé, la commission ne peut estre sçellé.

Nous avons receu ordre de laisser icy des papiers qui sont entre nos mains, pendant que nous avons esté dans le gouvernement, nous faisons aujourdhuy reponse à M. Vernon. J'ay toujours cru qu'il seroit fort utile pour le service du Roy, et le bien d'Irlande, d'establir un office, où tous ces papiers pussent demeurer,* pour servir à ceux qui seroient, ou auroient esté dans le gouvernement, et aux particuliers dans les occasions. Si le Roi n'est pas d'avis d'establir cet office, je crois, My Lord, que vous aprouverez, que nous en faissons faire des copies pour remettre à vostre ordre, et que nous en gardions les originals pour nostre justification. J'espere que nous n'en aurons pas besoin; mais il me semble qu'il y a de la prudence d'en demeurer nantis. Dans cette veue, nous les porterons en Angleterre, pour y faire ce que vous croiriez le plus apropos.

Je suis, avec respect, My Lord,

De votre Excellence,

Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

GALWAY.†

* This idea of the establishment of a State Paper Office is highly creditable to Lord Galway. The custom of Secretaries of State and other Ministers taking away with them all the documents of their respective offices, which obtained for a long period, not only in Ireland but in England, must have been a great impediment to business, and very embarrassing to their successors in office. Until the State Paper Office was established upon its present footing in England, much irregularity of this kind occurred; and in the archives of several noble families, the most important State Papers of ancient times were to be found, which had been carried off by some of their ancestors upon leaving office. The loss to authentic history of what has perished in this way, by the neglect of their posterity, is, perhaps, incalculable. The inquiring spirit of the present age has brought to light much that is valuable of these scattered materials; and let us hope that the attention which is now paid to historical enquiries will elicit more of them from their obscurity. It seems to me a sacred duty which the possessors owe to their country, to afford all possible facility to the publication of these treasures, by which they are placed beyond the reach of accident from the ignorance or carelessness of those into whose hands, in the common course of events, they may happen to fall.

† TRANSLATION.

I have received the two letters with which your Excellency has been pleased to honour me, and esteem myself very happy that you are kind enough to approve my conduct; it is a mark of the friendship which you have accorded me for many years, and which, I hope, you will still continue to me. I could justify my intentions during the whole time I have served the King, and particularly

CLIII.

LADY ANTRIM TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Compliments upon his safe arrival in England.—Overtures for a match between her son, Lord Antrim, and the Lady Mary Hyde.

MY LORD, February 16, 1701.

Though many have been earlier in their compliments upon your Lordship and daughters' safety past our seas, it was not more sincerely wished by any than myself: but having been extremely ill since I left Dublin, I could not sooner testify my impatience of putting your Lordship in mind of the discourse I had with you when I last waited upon you at the Castle. In your's to me, your Lordship made me hope, when you were in England, I should have the honour to hear from you; my son and I so earnestly desire the honour of this alliance, that I must beg your Lordship's leave, not only to put you in mind of it, but the accomplishment of our wish in a favourable answer to, my Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

HELENA ANTRIM.*

in this kingdom, but I confess I have not the same opinion of my capacity; the defects of which I have endeavoured to compensate by unwearied application to business, and by willingly listening and attending to the advice of such as I thought capable of affording it: I was greatly assisted in this way by Major-general Erle, whilst he was here. I am persuaded that the Brigadiers will take great care in all things, and that they will act with intelligence; they are two good officers, zealous in the service of the King. We shall see together the course we deem most proper for maintaiuing the army in such order as may satisfy your Excellency when you shall arrive in this kingdom, and of which I will render you an account when I have the honour of seeing you.

The order for issuing the new commission is arrived, but the Lord Chancellor Methuen having left before the order for naming the Keeper of the Seals came to hand, the commission cannot be sealed.

We have received commands to leave here the papers which have passed though our hands while we have been in the Government, and we this day reply to Mr. Vernon. I have always thought that it would very much contribute to the advantage of the King's service, and the welfare of Ireland, to establish an office where all these papers might remain, for the use of those who should be or might have been in the Government, and for other individuals upon particular occasions. If the King should not think proper to establish this office, I think, my Lord, you will approve our causing copies to be made to place at your disposal, and that we should keep the originals to serve for our own justification: I hope that we may have no occasion for them, but it appears to me that there will be prudence in being furnished with them in this view. We shall bring them with us to England to do that which you may think most proper. I am, with respect, &c.

* Helena, Countess of Antrim, widow of Alexander, the third Earl, and mother to Randal, the fourth Earl. This negotiation for a match with one of Lord Rochester's daughters was not successful.

CLV.

LADY ANTRIM TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Disappointment of herself and her son at his declining the proposed alliance with his daughter.

MY LORD, Dunline, March 5, 1701.

Yours of the 24th of January came not to my hands till very lately. It is so natural to feed oneself with hopes in those things they propose most pleasure in, that the disappointment is much the greater. My son and I having promised much satisfaction to ourselves in the honour of an alliance with your Lordship, find it a difficult matter to decline the pursuit, notwithstanding your Lordship's exception, which I am not surprised at, and is such as I assure your Lordship to any other (than Lady Mary) I would make the same to myself. All I can offer as an inducement in this affair, is as perfect a freedom in her opinion as we should desire in ours, with an absolute disposition in both of us to make her as happy as were possible for him and his fortune to make her; which, notwithstanding the hardship of vexatious suits continued against us, and maintained at the King's expense, will afford a comfortable living in any country. I hope the many examples your Lordship has seen of different opinions living in perfect happiness together, will plead for my son, who designed to have intreated the Duke of Ormond's assistance in his suit to your Lordship, but that, without your permission, I dare not consent to it: in whose hands I shall always believe myself best used, having a very grateful sense of your favours to me when in this kingdom, where your return is wished for by all good men, and more particularly by,

My Lord, &c.

HELENA ANTRIM.

CLVI.

THE EARL OF ROCHESTER TO THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND.

Conveying to them the King's Commands for the despatch of a Regiment out of Ireland to the West Indies.

MY LORDS, March 11th.

The King hath commanded me to let your Lordships know, that he designs forthwith to send one regiment of foot out of Ireland to the West In-

dies, and doth hereby direct your Lordships to take the necessary care to have one in readiness for this service, which his Majesty thinks of very great importance to be despatched with all expedition, and such secrecy that nobody be trusted with it but yourselves: and to that end, you must be pleased to think of some other pretence for their embarkation that may pass for the occasion of it. The King leaves the choice of the regiment to your Lordships, with this only intimation, that it should not be a Scots one, and one that is not now very remote from Kinsale, for the greater despatch. A fifth-rate man of war, with two merchant ships, will very speedily attend at that port, in order to receive this regiment on board. Your Lordships will take care that all the officers of the said regiment that are now in Ireland, should be commanded to go with it, for the better conduct and government thereof, together with all the army clothes and accoutrements belonging to the regiment, and a quantity of ammunition, viz. about ten barrels of powder, and shot proportionable. Instructions will be sent from hence by the King to the colonel or commander-in-chief, and the commander of the frigate, which they are not to open till they be at sea, for the better keeping the secret. Your Lordships will take care for the preparing such provisions as are necessary for such a voyage, both for the officers and men, and for the shipping of them according as the regiment is to be distributed. And you must likewise provide one thousand pounds in specie to be put on board with the regiment, for their subsistence after they are landed, till further care shall be taken of them; which sums of money the King commands me to assure you shall be repaid from hence, as soon as it is expedient that this matter be known here.

I have no more to add to this, but to recommend it very earnestly to you to take all possible care in getting every thing ready in order to this embarkation, and that as soon as the frigate and ships arrive, every thing may be put on board, together with the men, with all the despatch possible; and that they sail with the first wind to the West Indies, according to the orders that will be sent from hence.

Your Lordships will take care to appoint some very diligent and understanding person, to prepare such provisions and other necessaries, as are proper for such a voyage, both for the officers and soldiers; and to see them put on board the merchant ships, as soon as the said ships arrive; namely, such a proportion as may be necessary for three hundred men for two months, to be reckoned from the day of their sailing; for so many are designed to be put on

board the merchant ships; and the rest on board the man-of-war, where there will be provisions enough for that part of the men that is to be there.

There will be sent from hence four hundred hammocks for the accommodation of the men, which may remain with the regiment upon their landing.

CLVII.

MEMORANDUM ON THE SUBJECT OF SENDING A REGIMENT TO THE WEST INDIES OUT OF IRELAND.

March, 1701.

A letter to be written to the Lords Justices of Ireland, acquainting them with his Majesty's pleasure that a regiment such as they shall appoint, (not a Scots regiment,) be sent to the West Indies from Kinsale, where the same is to be embarked with their arms, all their clothes and accoutrements, and a quantity of ammunition, viz. about ten barrels of powder, and shot proportionable.

That a fifth-rate frigate with two merchant ships are ordered from England to Kinsale for this service, with four hundred hammocks; and that their Excellencies are to appoint some very careful person to get ready such provisions and other necessaries, to be put on board the two merchant ships, as may suffice for three hundred men for two months, to be reckoned from the day of their sailing, with accommodations for dressing their provisions; and to take from on board the frigate so many hammocks as shall be necessary, which, with those on board the frigate, may remain with the regiment upon their landing.

That all things being provided, the regiment is immediately to embark on board the frigate and merchant vessels, and to sail with the first wind to the West Indies, according to the orders that will be sent the commander of the frigate, which he is to open when he shall be at sea.

That besides the charge of what is to be done in Ireland, and subsisting the men, either with money or provisions, till they sail, there be imprested to the commander-in-chief, or the agent that shall go with the regiment, one thousand pounds in pieces of eight for the subsistence of the regiment upon their landing, till further orders from England.

That care be taken to keep these preparations as private as possible.

Care to be taken that a chirurgeon and his mate do attend the regiment.

CLVIII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On the subject of the Regiment ordered to be sent to the West Indies.—Difficulties of conducting the affair with despatch and secrecy.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 20, 1701.

We received last night both your Lordship's letters of the 11th and 13th, and we have already given orders to have the provisions ready at Kinsale, to be placed in the fort as if it were for a siege, the better to disguise the matter. The common computation of the merchants and owners for such a voyage is three months' provision; for with less, they count, their men, by contrary winds, may be in danger of starving by the way. We doubt whether the man-of-war can hold the rest of the regiment that are above the three hundred men, for every regiment, comprehending all officers, soldiers, and servants, consists in about of sixty-three men.

Sir Henry Bellasis' regiment is best posted to be embarked, being in the barracks of Kinsale: Lieutenant-Colonel Handeside is a very good officer, fit for any important service.

There cannot be found a ship fit for this use at Cork or Kinsale; it is possible there may be at Dublin. But besides the difficulty of sailing from hence to meet the man-of-war in time, it will be hard to persuade the master of such a ship to undertake the voyage, his owner living in England, and the very offering to hire him makes a discovery of the thing, so that we cannot reckon upon any ship to be hired in this kingdom for such a service. We hope there may be no time lost if all the ships necessary for the transport come out of England with the man-of-war.

We humbly desire your Lordship that, for our greater justification, we may have an order, in form, from the Secretary of State or War to embark the men. We should be very glad if the particular regiment His Majesty likes best to go, were named in the order. Sir Henry Bellasis's regiment is at Kinsale; Fred. Hambleton's at Charles Fort: that Colonel is a very good officer, but we fear the sending him from Dublin at this time would cause a suspicion of the matter. Brigadier Tiffin's is at Cork, his officers for the most part English, but the soldiers, Iniskilliners, of Scotch parentage: the

nearest to be embarked next to these three is the Princess's, commanded by Colonel Webb.

We shall strictly observe secrecy, but we must acquaint your Lordship that a fortnight before we received your letters, several officers asked my Lord Galway if the orders were not yet come to send a regiment to the West Indies.

We have no power to command money out of the Treasury here necessary for this service, which we compute to be about 2000*l.* including the pieces of eight; therefore we humbly desire order for such a sum may be despatched: in the mean time we have borrowed 1000*l.* of Mr. Robinson, hoping the order for the whole will come time enough to buy the pieces of eight.

We shall give your Lordship from time to time an account of this affair, and are with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

BERKELEY.*
GALLWAY.

CLIX.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN AND LORD MOUNT ALEXANDER TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.†

Informing him of their having taken the oaths as Lords Justices of Ireland.

MY LORD, Dublin, April 5, 1701.

This comes to acquaint your Excellency that yesterday we were sworn Lords Justices of this kingdom. Your Excellency will please to consider that

* Charles Earl of Berkeley, appointed one of the Lords Justices in conjunction with Charles Duke of Bolton and Henry Earl of Galway, August 22, 1699.

† There are few materials for the history of Ireland during the period which elapsed from the dissolution of the Parliament in 1698 to the death of King William: the following letters are therefore the more valuable. During this intermediate space, the Government was administered by three Lords Justices: the first commission consisted of the Duke of Bolton, and the Earls of Galway and Jersey; the second of the Duke of Bolton, and the Earls of Galway and Berkeley, and this continued until the appointment of the Earl of Rochester to be Lord-lieutenant on the 28th of December, 1700. His presence being deemed necessary in England, he did not proceed to Ireland to take upon himself the Government until September in the following year [1701], a commission having issued, appointing Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, Henry Moore Earl of Drogheda,

we have no particular instructions to direct us. What relates to public affairs shall be constantly communicated to your Excellency, by,

My Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.*

CLX.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Informing him of the appointment of Mr. Palmer as their secretary, and their reasons for preferring him to Mr. Dawson, whom he had recommended.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, 8th April, 1701.

We received this day your Lordship's of the 1st instant, in relation to Mr. Dawson: my Lord Drogheda coming to town last Monday (though not yet in so good a state of health as to be sworn), we communicated the contents thereof to his Lordship, whose sense of the matter recommended to us we were willing to take.

In our letter of the 5th we informed your Lordship of our being sworn; and immediately thereupon, as was usual, we considered of a fit person to be our secretary, and chose Mr. William Palmer, on whose ability, secrecy, and zeal to the King's service we could depend; he having discharged that trust formerly under the late Lord-Chancellor Porter and Earls of Montrath and Drogheda (when in the government) to their great satisfaction; and also having these many years past discharged himself to the satisfaction of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council as their clerk. We were further induced to make this choice, when, by the letters delivered to us by the late Lords Justices from your Lordship to them, we found ourselves pressed in a business of so great moment and despatch, that it concerned us particularly at that time to make choice of a man, on whose integrity and readiness in business we have had so long experience.

and Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Mount Alexander, Lords Justices. It is their correspondence with him while in England, and Mr. Secretary Vernon's letters to him while in Ireland, which are comprised in the following pages. Lord Rochester's stay in Ireland was not of long duration, for on the opening of Parliament he obtained leave to come to England, and in December 1701, a new commission re-appointed the same Lords Justices during his absence.

* The Commission also included Henry Earl of Drogheda, but he was not sworn in until a subsequent period.—*See the next Letter of April the 8th.*

We must also acquaint your Lordship that Mr. Dawson is not so well known to us as Mr. Palmer is, though he has been long a clerk in that office.

These were the reasons we had to make this choice, which we submit to your Lordship. We are, my Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

"Earl of Rochester, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland."

CXLI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Detail of the proceedings in preparing and shipping the Regiment destined for the West Indies.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Dublin Castle, April 9, 1701.

The late Lords Justices having delivered to us several of your Excellency's letters, signifying his Majesty's pleasure in relation to the regiment being shipped on board the Scarborough, and such other vessel or vessels which should be appointed for that purpose, the receipt of which letters, their Lordships informed us, they had owned; as also given an account of what directions had been by them given therein: since when we have also issued several orders, which we had by our last given your Lordship an account of, had we not waited till all the necessary directions were given Lieutenant-colonel Handasyde, and that he had left this place, which he did this morning by four o'clock, together with some of the officers of that regiment, who we hope will reach Kinsale by Saturday morning next.

We have proceeded with all the secrecy possible, but the Lieutenant-colonel having told the late Lords Justices, the suspicion both himself, the officers, and soldiers of that regiment had of the said design, by means, as we surmise, of the several letters coming hither on the arrival of the Scarborough and the other vessel the 1st of this instant, whose crew had publicly declared that they were bound for Jamaica, and came to take soldiers on board them, we found ourselves necessitated to intrust him therewith, being much more easy to ourselves therein, by the good opinion we found in one of your Lordship's his Majesty had of him.

What moneys have been advanced by the late Lords Justices and us, your Lordship will see by the inclosed paper signed by Mr. Robinson; and we have also given a further order for 500*l.* that was thought necessary to be

advanced upon their arrears due since the 31st of December last, lest any unfortunate accident or disappointment should happen in their voyage.

The directions for their victualling, and a sufficient quantity of water-casks, were given by the late Lords Justices, and have been punctually complied with; and the coppers, with the other utensils, were likewise ordered by them, and we have no reason to doubt but will be kindly provided.

We gave the Lieutenant-colonel an order down with him, for two men out of each company in Brigadier Tiffin's and Colonel Frederick Hamilton's regiments, in case he should have occasion, fearing lest the notice they already had, might cause any of the soldiers to desert, and by that means the number designed to be transported, might prove deficient on their landing.

We also thought it convenient to give an order to Captain Elliot, the commander of the Scarborough, and which we sent by the Lieutenant-colonel, to receive such of the officers' and soldiers' wives on board as desired to go with their husbands; apprehending lest, if it should have been refused them, it might make them less willing to embark, and discourage the rest of the army, if there should be like occasion for the future. And, to prevent any further accounts the officers or soldiers might receive from hence to confirm them in the reports they had from on board the said ships, of their going to the West Indies, we stopped the last night's mail for Cork and Kinsale, by which means we hope the Lieutenant-colonel will be got to them, and some effectual care taken by him for their immediate embarking, before they can receive such further advice by letter.

The hundred and ten tents with their poles and pins, mentioned in your Lordship's of the 22d of March last, were by the orders of the late Lords Justices sent to Kinsale; of the safe arrival whereof we have received an account: which tents the Lieutenant-colonel had an order with him to receive from the storekeeper of that place, together with a hundred and fifty firelocks in lieu of some pikes and muskets (the Colonel thought fit to return into the stores as not serviceable), eighty collors of bandeleers, and ten barrels of powder, with ball proportionable.

The greatest difficulty we met with was in the clothing, the soldiers not having been clothed in two years before, whereby it was necessary some means should be used in providing for them; but by the assistance of my Lord Galway, that difficulty was overcome by an agreement made between Lieutenant-Colonel Handasyde and Brigadier Tiffin, who let him have the new

clothes provided for his regiment, which were lying there ready. The ships mentioned in one of your Lordship's, viz., the Antelope of Bristol, and the Pensylvania merchant, we have been informed, were both full laden with merchants' goods, and are since sailed; and do not find that either any other ship can be provided, or indeed that any will be necessary. This day we have received your Lordship's of the 1st and 3d instant; and according to the directions therein, we have given orders to Mr. Vanhumrigh for the providing the necessary quantity of oil, tobacco and pipes.

As soon as an exact account is returned of the quantity of all things put on board, we shall transmit it to your Lordship, together with what accounts we shall receive from the Colonel at his arrival at Kinsale, who, to do him justice, we must say, has hitherto shown all imaginable care and readiness to comply with the commands he hath received.

We delivered to the Lieutenant-Colonel his own instructions, as also those to Captain Elliot, to be by him delivered to him at his coming to Kinsale.

What further proceedings are in this matter, shall be from time to time laid before your Lordship, and whatever commands are further thought necessary to be laid on us, will be effectually put in execution by

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Death of Chief Justice Hely. Applications of Sir Richard Cox and of Baron Donelan to succeed him.—Details of Provisions for Sir H. Bellasis's regiment intended for the West Indies.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 12, 1701.

Yesterday we received an account from Sir Richard Cox, dated at Limerick, the 8th instant, that my Lord Chief Justice Hely died the day before at Ennis, in the county of Clare, after two days' sickness, and that he was then going forward to despatch the rest of the business of that great circuit.

At the same time, we had his request that we would recommend him to your Lordships, to succeed in that station; as also another request since that in behalf of Mr. Baron Donelan. The persons are both of them very de-

serving, but we must acquaint your Lordship that Sir Richard Cox is the elder judge by some years, and has served as second Justice in that court above ten years past with great reputation.

In our last of the 9th, we gave your Lordship an account that we had given directions to Mr. Vanhumrigh for the providing a necessary quantity of oil, tobacco, and pipes, for Sir Henry Bellasis's men; since which, he hath informed us, that there is not any oil to be got either at Cork or Kinsale, besides that the price is so great as to make it doubtful whether it would be prudent or not to buy it, (were it to be had,) oil being at nine shillings the gallon, and butter but threepence the pound; however, to supply that defect, we have taken care to have the butter put into earthen crocks, which will make it keep much better than in cask; and have added a greater quantity of cheese.

We are now in expectation to hear from Lieutenant-Colonel Handasyde, an account of whose proceedings your Lordship shall forthwith have after our receipt thereof. We are,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble Servants,

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL ERLE* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affairs of the Army and Military stores.—Regiments about to be embarked at Kinsale for the West Indies.—Professions of obligation and entire devotion.

MY LORD, Dublin, April 21.

I had by the last packet the honour of two letters from your Lordship, the one of the 11th, the other of the 14th. I must refer your Lordship to the particulars relating to the arms, to the half-pay, and for what occurs to us concerning the new raised regiments and additional companies, to a general letter you will have by this post from the Government here; but as to what con-

* Major-General Erle was a gentleman of good family and good estate in the West of England. He had raised a regiment for the service of King William at the Revolution, and attended him in all his campaigns. In Mackay's Characters he is said to have been "a man of very good sense; a hearty lover of his country, and to have loved his bottle." He was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland at the accession of Queen Anne.

cerns the arms, I must say again that those which have been hitherto repaired by the Master of the Ordnance here, are better than those that have been sent us from the Tower; and by the best computation I can make, we shall be able to arm the two new-raised regiments with them by that time they want them, and shall have enough (if the undertakers comply with their contracts) to arm the additional men and companies by the 1st of July, (though the three thousand muskets so long expected from England should not arrive.) I wish those men and companies may be complete to receive them then, which, for my own part, I doubt they will not be without levy money; our thoughts concerning that you will have in the general letter mentioned, I mean as to the additional companies of the five regiments remaining. I find, my Lord, (and I thank you for it,) I have leave to send another regiment instead of my own, and you recommend Colonel Stanhope's; but in a letter we had from your Lordship some time since, you seemed to press having the five regiments designed for the sea service ready to embark by the latter end of this month, so that I chose, rather than the service should suffer, to send my own, being resolved always to prefer that before either my interest or any particular inclination, and I hope without accident to send it in the best condition of any: it is now so late that I cannot possibly think of any alteration.

Colonel Gorges goes to-morrow to accommodate the quarters, so as the country may have no reason to complain should accidents of wind and weather continue the five regiments any time in the neighbourhood of Cork and Kinsale. I will follow him Friday next to see every thing done as near as I can without any confusion: for God's sake, believe me, my Lord, that with a real inclination, I shall set heartily about having every thing so done that is under my care, as it may tend to the reputation of my directions; therefore, if I commit any mistake, or am wrong in judgment, let me beseech you to let me know your opinion of it. I beg it from the friendship you have promised me; it is the only way to have me serve you well. I am far from taking it amiss to be contradicted, especially where I have an inclination to serve, as I profess I have to serve my Lord Rochester, had I not the obligations I have to you, which I am proud of, because I am pleased with the thoughts that you confer them on me with a confidence that I am,

Your most faithful, &c.

THOMAS ERLE.

Colonel Meridith is come. Gorges has sent you the reasons why we have

made some alteration in the general arrangement of quarters for this summer, which I send you with this.

CLXIV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Account of the Embarkment of Colonel Bellasis's Regiment.—Shipping of Provision, Stores, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 22, 1701.

Since our last to your Lordship, in relation to Sir Henry Bellasis's regiment, we have received the following account from Kinsale: that on Saturday the 12th instant, Lieutenant-colonel Handasyde got thither as was proposed: on Sunday the 13th, he drew out the regiment as usual to go to church, at which time the Lieutenant-colonel applying himself to the officers first, and asking if they were willing to go where the King commanded them, they unanimously said they were very ready; afterwards doing the same to the soldiers, they also declared they would go wheresoever the King or their officers commanded them; upon which he gave immediate orders for their embarking, as they did that day about one o'clock, three companies on board the man-of-war, and seven on board the transport ship.

The report that was spread of their going to the West Indies occasioned his losing seven men before they were shipped, there being of the whole regiment but twenty-four wanting and a drum, besides some of the officers that were absent in England, and two or three that were hourly expected down by the Lieutenant-colonel: to supply the defect of the men, he had an order to draw two men out of each company in Brigadier Tiffin's and Colonel Frederick Hamilton's regiments, so that we doubt not but he had his full number on board. The Lieutenant-colonel's care and prudence in this affair has been very extraordinary, as also the officers and soldiers' readiness, of which in ours of the 17th instant to the Lieutenant-colonel, we gave him an assurance of representing to your Lordship, in order to his Majesty being informed thereof, which we must entreat your Lordship accordingly to do, and that he may receive an account thereof the first opportunity that any orders are sent to him.

We also by letter to Mr. Vanhumrigh from his agent, of the 13th instant, received advice, that all the provisions, water-casks, furnace, and most of the utensils were arrived at Kinsale from Cork, and the clothing hourly expect-

ed: that the Lieutenant-colonel not being willing to let the provisions be shipped till the men were on board, was the reason they deferred it till next day.

The master of the transport ship expected to have had all the water-casks new, and bound with iron hoops; but being informed there were no such to be got, he was very well satisfied, those provided being butts, pipes, and hogsheads, (and such as is constantly made use of here by merchants and masters of ships trading to the West Indies,) and were all new trimmed with the utmost care, all the coopers that could be got being employed therein; such a number of casks as was sufficient for this occasion being with great difficulty provided in so little a time:—the beer was all put into new casks.

By another of the 18th, from Mr. Vanhumrigh's said agent, we had an account that a due proportion of the provisions were then put on board the Scarborough for the men shipped on board her: that in the transport ship they had been fitting the hammocks and cradles for the men to lie on, which had occasioned the remainder of the provisions not being then shipped, but that the next day it would certainly be done, all things being in a readiness: he also wrote that the captain of the man-of-war had promised, wind and weather permitting, to sail the Monday following, being the 21st instant, which we hope to have an account of by to-morrow's post, and that all things were accordingly safely put on board, and both the ships sailed.

We must not omit acquainting your Lordship, that Mr. Vanhumrigh's, as well as his agent's care, has been very great in the despatch of this whole matter, which we thought ourselves bound in justice to acquaint you with, that such notice might be taken thereof as to be an encouragement to him on the like occasion for the future. We are,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble Servants,

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

Indorsed, "Earl of Rochester, Lord Lieutenant."

CLXV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Have received the King's Letter respecting the Coin of Ireland, and will proceed upon it when the Judges return from their Circuits.—Explanation of their views in choosing Mr. Palmer for their Secretary.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 24th, 1701.

We have received your Excellency's of the 15th, and have sent you all the accounts we have (since our last letter to your Lordship), received from Kinsale, by which your Excellency will see that nothing has been neglected which was possible to be done.

We know not at present of any thing which needs particular instructions from his Majesty, having had from your Excellency all that we conceive necessary: when there shall be any occasion for such instructions, we will acquaint your Lordship of it.

We have received by last packets his Majesty's letter concerning the coin current in this kingdom, with one from Mr. Secretary Vernon relating to it; most of the Privy Council being out of town, and all the Judges being on their circuits, we have not a sufficient number to call together upon a matter which requires so much consideration, and therefore must delay proceeding upon it till there can be a full board.

As to what your Excellency writes concerning our Secretary, Mr. Palmer, we beg your Lordship to believe that we neither had, nor can have a thought that you would impose any thing upon us; and we do hope your Lordship will believe also, that we in our answer did not think to contend with your Excellency, but plainly and faithfully to represent to your Lordship our thoughts and reasons for our choice, which upon the advices received from the late Lords Justices for the embarkment of Sir Henry Bellasis's regiment, we were pressed to make suddenly, and therefore pitched on Mr. Palmer, against whom we had no exception. We do now, as we did then, leave it entirely to your Excellency, and only wait your commands whether we shall remove him or not, and what your Lordship directs therein, shall with the greatest respect be observed by,

My Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXVI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affairs of the Coin.—Appointment of an Ensign in the Marquis de Puissar's regiment.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 6th, 1701.

The Judges being returned from their circuits, and a sufficient number of the Lords of the Council in town, his Majesty's commands in relation to the reducing the coin were communicated to them; what steps and proceedings therein were made, as also the result thereon, your Lordship will see by the enclosed copy of a letter to Mr. Secretary Vernon, in answer to his, with his Majesty's letter on that occasion. Their Lordships were of opinion to reduce it as his Majesty desired; notwithstanding they were very sensible of the present great loss it will be to the kingdom, but did not think fit to do it without all the species of the foreign coin were now regulated, and brought to an equality. What we most desire of your Lordship is, that his Majesty's resolutions may be returned back to us with all expedition, by the express we have sent, (and who will deliver this to your Lordship,) by reason the delay will be so very prejudicial to the public: all payments (but such as are of absolute necessity,) being in the mean time at a full stop; besides the daily loss it will be to his Majesty in the revenue.

We must also acquaint your Lordship that Ensign Thomas Walsh, of the late Marquis of Puissar's regiment, being dead, we have recommended (as your Lordship will see by the enclosed copy of the letter to Mr. Secretary Vernon) Ensign Herbert Laurence, who had a right thereunto, as being the eldest of the three ensigns of that regiment who were reduced. We are,

My Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXVII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Proceedings for the regulation of the Coin of Ireland.

SIR, Dublin Castle, May 6th, 1701.

In our last to you, we gave you an account what the reasons were, why we could not immediately proceed in putting his Majesty's commands in

execution for the reducing the coin to the same value it passed at in the year 1695. The judges being now returned from the circuit, and a number of the Lords sufficient to compose a council, we had his Majesty's commands therein laid before them, where the same being considered, it was thought advisable to refer it to a committee, who taking advice of such persons as were best skilled, not only in the nature of the coin, but the effect the reducing thereof might occasion to the whole kingdom: they did this day make their report, That they were of opinion, all the foreign coin current here should be reduced according to what it was in the year 1695, except the Spanish and French pistoles, which passing then at 17*s.* 6*d.* was twelve-pence short of the value of the silver, as it was formerly current: the reason why there was not the same nice caution taken in their value before the said proclamation, was that there were very few or none of that species in the kingdom at that time, being in effect taken to be medals, rather than current coin; but that the same being now become near four-fifths of the current cash, it would be of fatal consequence to the kingdom, if the same were not kept up to the equal value of the silver, and thereby prevent their being immediately carried away, and leaving the kingdom, without ready money sufficient to circulate, and carry on the trade thereof.

The foreign silver was also considered, and brought to an equal value, according to the following rates:

	d.	*gr.*		£.	*s.*	*d.*
The ducatoon, weighing . .	20	16	to	0	6	0
The half ducatoon . . .	10	18	to	0	3	0
The dollar Civil and Mexico .	17	0	to	0	4	9
The half dollar Civil and Mexico .	8	12	to	0	2	4½
The Peru dollar . . .	17	0	to	0	4	6
The half Peru dollar . . .	8	12	to	0	2	3
The crusado	10	20	to	0	3	2

All the above species bear the same value as before the proclamation of 1695, except the crusado, which bears two-pence more in the value; and which indeed signified little the mentioning, there being few or none left in the kingdom.

But on the calculation of the silver at the foregoing rates with the gold, it was found necessary, that one shilling and four-pence should be added to the pistole, which brings it to an exact equality with the silver.

All which, they reported to us, they thought might be the rates proper for all the foreign coin to pass at; but upon considering his Majesty's letter, how far we could comply with the said report, we conceived ourselves thereby obliged, in case any alteration was thought necessary to be made for the good of the kingdom, that it should be represented to his Majesty. In all which the council having agreed with the committee, and we being also of opinion that it will be of the greatest necessity to have the gold and silver brought to an equal standard, thereby to prevent any one particular species being carried away more than another, we must entreat you to lay the same before his Majesty, with our desire that we may (if he shall so think fit) receive his commands forthwith to issue out a proclamation for the aforesaid species of foreign coin current here, and weighing as aforesaid, to pass at the rates following:—

	£.	s.	d.
The Spanish and French pistoles	0	18	10
The half pistole	0	9	5
The ducatoon	0	6	0
The half ducatoon	0	3	0
The Civil and Mexico dollar	0	4	9
The half Civil and Mexico dollar	0	2	4½
The Peru dollar	0	4	6
The half Peru dollar	0	2	3
The crusado	0	3	2

What directions his Majesty shall give herein, we desire may be sent us with all possible expedition, by the same messenger, (whom we thought fit to send express with this,) by reason that all public payments, and trade in general, are in a manner at a stop, and his Majesty will daily suffer in his revenue thereby. We are,

Sir,

Your most humble Servants,

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXVIII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affair of the Coin, inconveniences of its having been publicly known; the want of secrecy originated in England.—Appointment of Sir Richard Cox as Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 12, 1701.

We received the honour of your Lordship's of the 1st instant, which, had it required an immediate answer, had been returned by the last post.

Long ere this, we hope you have received the account of our proceedings about the coin, which we sent by express, in regard there is so much occasion of despatch. What your Lordship mentions of the design taking air is most certainly true, but not from any thing on this side, there being by that very post in which we received his Majesty's, your Lordship's, and Mr. Secretary Vernon's letters, several other letters come over to the merchants here from their correspondents in London, giving an account thereof. As soon as Mr. Secretary Vernon sends us his Majesty's letters for Sir Richard Cox to be Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Mr. Macartney to be one of the Justices in the King's Bench, we shall give the necessary orders therein.

As to what your Lordship has been pleased to write concerning Mr. Palmer, since it is with your Lordship's approbation, we cannot but declare ourselves well satisfied therewith, and must always own your Lordship's favour therein. We are, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXIX.

THE EARL OF ROCHESTER TO THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND.

Vote of the House of Commons for ten thousand men to be sent to Holland,—Of which twelve battalions are to be furnished out of the Army in Ireland.—Instructions to prepare them for that service.

MY LORDS, May 13, 1701.

Since the writing of my other letter, I have received the King's express commands to let your Lordships know, that the House of Commons having voted that ten thousand men should be sent to the assistance of the States-

General, of which his Majesty resolving to take twelve battalions out of Ireland, his Majesty's pleasure is, that the regiments in the enclosed list are those his Majesty would have prepared with all the expedition possible for their embarkation. You shall receive by the next the King's own warrant, countersigned by the Secretary of War, as it is requisite, for this expedition, in which all the regiments in this list shall be named: but in the mean time you are desired to take all possible care that all despatch may be used in this affair, by giving the necessary orders for the marching of these battalions all towards Cork, in such manner to succeed each the other in their being put on board, as they may not be a hindrance to one another neither in their march nor quarters.

The fleet ordered by the King for the transporting of these men is directed to sail to Cork, and will consist of twenty-two sail of third and fourth rates; it is reckoned that every third-rate may very conveniently take on board three hundred men, and every fourth-rate two hundred; so that you see there will be room enough, and to spare. The fleet is victualled for the battalions, as well as the seamen; so you will have no care to take of any provisions for them, nor of any thing else, but to take the best care you can they do not desert, and that they be embarked as soon as it is possible. The Admiral of the squadron, Hobson, hath orders to send your Lordships notice of his arrival at Cork, and to receive on board the twelve battalions, and, wind and weather permitting, to sail for the coast of Holland. Be pleased to give me an account of the receipt of this letter, and of your proceedings in this affair, which is once more recommended to your utmost care and diligence, by My Lords, &c.

ROCHESTER.

Indorsed—
"My letter to the Justices, May 13th, 1701."

CLXX.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affairs of the Coin and the Revenue.—Preparation of the ten battalions for service in Holland.—Permission requested for Lieut. Read, of Col. Bellasis' regiment, to remain in Dublin for four months.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 17, 1701.

This day we received two from your Lordship of the 13th instant; one giving us an account that we shall not receive the signification of his Ma-

jesty's pleasure in relation to the coin so soon as we expected; and at the same time that the restraint lately laid on all payments in the Treasury, except the subsistence to the army and the civil list, was taken off; whereby all payments on the establishment (for the reasons you therein mention) may be now made; of which we also received directions from Mr. Secretary Vernon, by the King's commands: pursuant whereunto we have given Mr. Robinson orders to lay before us what payments are immediately necessary to be made, in order to our signing warrants for the issuing thereof. The other from your Lordship signifies the King's commands for the speedy marching of the twelve battalions (in your enclosed list) to Cork, in order to their being embarked there for Holland; in which we shall take all possible care, having by this night's post sent down directions for Brigadier Ingoldesby's and Colonel Stanley's regiments (who lie at the greatest distance) to prepare themselves to march on an hour's warning, designing by the next post to send them instructions (with their route) when and in what manner to march, so as not to interfere with one another, or the rest of the regiments, who lie conveniently within two or three days' march of that harbour. We doubt not but to have all in a readiness to embark on board Admiral Hobson's squadron, on notice given us of his arrival, which your Lordship shall have an account of, together with our proceedings herein from time to time.

We must now acquaint your Lordship that in the list sent over of Sir Henry Bellasis' officers who stayed behind, Lieutenant-colonel Handasyde gave an account amongst the rest, that Lieutenant Read was left here in Dublin to transact some affairs of the officers and the regiment, but that he was in hopes he might be down with him before he sailed; but since, having an account that the Lieutenant-colonel desired he might have a licence for four months to the same end, and finding that the gentleman stays not behind on any frivolous pretence, but is ready, as soon as the business he is employed in can be despatched, to make the best of his way to the regiment, we have granted him our licence to be absent for four months accordingly, and desire your Lordship would be pleased to order it so that he may not in any way suffer on that account. We are,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble servants,

Narcissus Dublin.
Drogheda.
Mount Alexander.

CLXXI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Proceedings in regard to the troops destined for Holland.—Request further and more explicit instructions on that head.—News of the troops which sailed for the West Indies in the Scarborough.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 19, 1701.

Our last of the 17th was only to own the receipt of your Lordship's of the 13th instant. Since which we have taken into consideration several matters, in which we think it will be absolutely necessary for us to receive his Majesty's directions.

Several of the regiments mentioned to be transported for Holland, have contracted for new clothing, and the undertakers have warrants to be paid monthly, as the off-reckonings grow due, which will not be paid for many months yet to come: it is therefore desired some methods may be laid down to answer the clothing; otherwise the undertakers will not deliver the clothes provided. The officers have likewise moved us to know what conveniences will be made for them to transport such horses as will be of absolute necessity for them. We thing it fit to clear the regiments that go off, to the time they are embarked, it being conformable to the directions we received by the last post, in your Lordship's and Mr. Secretary Vernon's letters of the 13th instant.

By to-morrow night's post we shall send down the orders for the marching of Brigadier Ingoldesby's and Colonel Stanley's regiments from Londonderry and the places adjacent: their march being near two hundred and fifty miles, it will be above twenty-five days march before they will reach Cork. their way being very near to Dublin, which is about half-way. Part of Sir Bevill Grenvill's regiment lies also far northward, and will be near three weeks before they can reach Cork.

We are in hopes, as your Lordship mentioned, by the next post, we shall receive, together with his Majesty's commands for the embarking the twelve regiments, particular directions in some of the above, or other matters relating thereunto. We must also acquaint your Lordship that the overseers of the barracks having laid before us the enclosed representation, we have sent it to your Lordships for your consideration, and do desire you would be pleased to lay the same before his Majesty for his directions therein.

This day Mr. Vanhumrigh brought us an account that he had seen a letter from Lieutenant-colonel Peirson, dated the 27th of April last, from on board the Katherine of London, John Barrfoot master, (which was the transport ship accompanying the Scarborough to the West Indies,) it being but six days after they sailed, giving an account that they were then two hundred leagues at sea, and had very good weather to that time: that they had all that time a fair wind, and were in hopes to make a quick passage: that all the officers but the Lieutenant-colonel had been sick, but were then very well again.

We are, my Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXXII.

THE EARL OF ROCHESTER TO THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND.

Further instructions respecting the troops to be sent into Holland, and requesting attention to the due disposition of those which remain for the security of the kingdom.

MY LORDS, May 20, 1701.

The King being informed that two of the regiments designed to be transported into Holland are quartered, the one at Londonderry, and the other at Antrim, viz. Ingoldesby and Stanley, and being sensible how very long a march it would be for them to go from those parts to Cork, is pleased to command me to send your Lordships word, that his Majesty would have the said two regiments be ordered to Belfast, where care is taken that a proportionable number of ships out of the squadron designed for Cork shall attend, for the transportation of those two regiments from thence directly for Holland, of which you will be pleased to take care accordingly, and give all the necessary orders. I wrote to this effect this morning by the messenger that returned to you with the King's orders concerning the coin, and do now repeat the same, that your Lordships may not fail of receiving the notice of this alteration of the King's pleasure in this particular. I cannot send your Lordships the King's warrant, signed and countersigned by the Secretary of War, which I promised in my last, till the next post. It would be necessary, upon the transportation of so considerable a part of the army of this kingdom into foreign parts, that your Lordships would very seriously consider where to quarter that part of it that remains, for the greater security of the peace and quiet of the kingdom; and I desire your Lordships would send me over

your thoughts on this subject, together with a scheme fit to be laid before the King to this purpose; in which, I think, regard must be had to the barracks. And I would desire to know, if the King should think fit to have the two regiments of dragoons, now unmounted, to be remounted, whether there be barracks now proper to receive them. This enclosed paper, concerning the barracks, I received from my Lord Galway some time since, in which some directions had been sent to you before now, but that it is necessary any representation of that nature should be signed by those that are in the chief authority on the place;—and now I suppose this very paper must be changed in many particulars, because the whole army now is so much changed, or is to be so at least. Pray be pleased, therefore, to consider this paper all anew, and send it over so changed as you may judge it most proper for the present service, together with your thoughts which parts of it may be most proper to be first directed; and I recommend to your care especially, that the barracks already built, with so much charge to the public, and so great conveniency to the country, as I am informed, may not run into decay for want of reasonable and proper care.

My Lords, &c.

ROCHESTER.

In Lord Rochester's hand-writing, and thus indorsed:—"Mine to the Lords Justices, May 20, 1701, concerning the regiments to be sent into Holland."

CLXXIII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affairs of the Army.—State of the Barracks.—Proceedings in regard to the troops to be embarked for Holland, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 4, 1701.

We have received your Lordship's of the 27th past, acquainting us in what manner his Majesty has been pleased to fill up the vacancies in Major-general Stewart's and Sir John Hanmer's regiments.

As to what your Lordship mentions concerning the clothing, you will see by the enclosed copy of a memorial we have sent Mr. Secretary Vernon, what is the contractors' desire. We referred it to Mr. Robinson to report the true state thereof, which he hath accordingly done, and which we must

recommend to your Lordship's favour, when laid before his Majesty, to move so effectually, that such provision may be made out of the pay of the said regiments as they desire.

We intend to clear the regiments to the time of their embarkation, for which there will need no particular warrant to us.

Your Lordship seems to expect a further representation concerning the barracks from us than that which we have already sent. That which your Lordship owns the receipt of (as we conceive) contained not only what had been done, but what was remaining to be done, to finish all that had been proposed to be built in this kingdom. However, enclosed we have sent another, wherein your Lordship will see in one view the whole state of that affair, with some further remarks proper on that occasion, together with our thoughts in relation to the remounting the dragoons, and providing for them in the barracks; to which is only to be added, that when these dragoons were dismounted, and their horses sold, the money (being six pounds a horse) was stopped in the King's hands, and there will be six pounds a horse more wanting, when remounted, to buy their horses, for which the King's warrant must be had.

We shall give the necessary orders for clearing Sir Henry Bellasis regiment's arrears to the day they sailed (if there be any due), the account whereof we shall order to be laid before us, not having hitherto had time to consider and order the same.

The French pensioners have been paid up to March last; that is, as many as have produced certificates pursuant to the proclamation in that case.

We advised your Lordship in what manner we had given directions for countermanding the orders given to Ingoldesby's and Stanley's regiments marching to Cork, as also those we had since given for their march to Belfast; which we hope, long ere this, your Lordship hath received.

In a letter from Mr. Gwyn, we received his Majesty's commands, under his own hand, for the embarking the twelve regiments, according to the directions he had formerly been pleased to send us by your Lordship; and we hope they will be all ready to embark by that time the fleet arrives to receive them.

Brigadier Ingoldesby's regiment being ordered to embark, we must desire to receive his Majesty's directions whether it is intended the Brigadier should go with it, or remain in this kingdom; that he may have some small time to order himself accordingly.

We have, enclosed, sent your Lordship a memorial delivered us by Sir

John Jacobs, which we thought fit to refer to Mr. Robinson, who hath reported the state of the case thereon; in which we observe that the off-reckonings of his regiment, to the 24th of April last, will answer for the clothing he received, but then the King's part remains unpaid: this being formerly considered, upon application of Sir John Jacobs to the late Lords Justices, it was ordered that the deductions should be continued to the 23d of July next to clear the King, and a warrant given to pay seven months off-reckonings more from the 23d of July, to answer the two-pences, and other occasions: but the regiment being now ordered for Holland, will not, in probability, stay so long in Ireland as the 23d of July; and, consequently, will want a fund to answer part of the King's due, and the two-pences; which renders his case different from the other three regiments of Hanmer, Hamilton, and Tiffin, who stay in Ireland. For which reason we think it but just he should have the 295*l.* 17*s.* 1¾*d.*; and, therefore, must desire your Lordship to lay the same before his Majesty, in order to our receiving a warrant for paying him the said 295*l.* 17*s.* 1¾*d.* as he desires in his petition. We are, with all respect,

My Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXXIV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further particulars respecting the proceedings preparatory to sending the Troops to Holland.—Difficulties created by the extreme haste required, &c.—Suggestion of a remedy by tacking a short Clause to some Bill passing through Parliament.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 14, 1701.

We received on Thursday last your Lordship's of the 7th and 9th instant: the first by the post, and the latter by the express, who delivered it to us about nine this morning, having made extraordinary expedition.

In your Lordship's of the 7th you were pleased to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that Major-general Stewart's regiment should be landed at Portsmouth, and that we should also take care with Admiral Hopson, the said regiment should be put on board one or more ships, as should be most convenient for the transportation of it: according to which directions, we have

given the necessary orders to Quarter-master-general Gorges, who is now at Cork. But how far Vice-admiral Hopson will observe any directions from us we know not, in regard we are ignorant of his being to receive any such orders from us; which, if there were any, notice should have been given us thereof, or else the Lords of the Admiralty's letter sent him for that purpose: however, we gave him notice thereof, as your Lordship has directed; but as your Lordship mentions, it is highly necessary for us to have his Majesty's particular warrant for this alteration, and which we must desire your Lordship to take care may be forthwith despatched to us.

That of the 9th, by the express, brought his Majesty's commands for the forces to be immediately embarked for Cork, after the arrival of the fleet (of which we have given your Lordship notice), and that they should sail forthwith to Holland, without staying for the other regiments that were not as yet come up; and to that end your Lordship enclosed a letter to the Vice-admiral from the Lords of the Admiralty, to pursue those directions: on receipt whereof, we immediately despatched away an express to the Vice-admiral, acquainting him with the orders we had received, and those we had also then sent to Quarter-master-general Gorges to ship them on board as fast as he could possibly march them in, and that we did expect the eight following battalions would be shipped by the 21st instant: viz. Sir Mathew Bridges's, Major-general Stewart's, Colonel Seymore's, Colonel Howe's, Colonel Webb's, Colonel Frederick Hamilton's, and Lord Orkney's two battalions; in which we are well assured the Quarter-master-general will use his utmost care and endeavours. The other two will march into Cork according to the days appointed them by their routes.

We also wrote immediately to Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, whom we sent to Carrickfergus on Monday last, that in case the two regiments there were not shipped, they should be immediately put on board. But we have received from him this day an account, that on the 11th instant he had embarked Colonel Stanley's regiment, and was endeavouring to do the same that night by Brigadier Ingoldesby's, which makes us not doubt but they are actually sailed.

It was but on Wednesday last we received a letter from Captain Whitaker, bearing date the 9th instant, giving us an account that he arrived at Carrickfergus the 4th; which had he given us notice of immediately after his arrival, our final orders had gone down sooner by four or five days.

We have let Brigadier Ingoldesby know that the officers designed to be sent

for recruits, and that are, or will be, down at Cork in time, are ordered to embark with Major-general Stewart's regiment, and be landed at Portsmouth. But we must take leave to acquaint your Lordship, that your letter was so very pressing and particular, that it is like to put some of the regiments under a very great difficulty, there not being room left for any discretionary act in us to prevent it. The clothing of some of the regiments being ordered away, with intentions to be ready at Cork by the day they were designed to embark by their first orders, it will scarce be possible for them to be there by the time they will be shipped according to the orders now received and sent down; and what means can be used to get them after them to Holland, in case they should be sailed, we know not. The act made in England is so very severe, that none will venture so much as to receive or endeavour to transport them. We are very sensible what it is to have the troops arrive in Holland unclothed; which we would have prevented, by suffering the regiments to stay for them two or three days, had not your Lordship been so strict and pressing in the King's command. We have given Brigadier Ingoldesby (who left this place yesterday, and will be at Cork the 16th,) the best advice and directions we could, how to concert this matter with the Vice-admiral, and, if possible, to persuade him to let the clothes of these regiments that sail first, be embarked with the last regiments; and which if he refuses, the clothing of the following regiments must be unavoidably lost: viz. Lord Orkney's two battalions, Colonel Frederick Hamilton's, Sir Mathew Bridges's, and Colonel Seymore's.

It may be worth your Lordship's consideration, were not the sessions so near ending, (or if it should not be now too late,) to procure a short clause to be tacked to some bill that is passing, to answer this or the like occasion; the consideration whereof we shall leave entirely to your Lordship's judgment.

As we have notice of any of the regiments being shipped and sailed, your Lordship from time to time shall have an account thereof.

By the former packets, we received your Lordship's of the 3d, which only owning the receipt of some of ours, and advising us in what manner the Bishopric of Raphoe was disposed, requires no particular answer. We are,

My Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

Indorsed "Lords Justices, June the 14th; Received the 20th; Answered the 24th, 1701."

CLXXV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Embarkation of seven Regiments for Holland.—Request that the Officers absent in England may have orders to return to their Regiments.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 23, 1701.

We received no letter from your Lordship by the last packets. This comes to advise your Lordship, that by letters from Brigadier Ingoldesby and Vice-admiral Hopson, we have an account that seven regiments were embarked and ready to sail on Friday the 20th, if the wind presented; and that there were five ships ordered to transport the remaining three regiments, of Granville's, Howe's, and Jacob's, which would be shipped by the 26th. Copies of which letters we have enclosed sent your Lordship, by which you will see in what manner our orders have been observed, and what care taken to prevent the clothing from being left behind.

We here also enclose a list of the number of the men of Ingoldesby's and Stanley's regiments, as shipped on board by Colonel Gustavus Hamilton. As soon as we have a particular of the charge, your Lordship shall have it, together with the number and charge of those regiments which embark at Cork.

We must take this opportunity to acquaint your Lordship, that there are a great many officers belonging to the regiments which remain in Ireland, who have been long absent in England from their commands; and we doubt not but your Lordship will concur with us in opinion, that it is highly for his Majesty's service, and indeed of necessity, that they have orders forthwith to repair to their posts, with which we must desire your Lordship would acquaint his Majesty, that directions may be given therein accordingly.

Colonel Gustavus Hamilton having applied to us to have commissions for the officers in his regiment, according to the enclosed memorial, we have written to Mr. Secretary Vernon to lay the same before his Majesty, and must desire your Lordship's favour to the Colonel in obtaining the same.

We are, my Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

CLXXVI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Congratulations upon his recovery from his indisposition.—Explanation of some points in regard to the embarkation of the Troops.—Desire to know when they may expect Lord Rochester, that they may prepare for his reception.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, July 1, 1701.

We received your Lordship's of the 24th instant, giving us the account of your recovery from your late indisposition, in which we heartily congratulate your Lordship. We cannot without great concern observe, that your Lordship has misunderstood our meaning by some expressions in ours of the 14th instant, which, we do assure your Lordship, was intended only to let you know we were sensible of the inconveniences which might happen upon such express orders; which, notwithstanding, we readily and punctually observed: nor had we the least doubt of your Lordship having received them from the King, you having pressed them so earnestly, and sent them, as your Lordship mentioned in your letter, by express, his Majesty having thought it necessary to do so.

We hope your Lordship hath long ere this received from us several of later dates, by which you will perceive that the danger we apprehended of the clothing being left behind was over.

His Majesty's letter (after your Lordship's) signifying his pleasure that Major-general Stewart's regiment should go to Spithead, was sufficient to let us know your Lordship received those orders for that regiment to go to Portsmouth, it being so expressed in the warrant, which if it had not been, we could not think your Lordship would send us any other orders but such as you received immediately from his Majesty.

We are not yet enabled to lay before you the state of the regiments that embarked at Cork, nor the charge thereof; but we hope, by our next, your Lordship may expect it; and that by your interest with the Lords of the Treasury we may be reimbursed what has been issued on that account.

As soon as your Lordship favours us with the knowledge how soon we may expect the honour of seeing you here, we shall give the necessary orders

for your reception: in the mean time, must beg your Lordship to believe that we are, with great sincerity, My Lord, &c.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.
MOUNT ALEXANDER.

Indorsed "Lords Justices, July the 1st, 1701; Answered the 12th."

CLXXVII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[Mr. Vernon was of a respectable family for many years seated at Haslington, in the county of Chester. He seems to have been early initiated into business in that nursery for statesmen, the office of the Secretary of State. He was subsequently private secretary to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and enjoyed his entire confidence; by him he was employed also as Under-secretary of State. When Lords Justices were appointed to govern the kingdom during William's absence, he was made secretary; and in 1697 he succeeded Sir William Trumbull as Secretary of State, in which post he continued during the rest of the reign of King William. He is said to have made a good figure in parliament, being elected to represent the City of Westminster. Soon after the accession of Queen Anne, he retired from the arduous duties of his office, to make way for Lord Nottingham, and was gratified with a tellership of the Exchequer in reward of his services. In the curious work appended to Mackay's Memoirs, entitled "Characters of the Court of Great Britain," reported to have been written by Mr. Davis, an officer of the Customs, it is said of Mr. Vernon: "No man understands all parts of that great office (i. e. Secretary) better than he, nor could manage it with more prudence at so intricate a time as the last two years of his administration." It is further said: "He was the instrument made use of to accuse the four Lords for the Partition, who had all been his benefactors; but he managed that part with so much fidelity to the King, who commanded him to do it, and so much fairness to the Lords accused, that it lost him no reputation. He is indefatigable in business, and may be called a *drudge* to the office. An ill wife hath much soured his temper, which makes him rougher in business than could be expected from one of his sense and experience; but that roughness is attended with so much candour, and is distributed equally to all who have business with him, that makes it the easier borne. Never any secretary wrote so many letters with his own hand as he, nor in a better style." We have only to add the description of his person: "He is a tall thin man, brown complexioned, with an Austrian lip, a good eye, careless in his dress, and rough in his behaviour." He lived till the year 1726-7, dying at the advanced age of eighty-three. He was buried at Watford, in Herts

Hopes he has got safe into Ireland.—Sends him what news he can.—Has not heard from Sir George Rooke.—Brigadier Selwyn was not embarked on the 29th.

MY LORD, Whitehall, September 2, 1701.

As the weather is grown much more moderate, I hope your Excellency is got safe into Ireland, where you were so earnestly expected. I hope to

receive your commands from thence, and shall be very careful to obey them. In the mean time, I think it my duty to send you what comes to my hands of any moment. We have only received, since my last to your Excellency, one mail from France, which brought the enclosed letters from my Lord Manchester: there is one more mail now due from Paris, and two from Holland.

I have not heard from Sir George Rooke since Saturday last, which I acquainted your Excellency with; but I suppose he put to sea, as he said he would, on the 29th, for the coast letters speak of his being seen off Plymouth. He must have had very bad weather at the latter end of last week: I wish we hear no ill-effects of it.

I heard from Portsmouth on the 29th, that Brigadier Selwyn was not then embarked. He stayed for a wind which does not yet seem to me very favourable; and he wanted more shipping for his own or the Ordnance stores. As to the latter, it is to be determined on Thursday next, at the council, whether those particulars are to be transported at the charge of the Admiralty or the Ordnance: but to whomsoever it belongs, it is not expected that the Brigadier should stay for them. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

Indorsed by Lord Rochester:—
"Mr. Secretary Vernon, September the 2d;
Received at Dublin."

CLXXVIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Manchester has been very pressing for leave to come home.—Conduct of the French Government.—Prohibition of English goods.—News from Holland, &c.

MY LORD, Whitehall, September 9, 1701.

We have had so ill change in the weather, that I conclude your Excellency is on this side the water. I have only to acquaint you that the French post is arrived this afternoon: you will be pleased to be referred for the news it brings to the enclosed extract of my Lord Manchester's letter.

My Lord has been very pressing for leave to come home. I suppose there will be now a proper opportunity for it when a new King of England

is suffered to be proclaimed in France, and they have published there a sort of a prohibition of all trade with England. Our cloth, tin, and lead are absolutely prohibited to be imported into France, and the inconsiderable goods they still allow to be brought in there, are charged with such a duty as I suppose differs little from a prohibition: their tonnage duty is raised from fifty to seventy solz. per ton.

We had likewise a Dutch post; not knowing whether Mr. Blathwait sends your Excellency his circular newspaper*, I enclose it. What they write further from Holland is, that Monsieur Villeroy's orders were not to give quarter to the Germans, but to put all they had advantage over to the sword; and that Marshal Boufflers and Monsieur Tallard made preparations and had their bridges laid for some sudden attempt, as soon as they should receive the news they expected of the Germans being defeated, and to improve the consternation that would occasion.

I am, with great respect,
My Lord,
Your Excellency's
Most faithful and obedient servant,
JA. VERNON.

I have not heard from Sir George Rooke since his letter of the 1st. I suppose it will not be long before he comes back.

The King has sent over a warrant with the treaty for putting the ratification under the great seal, which is despatched accordingly; and it goes back by this post.

Indorsed by Lord Rochester
" Received the 11th, at Westminster;
Answered the 13th, from Holywell."

* By this must not be understood a printed paper, but a circular newsletter or letter of intelligence. It was long the custom for the great, who were interested in public affairs, to have a correspondent at court, or elsewhere, who furnished them from time to time with the news. Mr. Blathwait was now in Holland, and no doubt furnished many persons in authority with particulars of the current events, by means of a periodical circular.

CLXXIX.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Explanation given by the French Government of their reasons for acknowledging James IV. as King of England, grounded upon the Treaty of Ryswick, and upon the new engagements entered into with the States and the Emperor.—News from the French camp in Italy, &c.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Sept. 13, 1701.

I received yesterday the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 10th, and I laid before his Majesty by that night's post, what was desired in behalf of the Earl of Bath and his uncle, which I hope will be granted, as well for his Majesty's service as for their sakes.

The wind has been very indifferent, and therefore I cannot think your Excellency has been able to embark. I hope a little patience will save you a journey to Holyhead, which must needs be extremely inconvenient to yourself, and some that are less able to bear it.

We have no letters from Holland; but a French mail came in this afternoon. I send your Excellency what I have received from my Lord Manchester.

Monsieur Poussine, who got his letters in the morning by a courier, came to me and read a paper of reasons that had been sent him to justify their owning a new King of England, and asked me if I cared for a copy of them. I told him no; that those reasons could signify nothing to us, unless it were to show that they were always ready with excuses for their non-performance of treaties.

The reasons run much upon the treaty of Ryswick, that they are only obliged not to favour any rebellion or conspiracy against the King, nor assist any with arms, ships, provisions, or money, or in any other way, who shall hereafter disturb or molest his Majesty in the free and full possession of his kingdoms. That the treaty does not require that he should withdraw the protection he had given either to the father or the son; and if the son, upon the father's death, took upon him his title, the French King made himself no judge how far it belonged to him; but his intentions only were to relieve his necessities, and, as he had received him into his country, to make his condition easy to him.*

* The King of France afterwards published a manifesto, justifying his conduct, which was dis-

It was likewise inserted in the reasons, that the King and the States were entering into engagements with the Emperor in opposition to his grandson's interest: there was a great deal more to show this was according to some old precedents, but I am less able to remember particulars, being surprised at his coming to me upon this errand. I thought he skipped over some paragraphs in reading, perhaps those are reserved for such as are more fitted to receive them. He talked of the treaty with the Emperor, which he says (they know in France) was signed fifteen days ago.

He pretended to have advices from the French camp in Italy, of the 11th; they were posted still between Urago and Castrezato: that deserters came to them from the Germans, who told them their bread began to fail them.

He says positively the French lost but eight hundred at the action of Chiars, and the Germans lost four hundred.

I hear nothing of Sir George Rooke, but three or four of the ships of war that went out with him are come back, some to Portsmouth, some to Plymouth, having received damage by stormy weather; one of them is the Boyne, that Sir John Munden commanded, who is gone into another ship.

I am, with great respect,
My Lord, your Excellency's
Most faithful and obedient servant,
JA. VERNON.

A Dutch post arriving late this evening, I send Mr. Blathwait's newspaper, which is all I hear from thence, except that my Lady Marlborough landed there on Sunday last.

Indorsed by Lord Rochester :—
" Mr. Secretary Vernon, the 11th and 13th Sept.;
Received at Conway and Beaumaris.
Answered the 18th, at Dublin."

persed through all the courts of Europe, alleging that " he was under no engagement by the treaty of Ryswick to the contrary of the course he had pursued; the fourth article of that treaty declaring only that he should not disturb the King of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions, nor assist with his troops and ships, or other succours, those who should attempt to disturb him."

CLXXX.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends him Lord Manchester's letter, and an extract from the Paris Gazette respecting King James.—Lord Manchester will probably soon return, and Mr. Blathwait desires his revocation.—Movements of King William in Holland.—Does not know whether the English court will go into mourning for King James, but the Princess Anne and the Queen-dowager will.—Prorogation of Parliament.—Movements of the fleet under Sir George Rooke and Admiral Benbow.—Doubts about the capacity of some of the Officers of the new levies in Ireland to serve, as not being naturalized.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Sept. 16, 1701.

I have the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 12th. I wish you had saved yourself the fatigue of a Welsh journey, since, in probability, you would have got sooner to Ireland if you had stayed at Highlake; but wherever you embarked, we conclude you are now landed in Ireland, the wind having been easterly since Saturday night.

Having made my congratulations for your entrance on the administration of that government, I must acquaint your Excellency that we had a French and a Dutch post this morning: what the former brings, you will see by the enclosed copy of my Lord Manchester's letter. Not having a Paris Gazette to send you, I have got the article concerning King James transcribed, which is the curiosity most enquired after.

I believe it will not be long before my Lord Manchester comes away. Mr. Blathwait writes that he desires his final revocation, rather than to come away only for some time, as was at first intended; and he thought it would not be long denied him after the French King's declaration in reference to the Prince of Wales: the Lords Justices are likewise of opinion that this is a proper occasion for his being sent for.

The King was at Dieren on Friday last, from whence I suppose he comes this day for Breda. It is said he goes back again to Loo, and that he would have the Duke of Zell stay some time longer with him. If they be not gone home to-day, the Duke or his grandson will accompany the King to Breda.

Mr. Blathwait makes no mention in his letters whether the King goes into mourning or not, but I hear Monsieur Auverquerque has written by this post to his lady, that a stop should be put to the King's liveries till further order; so that matter hangs in suspense. In the mean time, the Prin-

cess went into mourning on Sunday last, and my Lord Feversham has given the like directions to the Queen-Dowager's servants.

The council met this morning, and pursuant to his Majesty's pleasure signified to the Lords Justices it was ordered that the next prorogation of the Parliament should be to Thursday the 30th of October, but nothing was said of a proclamation to give notice that they should then sit.

Sir George Rooke is come back into the Channel. I had a letter from him yesterday of the 11th, dated off the Lizard. He writes he was making towards St. Helen's, but I have not heard of him since, and probably the wind has kept him from coming so far.

He parted with Vice-admiral Benbow on the 2d, who he believes was got to the latitude of Cape St. Vincent. It is unlucky enough that a ship or two of Benbow's squadron has been obliged to come back.

We furnish the writers of the Post-boys with as much as they knew of their expedition, that they were only to accompany Vice-admiral Benbow so many leagues.

Mr. Harrison, the Commissary of the Musters, has given me a hint, that notice is taken in Ireland that some of the officers in the new levies are incapable of serving, as not being naturalized. I have written to him to wait on your Excellency, and inform you who the persons are that are supposed to be so unqualified, that you may please to consider what is fit to be done in the case. I have cast my eye since upon the Act of the 10th of the King for disbanding the army, which seems to have clauses in it that incapacitate any not naturalized from serving in the army, either in England or Ireland. I should be glad there were none under these circumstances; but if there are, I believe it should be well considered, that no handle be given for cavilling. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, your Excellency's
Most faithful and obedient servant,
JA. VERNON.

"Mr. Secretary Vernon, Sept. 16, 1701;
Received at Dublin the 24th.
Answered the 25th."

CLXXXI.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Commands despatched to Lord Manchester to leave the Court of France without taking leave, immediately; and the French Ambassador will be ordered to leave England without delay.—The King (William) will go into mourning for King James.—Two men proclaimed James IV. in the City on Tuesday last, but it is said to have been done for a wager.—The King of France in speaking of King William calls him only Prince of Orange.

MY LORD, Whitehall, 20th Sept. 1701.

I omitted troubling your Excellency last post, there being then no foreign letters or other news, except the proroguing the Parliament on Thursday to the 30th of October, which you were acquainted with by the preceding post.

We had a Dutch mail this morning. Mr. Blathwait's paper that is enclosed, contains a more than ordinary piece of news concerning the orders despatched by express to my Lord Manchester, requiring him to leave that court immediately, without so much as taking leave, but at his coming away he is to give Monsieur Torcy notice whereby he does it, in a form of words that are prescribed:—

"Monsieur,

"Le Roy mon maître étant informé que Sa Majesté Très Chrêtienne a reconnu un autre Roy de la Grande Bretagne, ne croit pas que sa gloire et son service luy permettent de tenir plus longtemps un Ambassadeur ou Ministre de sa part auprès du Roy votre maître; et m'a envoyé ordre de me retirer incessament, dont j'ay l'honneur de vous donner avis par ce billet."

Directions are likewise sent to the Lords Justices, that they should order Monsieur Poussine to leave this kingdom, which will be put in execution on Tuesday next.

The King will go back from Breda to Loo about Tuesday next, and it is thought he may stay at Loo ten days, and then go to the Hague, in order to his coming for England.

The King has declared his intentions of going into mourning; as to the time when, he will signify it by the next post. The King's coaches and liveries are to be in black, but not the King's lodgings; and it is not ex-

pected that any of the peers should put their coaches or liveries into mourning.

Some notice has been taken here of two men that rode through the city on Tuesday last in a very odd posture: one of them was armed with back, breast, and head-piece; the other, that looked like his servant, rode with pistols. They were observed to have stopped in some places, as the Maypole, &c., and then turning their horses head to head, he that was armed muttered something which nobody pretends to have heard, but it is reported since, that it was a sort of proclaiming the Prince of Wales; which has made me enquire after these fellows, and have had some notice of them. I expect they will be brought before me. It is now given out that they did it for a wager.

The French post is not yet arrived; but the French letters I have by the way of Holland, say that when the French King now speaks of his Majesty, he calls him only Prince of Orange. I send an extract of Sir George Rooke's letter of the 26th, written off the Start. I should be glad to hear he was got into some port. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

The French mail arrives late this evening. I enclose a copy of my Lord Manchester's letter. My Lady Orkney returned to England about the beginning of the week.

CLXXXII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The King will not be in England until the 18th or 20th of October.—The mourning is not to begin till he returns.—The Marshal of the Ceremonies has orders to desire the French Ambassador to quit the Kingdom.—News of Sir George Rooke.—The proclamation of James IV. only an idle frolic.—Death of Lord Spencer's son.

MY LORD, Whitehall, 23d Sept. 1701.

We had a French and a Dutch mail this morning. I send your Excellency enclosed, what I have either from my Lord Manchester or Mr. Blathwait. The King is to be back at Loo to-day, where it is thought he may stay ten or twelve days, and then go to the Hague; so that his Majesty is scarce to be expected in England till the 18th or 20th of the next month. In

the mean time Mr. Blathwait has signified to the Lords Justices, that his Majesty's intentions are that the mourning should not begin till his Majesty's arrival here. The Lords Justices met to-day, and upon the signification of his Majesty's pleasure by Mr. Blathwait, they have ordered the Marshal of the Ceremonies to acquaint Monsieur Poussine, that he should forthwith depart out of England. As soon as the message is delivered, the Marshal of the Ceremonies is to acquaint me with it. Since he is not come yet, I suppose the gentleman is from home, either by chance or designedly. Sir George Rooke came to St. Helen's on Saturday, and sailed again on Sunday for the Downs. I had a letter from him this morning that was written off Dover. As soon as he is in the Downs, he will come ashore, having leave from the Admiralty for the recovery of his health.

The noise that was made about a man's riding through the city to proclaim the Prince of Wales, proves only an idle, ridiculous frolic, of setting out something like a Don Quixote and his Squire. He that rode in armour was one Philpot, a young raw fellow of Glamorganshire, that had never been in town before.

My Lord Spencer has lost his son, who died on Sunday of the small-pox. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CLXXXIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

News from Spain and Portugal.—Deliberations in Spain whether they should seize the English and Dutch merchantmen.—Commerce of the Spanish West Indies interdicted.—A French fleet daily expected to cruize off Portugal.—Account of Mr. Vernon's interview with Monsieur Poussine, the French Ambassador, upon his receiving a message to quit the Kingdom.—Five Ships ordered for the West Indies. Address of the Common Council upon the conduct of France.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Sept. 25, 1701.

I received last night the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 18th. I am very glad you were so well satisfied with the conclusion of your journey; it is what we expected by observing the winds.

I will acquit myself the best I can of my respects to you, and I am obliged to you that you are pleased to give me such encouragement.

The French and Dutch letters are not yet due, but we had yesterday a

mail from Spain and Portugal: the letters are of the 6th instant from Lisbon, and the 7th from Madrid. Monsieur Schonenberg writes that it had been under deliberation in the council of Spain, whether they should seize the English and Dutch merchantmen coming from Smyrna or other parts of the Mediterranean: the debate arose upon the demand of the farmers of the customs, that either they might have a large abatement made them, or that the English and Dutch merchants might have some security given them for bringing their effects thither. He proposed it should be declared, that though a rupture happened they should be allowed six months to retire in, and carry away their effects. The council have yet come to no other resolution, but that the farmers' proposal be rejected.

They have renewed their orders to the Spanish West Indies, forbidding them under great penalties to drive any manner of trade with the English or Dutch; and their sea commanders are strictly required to pursue, attack, and seize any English or Dutch ships they shall find sailing to or from their coasts. Mr. Methuen writes that a courier was arrived from Versailles to acquaint the King of Portugal, that in compliance with his' desire a squadron of ships was ordered to come thither from Brest, under the command of Monsieur Chateau Renaud. He says, he was daily expected there; I suppose he will make but a short stay, being victualled for a longer voyage. He says the preparations are still carried on with the utmost diligence, in order to put that city and river in a posture of defence.

I mentioned in my last the message that was sent to Monsieur Poussine: it was delivered to him late in the evening, at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket. He came to me upon it yesterday to know whether he might not stay seven or eight days. Sometimes he talked that he would willingly hear from France before he went; then he said he had debts he ought first to satisfy, and he had written to Calais for money. He gave a hint too, that Monsieur Barillon was blamed for leaving England without his master's orders. I told him the same signification was made to him that was to my Lord Manchester, that each should go away immediately, that there would be less inconvenience in complying with it, and in such circumstances it would not be fit for him to appoint his own time. He said he had received a courier the day before, which said nothing of my Lord Manchester's being come away. I told him we expected him every day, and therefore I had no more to do but to wish him a good journey.

I do not know how my Lord Manchester came to make such a slip as not

to come away the morning after he received his orders.—I suppose my Lord Godolphin will acquaint your Excellency that the five ships which were directed some time since to be sheathed, are now ordered to be sent away to the West Indies with all diligence; the Admiralty say they will be ready by the middle of October.

The Lords Justices would order them to call at Cork, if there were either officers or recruits for the regiments that were to be sent to the West Indies; or otherwise they will go thither directly.

A great number of Spanish and Portuguese merchants attended the Lords Justices this day about the security of their trade; I think they will be well satisfied if two or three frigates be appointed to cruise for some time off Cape St. Vincent, and that is ordered: perhaps there may be more hazard than service in it, but their Excellencies would not refuse it them.

It is got about town that two or three Members of Parliament were at the Blue Posts with Poussine when the message was brought him: De Bas heard so when he was at the House, but he did not know who they were; there are some pretend to name them, but that is a matter I do not care to meddle with. I am just now told there has been a common council in the City this evening, where they have resolved upon an address upon the occasion of their owning another King of England in France, and a committee is appointed to draw it up, and the common council meets again to-morrow to agree to it. I enclose a Gazette, because it contains more of the foreign news than I can write. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CLXXXIV.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

State of the Regiments ordered for the West Indies.—Address of the Common Council.—Delay of the French Ambassador in leaving the Kingdom.—Expects the King to return in about three weeks.—Deliberate way in which Lord Manchester obeys his orders for coming away.—Particulars of the negotiation for a Treaty between England, Sweden, and the States-General, now concluding by Lord Marlborough.

MY LORD, Whitehall, September 27, 1701.

I received yesterday the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 20th, and it being the post-day for Holland, I gave Mr. Blathwait the account that night what condition the regiments appeared to be in that are ordered

for the West Indies, and I shall lay it before the Lords Justices on Tuesday next.

I wrote immediately to the Office of the Ordnance to know what forwardness the arms were in for the new-raised regiments; Mr. Musgrave sent me word that the arms were then shipping off from the Tower, and the vessel would be ready to sail on Monday next, which your Excellency would be more particularly informed of by a letter from the office.

The common council met yesterday, and I think were unanimous in agreeing to the address they had ordered to be drawn up. It is confined to the late proceeding in France, and declares their resentment for the affront and indignity offered to his Majesty, in pretending to give any of his titles to another; they express their gratitude to his Majesty for his preserving their rights, liberties, and the Protestant religion; they conclude with assurances of their utmost assistance in defence of his Majesty's person, crown, and dignity: there is nothing said about the Parliament, one way or other.

I believe Monsieur Poussine is here still; he called at the office yesterday, but the Lords Justices not thinking it necessary I should see him any more, the chamber-keeper told him I did not expect him, but believed he was gone for France. He met Mr. De Bas afterwards in the Park, and said he had sent a courier to France, and expected he would be back to-day or to-morrow, and as soon as he arrived he would be gone. I shall be glad if he be gone of his own accord before Tuesday, when the Lords Justices meet again.

He has given out his reasons that were sent him from France, and somebody has bungled them up for the press, as you will see by the enclosed. Some have been taken up for it, to find out the hand they came from originally, which does not yet appear.

We had a Dutch post this morning; I send a copy of Mr. Blathwait's newspaper. I find no mention made by this post when the King will be at the Hague, nor is there any information yet about a convoy, and yet I cannot think that the King will defer his coming over, but we may yet expect he will be here within three weeks.

A French mail is arrived this evening. I send a copy of my Lord Manchester's letter, which surprises me to see with what deliberation he obeys the orders for his coming away. Either his Lordship, or all the world besides, is under a mistake in this matter. Every body I meet with expected he would have left Paris the day after he received his letters of revocation, and not have given Monsieur Torcy notice of it but the minute he was taking horse

to come away; he has a different notion of it, and is pleased that he has got a civil answer to his letter, and a passport for his goods. I do not know but he may have likewise procured a liberty for Monsieur Poussine to go away when he pleases.

I have a letter by this post from my Lord Marlborough: he says he is about concluding a treaty between his Majesty, the King of Sweden, and the States-General; the terms of it are,—

1. To confirm all former treaties between them.

2. The King and the States are to advance to the King of Sweden, upon the succours he has demanded, the sum of two hundred thousand crowns.

3. The States shall warrant the security the Swedes offer for the loan of three hundred thousand crowns.

4. The two Kings and the States shall appoint commissioners as soon as may be, to agree upon the assistance they shall give each other, in case the King of Sweden continues in war, or the King and the States fall into a war.

5. In the mean time neither of them shall enter into any other engagements contrary to their former treaties.

My Lord says they are in haste to make this agreement, having good information that the French agents are negotiating at Amsterdam the remittance of six hundred thousand crowns to Stockholm, and they are endeavouring to prevent the ill effects of it.

Since the King's lodgings are not to be hung with black, the Princess has recalled the orders she had given in that particular.

I am, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CLXXXV.

SIR GEORGE DAVIES, CONSUL AT NAPLES, TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Account of an insurrection at Naples, headed by the Prince of Machia.

SIR, Naples, Sept. 27, 1701, N. S.

It is some weeks I have not written you, nothing having here presented worth your notice. Now I am to acquaint you, that on the 23d current, before day, here happened a sudden revolution in this city, the mob being gathered together to the number of about five thousand, incited by the Prince of Machia, and about six others of the nobility; who taking arms, ran in multi-

tudes through the streets, crying "Live the Emperor!" They plundered some ministers of states' houses; entered the tribunals of judicature, both civil and criminal, tearing and burning all the writings, protests, books, &c. that they could find; broke open all the prisons, which were not few, letting out all the prisoners: which disturbance continued so till the next day, all shops and doors being shut up; but the better sort of citizens keeping quiet, and not uniting with them, the mob began considerably to desert, which the Vice-king perceiving, and hearing they had fortified themselves in two or three churches, and some gates of the city, and that they had no cannon with them, sent a party of about five hundred horse and foot, with two pieces of cannon, who, after four or five hours dispute, routed them wholly. The Prince of Machia, with his complices, fled out of the city, it is thought towards Benevento (a city but thirty miles off, belonging to the Pope); but it is not certainly known whither as yet. Only, of the nobility, Don Carlo di Sangri is taken prisoner, but many of the mob are yet hourly brought in. With the prince was also the secretary of the last ambassador of the Emperor to the Pope, who is also taken prisoner; for the design hath been some time a contriving, and so far gone on, that they were understood with some Spanish soldiers to betray the great Castle Nuovo into their hands, intending to have killed the Viceroy as he went in the Corso in the evening; but hearing that one of the soldiers of the Castle had discovered all to the Vice-king, they were forced to try of a sudden if they could get the citizens to rise, but none except the mob (as above said) moving, their design was ruined. The city of Aversa, about eight miles off, hearing what disturbances were here at Naples, followed the same example, but are now quieted again. Some fear that we may shortly hear of other insurrections from other provinces of the kingdom, not knowing yet what hath happened here. There are in port four galleys of Sicily, whose soldiers were landed, and behaved themselves valiantly against the mob. Now we are expecting to know what execution will be done upon the prisoners. I have not aught else to advise you at present, so with all due respects I remain, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. DAVIES.

CLXXXVI.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Intelligence from Mr. Methuen in Portugal; conduct of that court in respect of their late treaty.—News from Spain; proceedings in regard to the silver expected from Vera Cruz, and orders not to admit any English or Dutch ship of war into the port of Corunna.—Departure of the French Ambassador.—Discovery of the printer of the "Reasons" of the French for declaring the Pretender King of England.—Dr. Davenant vindicates himself from the charge of supping with the French Ambassador.—Presentation of the City Address, &c.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Sept. 30, 1701.

The ship Sir George Rooke sent to Lisbon, is come back to Spithead, by which I received a packet this morning from Mr. Methuen, the envoy. I send your Excellency an extract of what seemed material in his letter, with the final answer of that court, that they will not give any further light into their late treaty than they have done already by their ministers abroad, which, by what I know of it, is a very short and imperfect one.

The Corunna mail is likewise arrived with letters from Madrid of the 21st. Monsieur Schonenberg writes that orders are sent to Vera Cruz to put the silver that should come home by the flota, on board Coetlogon's squadron; but he thinks force only can oblige them to it, since the factors at Vera Cruz are tied up not to admit of any innovation without the consent of their principals. What he writes further is, that they are laying new duties upon their wines which the English and Dutch merchants export; they will be charged three times higher than they were. The consul at the Corunna writes word that the orders were come thither from court, not to admit any English or Dutch man of war into that port.

Monsieur Poussine has saved the Lords Justices the trouble of considering what they should do with him in case of obstinacy, for he went away yesterday in the afternoon: they say he received an express on Saturday, which ordered him to come home. It is like enough it might be despatched as soon as my Lord Manchester gave notice to that court that he was commanded to leave it.

We have traced out how the Reasons for owning the Prince of Wales came to be printed, and have found the man who had them from Monsieur Poussine; he is a French papist, who has lived long here, and since Poussine's

coming over, he has been sometimes employed by him in copying and translating libels. Dr. Davenant was with me this morning to wipe off an aspersion he lies under, for supping with Poussine last Tuesday at the Blue posts:* he protests it was a mere accident, that Mr. Hammond came along with him to sup with Mr. Tredenham, and Navarra, the Spanish consul, whom he has known ever since the Ambassador Ronquillo's time; that it was a surprise to them to see Poussine come in to them while they were at supper; that he observed Mr. Hammond very uneasy at it; but he did not think it necessary to rise from table: yet, as soon as ever supper was ended, he and Mr. Hammond went away. I told him I would do what I could to make that fact better understood than it seemed to be, and for that reason I mention it. Sir John Houblon, and four or five more of the City, attended the Lords Justices this morning with their address, which their Excellencies approved well of, and have ordered it to be printed in the next Gazette. In the mean time I enclose a written copy of it.

They are polling in the City for a Lord Mayor: it is supposed Sir Wm. Gore will be the man.

There is a Dutch and a French mail due, but neither of them is yet arrived. I am with great respect, My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

"Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

* The Blue Posts in the Haymarket appears to have been the fashionable political tavern at this time. Dr. Charles Davenant was the son of Sir William Davenant the poet, and had been brought up to the civil law, but always took a leading part in politics. He had been made a Commissioner of Excise in the late reign; but was deprived of that office at the Revolution. In Mackay's Characters it is said that he made advances to the ministry in King William's time, but to no purpose; and that their neglect, and his own poverty, soured him to that degree, that he proved the greatest scourge they had, and the greatest instrument to lessen them with the people. His book on the Balance of Trade, his Treatise on Grants and Resumptions, his Collection of Treaties, published on the occasion of the Partition Treaty, were so many libels on the ministry. His Dialogue between Whig-love and Double, which was calculated for the meanest capacity, had a sensible effect upon the return of members in the new Parliament. He was himself in the House of Commons, but never made any figure as a speaker. Salmon mentions that this accidental supper gave the Whigs occasion to upbraid Mr. Anthony Hammond, Mr. John Tredenham, and Dr. Davenant, with the name of *French Pensioners*; and they were also called *Poussineers*, in a party pamphlet called "The Black List;" but the aspersion was sufficiently refuted by the hearty concurrence of the Tories in the measures taken against France. On the accession of Queen Anne, Davenant was made Secretary to the Union with Scotland, and Inspector-General; and his son was sent resident to Frankfort.

CLXXXVII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Is glad to hear that the two regiments ordered to the West Indies are embarked.—The five vessels ordered to proceed thither, will probably call at Cork to take in the officers.—Progress of the levy for Colonel Brudenell's regiment.—Recommendation of Dr. Hickman for the vacant Bishopric of Raphoe.—Shipping of Colonel Brudenell's regiment, and further subsistence for it.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Oct. 2, 1701.

I received yesterday your Excellency's letters of the 23d and 25th of September. I am very glad to hear that the two regiments ordered to the West Indies are completed, and sailed. I hope your Excellency will have no great difficulty to find officers to supply the places of those that have declined this service; though they did not offer themselves voluntarily to go as supernumeraries, and upon half-pay, yet sure they will not, nor ought they to take the same liberty, when the public occasions require their taking the same posts they formerly served in. The five ships that are providing for the West Indies (as has been already mentioned) will be a good opportunity for carrying the officers thither; and I believe the Lords Justices will order them to call at Cork for that purpose, which I might have been more positive in, if their Excellencies had sate this morning; but not foreseeing they should have any matter of moment before them, they have deferred meeting till Tuesday. I rely on your Excellency's care for preventing any inconvenience from officers not naturalized.

I endeavoured to have given you some account by this post how Colonel Brudenell's levies went on; but the Colonel being in Northamptonshire, I have written to him, and must stay till I receive his answer. I hear by common discourse, that some of his officers at least are very forward with their companies. When these four regiments are completed according to their present establishment, I hope it will be thought fit to make all the companies there stronger. We are not like to want alarms, that may make it necessary to consider of a further provision for the common safety.

I shall lay before the King by to-morrow's post your Excellency's recommendation of Dr. Hickman for the bishoprick of Raphoe,* with your reasons

* It does not appear that Lord Rochester's recommendation of Dr. Hickman was effective. We find in a future letter that when Mr. Vernon reminds the King of it, his answer was, "that he would consider of it."

for it; which I think cannot but prevail. What we have of news I choose to send in a paper apart. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

Upon my enquiring for Colonel Brudenell, his lieutenant-colonel and major came to the office to tell me that their levies go on very well; they have two hundred men, and have refused many, as not thinking them sizeable enough. They do not doubt of being complete within three weeks, which is the time allowed for it; and then they will be ready to embark, and hope shipping will be provided for carrying them to Ireland. Mr. Yard tells me, that Mr. Clarke spoke to the Lords Justices on Tuesday last about the transport of this regiment: their Excellencies were of opinion, that the care of what related to them belonged to Ireland; and he supposes Mr. Clarke wrote to your Excellency about it that night. These officers desire, that if by any accident their embarkation should be delayed beyond the 23d instant, a further provision may be made for their subsistence, or otherwise there will be great danger of their men being lost and dispersed.

" Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

CLXXXVIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thinks it right that the five regiments should be recruited with the best men that can be got.—Has not heard of Lord Manchester's landing.—Monsieur Poussine arrived at Dover; ridiculous adventure there about an old pair of boots he borrowed, for which he refused payment.—The King expected at Northfleet in a week.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Oct. 4, 1701.

I received yesterday your Excellency's letter of the 27th of September, and have since spoken with Sir Thomas Frankland, who has taken a copy of the priests' names, and will use his best endeavours to intercept some of their letters.

I believe it is very right to fill up the five regiments as soon as is possible, with the best men that can be got there, and I do not doubt but it will have his Majesty's approbation. I have let Mr. Blathwait know it by last night's post, as also what was in the two preceding letters to be laid before the King:

when more time can be allowed for recruits or levies. It may give a greater satisfaction if they are made in England.

We have neither a French nor Dutch mail, and the wind is too high to expect them.

We hear nothing of my Lord Manchester's landing, though it is printed in the Post-boy that he came to Dover on Thursday last. Monsieur Poussine got thither on Tuesday, where he has drawn an affront upon himself very unnecessarily and ridiculously. When he came over last winter he borrowed an old pair of boots at Dover, to ride up with, which he neither thought of returning, nor paying for: seeing him there again, they demanded payment, and insisted on five shillings; he was as positive to give them but half a crown; whereupon they took out a town writ, and arrested him. They got their money, and he threatens to take his revenge on the other side, for the violation of his character.

It is said that orders are come to the Green Cloth, to provide the King's dinner at Northfleet, near Gravesend, to-morrow se'nnight.

I am, with great respect, my Lord, &c.

JAMES VERNON.

CLXXXIX.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Manchester's arrival at Calais.—Reported in Paris that he had carried away a million of money belonging to the French Protestants.—King James's will not yet published, on account of some expressions desiring the King of France to take upon him the administration of English affairs during his son's minority.—Lord Middleton declines in credit since the King's death.—Intelligence from Sir W. Beeston respecting the Spanish West Indies.—Addresses on the conduct of France from Oxfordshire and Southwark.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Oct. 7, 1701.

We want two mails from Holland, and the wind has been too high to expect them.

My Lord Manchester is not yet come hither. We hear that he arrived at Calais on Friday noon, that the governor had invited him to dinner, and that he intended to embark that evening; but I suppose the yacht could not get out of harbour as the wind stood. The packet-boat got out on Friday morning, and by that means brought over a French mail, which arrived on Sunday; so that the news is printed in the Gazette.

The secretary my Lord Manchester left behind, to come away with his goods, writes that as soon as his Lordship had left Paris, a report was spread over the town that he had carried away a million of money belonging to the French Protestants; which people seemed to believe and be incensed at: their scarcity and misery being so great, he did not know what it might provoke them to, and whether they should be able to carry off their goods in quietness.

He heard that King James's will was not yet printed, because of some expressions in it that desire the King of France to take upon him the administration of England till his son come of age. He says my Lord Middleton and his party sink in their credit since the late King's death.

He hears that orders were sent to Monsieur Chateau Renaud, to sail with his squadron to the Canaries.

I have letters from Sir William Beeston of the 7th and 11th of July; by the first he writes that a sloop was come thither from Carthagena, by which he heard that Monsieur Coetlogon had been there, and landed with great diligence all the arms and ammunition he had brought for the Spaniards, and immediately took in a pilot, and went for the Havannah.

His letter of the 11th says, that having sent out two small frigates to cruise to the windward, they had given him notice that on the 6th of July they met, between the Capes of Cuba and Hispaniola, with seven French men-of-war, from fifty to seventy guns, which went down the coast of Cuba, as if they were going to Saint Jago, and he did not doubt but they would touch there, and so proceed to the Havannah, to conduct the flota home.

The King's convoy were still in the Downs yesterday, not being able to stir by reason of the violent weather. I suppose they are sailed to-day, the wind being much abated.

Addresses begin to be moving; two of them were brought to the Lords Justices this morning, from Oxfordshire and Southwark, which are ordered to be printed in the next Gazette. They keep to the point of the French setting up a pretender to the crown. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXC.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affair of the vessels ordered for the West Indies.—Approves of his mild measures for reclaiming deserters.—Observations upon the Bishops' monitions in Ireland.—Conference with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject.—Approves the conciliatory measures favoured by Lord Rochester.—The King hourly expected.—Lord Manchester still detained at Calais.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Oct. 11, 1701.

Your Excellency's letter of the 4th arrived yesterday, and this morning I received your letter of the 7th. I immediately sent the enclosed to the Admiralty, who have since given to Mr. Yard copies of Brigadier Sellwyn's and Captain Whetstone's letters, desiring they may be laid before the Lords Justices, which there will not be an opportunity for till Tuesday next. The letter for my Lord Godolphin shall be sent to him to-night at Newmarket.

I suppose the Admiralty will send no directions to Captain Whetstone, till they hear from the Lords Justices; but if he can refit his ships within the time he mentions, I hope he will stay for no orders, but follow your Excellency's advice in sailing as soon as he is ready. It is a very seasonable kindness you have done them, in furnishing them a vessel which will make all the others proceed with greater ease and safety, as you will see by the copy of the Captain's letter, which I think myself obliged to send to your Excellency, since he omitted writing to you himself. I will take the best care I can that the commander of the ships, next designed for the West Indies, go out better instructed in this particular, and then I hope there will not be the same failure. I hear those ships are not likely to be ready till towards the end of this month.

I shall give your Excellency the best information I can in what relates to mourning, as soon as his Majesty arrives.

I am very glad your Excellency has taken that method for bringing the soldiers back into the service: where offenders are numerous, and perhaps many of them gone astray by surprise, mercy and indulgence may have a better effect than severity.

I wish I could make any satisfactory answer to the other part of your letter concerning the bishops' monitions. I have endeavoured to know the thoughts of others, who understand these matters much better than I do, and

therefore, I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury this morning, and desired the Bishop of Clogher to go with me; who being acquainted with the steps that have been made in this matter from the beginning, and knowing the persons whom it might chiefly concern, could give the most exact account of it. His Grace thinks it a matter of weight that may have great consequences either way; and therefore he chose to suspend giving any opinion in it till he could more maturely consider it; and he intended to speak with the Bishop of Ely about it, who has a good knowledge of that kingdom, as having many friends and relations there. I observed one thing the Bishop of Clogher said, which I wish there may be a further confirmation of:—Some of the Lord Primate's family, I think he said his secretary, had written to him that they had this good effect already of their monitions, that some of the Presbyterian ministers had appeared and submitted themselves to the jurisdictions of their courts, and having promised they would forbear for the future this practice of marrying, they were discharged. Since there is so good an example set, I hope it will be followed; and that no persuasions or soft management may be omitted, that will induce them to it. I cannot but think it very unfortunate, if in our present circumstances, people of any profession should come to extremities one with another. I am very confident his Majesty will highly approve of your Excellency's resolution to proceed in this matter with great caution, which I gave him an account of by last night's post. When he comes to England, I shall desire to know his pleasure as to what he would have signified to your Excellency about it.

We should begin now to expect his Majesty if the wind were changed, but as it is we cannot get letters either from Holland or France, and we suppose my Lord Manchester is still detained at Calais.

Your Excellency being pleased to take notice that you had not written for a post or two for want of business, I hope you will always use that liberty, and never think of giving yourself an unnecessary trouble. Our situation here furnishes us with more matter for correspondence, and therefore we only must be inexcusable if we omit it; but I hope I shall show upon all occasions with how great respect I am,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXCI.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The King will write to Lord Rochester about the vacant Bishopric of Raphoe.—His Majesty has been indisposed with a cold, but is getting better.—Regulations for the Court going into Mourning for King James.—Arrival of Lord Manchester.—Conduct of Monsieur de Torcy to him on his departure.—The French Ministry disavow any participation in the late declaration in favour of the Prince of Wales.

MY LORD, Whitehall, 14th October, 1701.

The four Dutch mails that were due are arrived: the copies of Mr. Blathwait's newspapers are inclosed, with one from the English Consul at Naples, that gives the best account of the insurrection there.

Mr. Blathwait mentions his receipt of the letters of the 3rd from hence, and thereupon had moved the King about the supplying the vacant bishopric of Raphoe. He says his Majesty intends to write next post to your Excellency concerning it, and he did not doubt but it would be to your satisfaction. He adds a very disagreeable piece of news, that his Majesty had been indisposed for three or four days with a cold, which had occasioned his having very little stomach, but he hoped the worst was over, and that his Majesty was on the mending hand.

Mr. Blathwait has written by the King's orders to all the Foreign Ministers in his Majesty's service, that they should mourn in their person and liveries for King James, as his Majesty's near relation.

My Lord Chamberlain has given notice this morning, that the Court is ordered to go into mourning the first Sunday after the King's arrival in England. I have spoken with my Lord since, who says that persons of quality are not to put their liveries in mourning.

We had a French post on Sunday: the news it brings is in the Gazette. There is a report that Chateau Renaud's squadron is ordered to follow Benbow to the West Indies.

My Lord Manchester arrived in the Downs last Saturday morning, and came to town last night. He was with the Lords Justices this morning, to make his compliment to them upon his return. I had some discourse with him. The reason he gives for staying so long at Paris after he had received his orders, is that he had several debts to discharge, and there-

fore could not in honour or safety come away till he had taken up money to pay them. He had provided for his coming away immediately, in case it had been intended to put any affront upon him, but he being well informed there was no danger of it, thought there was no occasion for haste.

Monsieur de Torcy coming to Paris on Friday, two or three days before my Lord left it, and sending him a compliment that he had a desire to embrace him before he went, his Lordship made Monsieur de Torcy a visit at his own house, having been there a day or two before to take his leave of Monsieur de Torcy's mother and his Lady, which they returned at my Lord's house.

My Lord says it was generally expected in France, that his Majesty should show the resentment he has done, and that all the ministers disown having had any thing to do in acknowledging the Prince of Wales, though it be unusual in that Court to clear themselves of any thing that is done there. They write that 10,000 Danes are actually marching into Holland.

I saw the Archbishop to-day at the Cockpit: he tells me he could not yet meet with the Bishop of Ely, he being gone into Hertfordshire.

As the wind is now changing to the east, I suppose his Majesty may embark to-morrow. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXCII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Naval provisions and stores at Kinsale.—Particulars relating to the expedition of the five ships, intended for the West Indies with Troops.—Redmond Joy and his informations.—Intelligence furnished by Colonel Maurice Hussey.—Colonel Brudenell's regiment will be at Liverpool ready for embarkation on the 23d.—Lord Manchester's Secretary ordered to quit Paris.—Intelligence from Spain and Portugal.—Solicits leave for Mr. Harrison, his son-in-law, to come to England for his health.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 16, 1701.

I received yesterday your Excellency's letters of the 8th and 9th instant, and this day the Lords Justices were acquainted with the substance of them. As to what relates to the having naval provisions in store at Kin-

sale, it is ordered that the Admiralty be acquainted with it, that care may be taken therein in the proper time; my Lord President thinking it fittest to be done when we are nearer to a rupture. The account of the fortifications is to be laid before his Majesty at his return, and the list of the absent officers is to be put into Mr. Clark's hands, that he may inform their Excellencies where they are, and what their pretences are for being here, which is in order to further directions for the sending them away.

Their Excellencies have signified to the Admiralty, that the five ships designed for the West Indies should call at Cork, and that the Commander should give your Excellency notice of his arrival, and take such on board as you shall order him; but it being necessary that these ships should go to the West Indies with all the diligence they can make, the Lords Justices hope you will despatch away the officers to Cork, that they give the least hindrance that is possible to the ships prosecuting their voyage.

I had a letter by this mail from Brigadier Sellwyn of the 7th. He finds his store ship, the Benjamin, out of order, and proposes that a small merchant ship lying there may be hired to supply her place, and then he would be gone with Brewer's regiment, and leave Tiffin's behind, to come after as they should find conveniency; but their Excellencies are neither for dividing the five ships nor the two regiments, that all may go together if it be possible: they have sent directions to the Admiralty that they should authorise Captain Whetsone to hire such vessels as he should find necessary for the despatch of that service. I was in hopes they would have sailed before any answer could come to them from hence, but the Brigadier writes they had fourteen days' work to do if the weather were never so good, but they having such rains as kept the carpenters from working, he could not see when they would have done.

I have heard pretty much of Redmond Joy, but he is not of a character that one can take all he says upon trust: he is one of those that would have a pension for hearsays, and not be obliged to make any thing out. Perhaps the enclosed information may put you into a nearer way of coming at the truth of these intelligences. I have it from Colonel Maurice Hussey, who was in France with my Lord Portland, and ever since he has had an allowance from me. He is a Kerryman, and I believe is now in that county, and I do not doubt but he knows some Roman Catholics he would recommend for this business. He talks of being in England about the beginning of November, and I suppose will take Dublin in his way. If your Excellency

think fit to try what can be done this way, you will please either to send for him while he is at Dublin, or employ one to speak to him. Captain Waller, who is Deputy-governor of Kinsale, is very well acquainted with him; and if Hussey be still in Kerry he is a very proper man to transact any thing with him that your Excellency shall direct; and if it be necessary will give him notice to wait on you when he comes to Dublin. I hope the colonel is sincere in his proposal. I do not know any body that can judge better of it than Mr. Waller; and where despatch and secrecy is required, he is at hand to receive the advices and transmit them to your Excellency.

Colonel Brudenell is newly come to town, and was at the office this morning. He says he will have the honour of writing to you by this post to satisfy you that his regiment will be at or near Liverpool, by the 23d of this month, waiting for their embarkation, as your Excellency should direct.

The colonel does not talk of going over with them, but leaves that to the major, his lieutenant-colonel being laid up with the gout.. He thinks it is best for him to watch all incidents that may happen relating to them, and when they are shipped off to follow them soon after.

We had a French post yesterday. The advices that came by it are enclosed. There are some particulars in it that do not look so favourably towards the Imperialists as what we have been used to. Mention is made of my Lord Manchester's secretary being ordered away. He gives an account of it himself, that Monsieur Torcy told him on Wednesday se'nnight, when he was soliciting a passport for my Lord Manchester's goods, that the King ordered him to be gone by Sunday; and when he represented he could not get ready so soon, he said he must not then stay beyond Tuesday. I do not doubt but he has complied with the order. Poussin took an occasion to talk haughtily to him, telling him if his clerk had not been released in England he should have been sent to the Bastile.

We had letters yesterday from Madrid and Lisbon, of the 4th inst. N. S.: there is nothing very remarkable in either. At Malaga the governor was putting vexations upon the English and Dutch merchants, but the court had ordered an officer of justice from Grenada to inquire into it, and put a stop to their violent proceedings. Mr. Methuen writes that the French squadron was still at Lisbon, and they were very busy in fortifying their river. He had heard an express was come to Monsieur Chateau Renaud, but did not know what it contained. The consul at the Groyn writes in his letter of the 8th, that it was reported there Monsieur Chateau Renaud was ordered to follow

Benbow to the West Indies. There being reason to apprehend it, the despatch of the five ships from Kinsale, as also of those that are to go from hence, is thought so much the more necessary.

After so tedious a letter, your Excellency will please to bear with me, if I solicit you in a family concern of my own. My son-in-law, Mr. Harrison, being extremely afflicted with the colick, which he has always found the worst effects of in Ireland, I understand it will be necessary for his recovery that he come into England. If he can get strength enough to undergo the journey, I should not move your Excellency for absence from his duty upon a less pressing occasion; but if that will plead for him, I have further to beg your Excellency that you will allow his brother, Mr. Francis Harrison, to officiate for him, till he is able to do it himself. I am told he is a young man that has been employed in other matters of trust, and that he has acquitted himself with diligence and integrity. If your Excellency be inclined to grant it, it will give a great comfort to an afflicted family, which I cannot but have a tender concern for, and will not disown but I may be further importunate with your Excellency in their behalfs; if they are qualified for your favour, and I may presume upon it, who am, with a particular respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

Mr. Yard having just now shown me the letter he is sending to the Admiralty relating to some particulars above mentioned, I send your Excellency a copy thereof that you may be more precisely informed of what has been ordered.

He tells me the Lords Justices have given the list of the absent officers to Mr. Clark, with directions that he should let the colonels know the notice that is taken of it.

CXCIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Measures taken for the despatch of the vessels for the West Indies.—King William's embarkation for England prevented by indisposition.—Sir George Rooke thinks of proceeding to Holland.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Oct. 21, 1701.

The Lords Justices command me to acquaint your Excellency that they will despatch the orders on Thursday next for the immediate sailing of the

five ships designed for the West Indies. The commander of them will be directed to call at Cork, and as soon as he arrives there to give your Excellency notice of it by express. The Lords Justices think it of such consequence that these ships sail with all diligence to the West Indies, that they do not think fit to allow them to stay at Cork above eight days, and they should be glad if they could be despatched in a shorter time. They hope, therefore, your Excellency will give orders that whatever is to go from thence in these ships may be in readiness at Cork.

We had a Dutch post on Sunday last with the letters of this day se'nnight; all that Mr. Blathwait writes is, that his Majesty's cold is much abated, and as soon as the wind should come fair, they were to embark for England. Other letters mention, that his Majesty had not given audience to any of the foreign ministers since his coming to the Hague, nor had he been in the Assembly of the States, so that there was no expectation of his embarking that week, and his indisposition had so weakened him, that his going to sea was not thought advisable till he had recovered a little more strength, which increased by his coming abroad again into the air. I do not know whether he may not have received some prejudice by the swathing of his legs, which he might not be so sensible of, while by great exercise he had a freer perspiration. We have not the Friday letters yet, from whence we conclude the wind has not been so fair on that side as we imagined.

I find Sir George Rooke has thoughts of going for Holland; he has desired a yacht or a small frigate to carry him over, and that it may be in the Downs by Thursday next. We want the French mail of Saturday. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXCIV.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The Lords Justices approve of arms being furnished to Ireland from the Tower, upon condition of being paid for.—Further particulars relating to the transport of Brudenell's regiment.—Redmond Joy.—Colonel Gore's case.—Captain Whetstone and the ships destined for the West Indies.—Convalescence of King William, who is waiting for a fair wind to embark for England.—Lord Marlborough is making a new Treaty between England and the States.—Manifesto of the French in answer to the Emperor.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 23, 1701.

I received yesterday your Excellency's letter of the 14th, and shall send the enclosed to Altrop this evening.

The Lords Justices meeting this morning, I acquainted them with what your Excellency mentions of the want of serviceable arms in Ireland, which they think it very fit you should be furnished with out of the Tower, upon condition that they be paid for from Ireland. It would have been ordered in Council to-day if they had met, but the King has been so long expected, that we have not had a Council of late, but this will not be forgot the first time they meet. In the mean time, the Lords Justices directed me to know of your Excellency what sort of arms you would have sent thither and what quantity of each sort.

Your Excellency has been very exact in ordering shipping for the transport of Brudenell's regiment, and in providing for their subsistence till they can embark. Mr. Clark has been with the Lords Justices this morning, and got an order signed for that regiment's making their rendezvous about Chester, and that they should embark according to your Excellency's directions.

Colonel Brudenell was with me to-day, and tells me he thinks the companies are all within a day's march of Chester. He hopes they are complete, but that will be best seen at their embarkation.

If Redmond Joy perform his undertaking, I shall be glad to alter my opinion of him; but I rather expect he will give you a taste what a plague there is in the amusements of some informers.

I shall lay Colonel Gore's case before his Majesty at his arrival; but I do not understand whether his memorial is only to excuse his not going to the West Indies, or that it is intended to recommend him to the same post in some other regiment.

If the officers who deserted the service come over hither with complaints, your Excellency shall have an account of them: I do not think they will find it worth while.

It is a misfortune that Captain Whetstone meets with new stops, but he and the brigadier must be the more sensible that your Excellency has done all that was possible for his being despatched. I wish the other five ships do not find him in Ireland; I suppose their orders for sailing are sent to them this night.

We had a Dutch mail this evening with the letters of Friday last. Mr. Blathwait writes, that the King, growing every day better of his cold, they were expecting with impatience a fair wind for their return to England; but I do not find that the King has been yet with the States, or seen much company: the Venetian ambassador has been earnest for an audience, but was not

yet gratified in it; however, the King goes abroad and eats with a seeming good appetite. The enclosed letters will give an account how affairs stand in Poland and nearer home.

I hear my Lord Marlborough is making a new treaty between England and the States, which will be more suited to the present posture of affairs than that of 1677.

A French mail arrived yesterday, but it has brought no advices for this office. I hear a report that the French have put out a manifesto in answer to the Emperor's, which has some touches upon the English. I am, with great respect, My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXCV.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

King William's departure from Holland delayed by contrary winds.—Prorogation of Parliament.—Will move the Council about sending arms into Ireland.—Lord Galway arrived in London.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 25, 1701.

We had a Dutch mail this morning, which brought the letters of Tuesday last. Mr. Blathwait writes, that the King being much better in his health, stayed only for a fair wind, which has been pretty constantly west on that side, and now it is turned here to that corner, so that we cannot expect his Majesty for some days at least.

The enclosed papers contain the advices from the Hague and from Venice.

There are no directions yet come over about proroguing the Parliament, and if this wind lasts, I do not think we can have them by Tuesday next, when the Council is to meet for that purpose. If it be left in this manner, I suppose the Lords Justices will appoint a short day for the next prorogation.

I shall move their Excellencies at this Council about sending arms into Ireland; and therefore, Sir Harry Goodrick will have a particular notice of it that he may attend.

My Lord Galway came to London last night.

I hear a French post is arrived this afternoon, but our correspondents being withdrawn, I know not what news it brings. I am, with great respect, My Lord, &c.

J. VERNON.

CXCVI.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The Earl of Portland arrived; the King hourly expected.—State of his health.—Movements of the French Fleet under D'Estrées, off Spain.—Proceedings in Council upon a motion for the supply of Arms to Ireland.—Prorogation of Parliament, &c.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 28, 1701.

The Earl of Portland arrived here last night: he sailed from the Maes on Friday, in the afternoon. The next morning, early, he was within seven miles from Margate, but the wind was so strong at west that it carried him to Alborough before he could land. He says, the King was fully resolved to come away on Saturday, and had sent his servants and things on board; but my Lord believes the wind has prevented it. We have had the wind easterly since yesterday morning, so that we do not doubt but his Majesty is sailed from Holland.

My Lord Portland says, the King had got rid of his cold. It was occasioned by being long in the wet at a review, and he could not be persuaded to change his clothes, nor would he mind prescriptions as to his diet, which kept his stomach longer out of order than it would have been otherwise. He says, he has had a wonderful benefit by the methods that have been used to bring down the swelling in his legs. All the secret of it is, that his legs were wrapt in flannel very well heated, and rubbed down with other flannels that were hot, which raised a gentle sweat in those parts, and by degrees dispersed the humour that was settled there, and the spring of it was in a great measure stopped by the King's continuing to take some pills which the physicians here had prescribed, that provoked very much to urine.

I had a letter yesterday from Monsieur Schonenberg, of the 20th instant, N.S.: he writes that he had advice from Cadiz that six ships were come thither from Toulon, with provisions for Comte d'Estrées' squadron; Comte d'Estrées was to return to Toulon with six of the men of war, that would require repairs against next spring; that the rest of his squadron was left under the command of the Marquis de Nesmond, and they were taking in victuals for a long voyage. It was not doubted but they were to go meet the Galeons, which are supposed to have sailed from Vera Cruz some time in September, and it was thought these ships might join with Chateau Renaud's squadron.

The council met this morning, when I put the Lords Justices in mind of what your Excellency had represented concerning the want of arms in Ireland. Sir Harry Goodrick said, they should make no difficulty in furnishing them, provided care was taken in Ireland to pay for them; but he wished that the arms, lately sent to Ireland for the four new regiments, might be paid for, before any more was ordered thither. However, the Lords Justices were pleased to direct, that two thousand muskets should be sent forthwith to Ireland, with a condition expressed in the order, that the same are to be duly paid for out of the revenue of Ireland. This is ordered as a present supply, and I think your Excellency may depend upon having more, under the same condition of paying for them, when you shall please to signify what sorts and what quantity you desire. Mention was made at the council, that there were a great number of arms in the stores in Ireland, many of which might be made serviceable, perhaps, with no great expense, which was confirmed by the Earl of Berkeley, who was present; and I took it to be the sense of the Lords Justices and the council, that those stores should be looked into, and that it would be good husbandry to put them into the best order they were capable of, upon mentioning that many of the arms that were in the soldiers' hands were defective and useless. Sir Harry Goodrick observed, that his Majesty made it as a rule that the regiments should be but once supplied with arms out of the public stores, and they were afterwards to be kept up at the charge of the regiments. He insisted very much that it might not be put upon the Office of Ordnance to furnish such parcels of arms as any regiment might want, and to expect their payment by deductions from the regiments which he said would be too tedious a payment, and too intricate an account for them to meddle with: that it was their duty to see the King's stores replenished as soon as might be, and that was not to be done but by prompt and punctual payments. It was understood by the Board, that your Excellency would take care that the Office of Ordnance should be reimbursed, and it would not concern them how you disposed of the arms afterwards, which it was not to be doubted but you would manage in the most frugal manner that could be consistent with the public service.

Your Excellency will not think it tedious that I am so particular in commenting upon the order of council that was made, a copy whereof is here enclosed. The original I suppose is sent by this time to the Ordnance.

Another thing despatched at council was, the proroguing of the Parliament, which is ordered for a week only, viz. to the 6th of November; and

that there may be no dispute about the validity of this Act, in case his Majesty should land between this and Thursday, a messenger will be despatched this night to Margate, with an instrument prepared for his Majesty's signature, to the same effect as what the Lords Justices have signed. We have not the Dutch mail yet of Friday last; the Captain of the yacht who brought over my Lord Portland, thinks the King will hardly embark till to-morrow, and then he must come away by nine in the morning, to take the opportunity of the tide for coming out of the Maes. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXCVII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The King's embarkation still delayed by contrary winds.—Parliament prorogued for a week.—Lord Marlborough will come immediately after the King.—Directions given for informing the European States of the late Treaty with the Emperor.—King of Poland offers eight thousand troops to the Confederacy.—The Council of Trade wish Lord Cornbury to proceed to his Government.—News from Spain, and from Mr. Methuen at Lisbon.—The French fleet has orders to sail to join the Cadiz squadron; and proceed to convoy the galeons.—Order in Council for arms for Ireland.—Patent for Lord Abercorn's creation as Viscount Strabane and Privy Councillor.—Propriety of Major-general Earle's coming over to sit in Parliament.—Sailing of Captain Whetstone and the Ships for the West Indies.—Intentions of the half-pay Officers, &c.

MY LORD, Whitehall, October 30, 1701.

We believed his Majesty might have embarked on Tuesday last, and accordingly have been expecting all this day to hear of his landing. If he missed that opportunity, we do not think he could get out of the Maes either yesterday or to-day, the wind being here westerly; and some say it is not like to change till the full-moon.

A messenger arrived here yesterday, who came from the Hague on Saturday last. By the letters he brought, we understand that the King had every thing in a readiness for his coming from the Hague that morning, but the wind continuing contrary, the coaches and carriages were sent away again. By this express, his Majesty's pleasure was signified for proroguing the Parliament for one week, with directions for the like short prorogations till his Majesty's arrival.

We had a Dutch mail the same day; the news it brings is in the Gazette; they tell us, that the military state for the next year amounts to 134,000 men.

I hear my Lord Marlborough will come over very soon after the King, and to that end one of the yachts will be immediately sent back for him.

Directions are already given to acquaint several princes with the late Treaty with the Emperor, and to invite them into it, particularly the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, the Republic of Venice, as also to make it known at the Diet at Ratisbon.

They say the King of Poland has offered 4000 foot, and 4000 horse, to the Confederacy, provided they will pay them.

The Council of Trade have represented this day to the Lords Justices that in case my Lord Cornbury makes any longer stay here, they apprehend he will not be able to get to New York this winter: I have given him notice of it by their Excellencies' directions.

We had a mail from the Corunna yesterday; the letters from Madrid are of the 19th. I have already mentioned, that we had letters from thence of the 20th, by the way of France.

Mr. Methuen writes from Lisbon of the 18th, that Mousieur Chateau Renaud had just received orders to put to sea. In pursuance thereof, he was taking in his provisions again which had been landed, and he would sail in two or three days. It was not said whither he was to go; but they supposed he was to join the Cadiz ships off Cape St. Vincent, and that they were to sail together to meet the Galeons: they reckoned that these two squadrons, joined with Monsieur Coetlogon's ships, would make up about fifty sail.

I believe Sir George Rooke sailed for Holland yesterday se'nnight: I have not heard from him, since he wrote for a vessel to carry him over.

The order of Council for the 2000 arms, was sent to the office of Ordnance on Tuesday last. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

It is now nine at night when the Irish mail arrives, and brings me your Excellency's letters of the 23d, 24th, and 25th instant. I am very sorry your Excellency does not find that air agree with you. I hope it is no more than may be expected upon first removes from what one has been used to.

I can never enough acknowledge your Excellency's generosity, in the manner you have granted my request in behalf of my son Harrison, and the message you were pleased to send him by Mr. Gwyn. The addresses of the

City of Dublin shall be presented to his Majesty as soon as he arrives; and they will find it printed in the Gazette after.

I will have a letter ready prepared for my Lord Abercorn's title to the Viscountcy of Strabane, and another for his being Privy Counsellor in Ireland, presuming his Majesty will make no difficulty in it, since it is so recommended by your Excellency. By what you mention of Major-general Erle, I understand that you think it fit I should move his Majesty about his having leave to come over this winter, and I shall do it accordingly: besides the business a man of an estate may have here, I should be glad to see one of his credit in Parliament, where it is probable a good deal will be said of matters relating to his profession; since he is so necessary in both kingdoms, they ought to have him in their turns.

I am very glad Captain Whetstone was like to get away so soon, since the Benjamin could be made serviceable again. I hope it is for the best that they are all gone together.

Your Excellency has taken an expeditious and effectual way to be satisfied of the intentions of the half-pay officers: I think I ought to mention upon this occasion, that I have heard it said, that some of them expected this West India service would be made use of to reduce the charge of the establishment. I do not mention it to do any of them a prejudice; but your Excellency will best judge what is to be done when you have every thing before you, and I am sure you will always act with justice and candour.

CXCVIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The King not yet arrived.—News of Admiral Benbow's fleet, which is gone for the West Indies in search of the Spanish flotilla.—Return of Sir George Rooke from a fruitless attempt to reach Holland.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 1, 1701.

We have had the wind westerly these four days, therefore we can have no expectation of the King's arrival while it lasts so, and the Dutch mail of Tuesday is not yet come in: but we have an account of Sir John Munden's return with the ships that accompanied Vice-Admiral Benbow as far as the Western Islands, where they cruized till the 10th of October, and then they separated, their provision of beer being grown short.

Benbow is gone on to the West Indies with ten ships. While they were in their cruize they sent to the island of St. Mary's for intelligence, where they heard that a bark belonging to that island had seen the Spanish flotilla, passing by on the 28th of August last; they report that a French Rear-Admiral was with them, and that they were thirty-two sail in all. They did not give much credit to the report, and it seems less probable to us, since we have no account of their arrival in all this time; and it cannot agree with the advices we had of their being seen about the Havannah, towards the middle of August: but as the sea is now clear for them, whenever they come back in safety, we must expect to hear great exceptions taken at it.

I had a letter yesterday from Sir George Rooke, who is newly returned from making a fruitless attempt of going into Holland. He was got within sight of Zealand, when a strong North-east wind took them, which they struggled with for twenty-four hours, and were obliged at last to give way. He does not name the time when he was on that coast; but I suppose it was on Monday. I wish his Majesty had been ready to have made use of that wind. Poor Sir George is come back a cripple, having the gout in both his knees. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CXCIX.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

King William landed at Margate, will lie at Sittingbourn, and dine at Northfleet on the morrow.—Lord Marlborough will be in England in a week.—Parliament prorogued for another week.—Declaration for 20,000 men to re-man the navy.—Sir John Munden's squadron to be refitted.—Lord Macclesfield like to die of a fever.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 4, 1701.

I have received this day your Excellency's letter of the 29th of October, and hope very soon to have an opportunity of laying the Earl of Meath's desires before his Majesty; for a messenger is just now come hither with an account of his Majesty's safe arrival at Margate. The King embarked yesterday noon in the Maes with a very fair wind, and he landed this morning between eight and nine. He comes as far as Sittingbourn to-night; to-morrow he dines at Northfleet, and will lie at Hampton Court. The messenger who brings this account tells me he saw his Majesty land, and that he seemed to be very well after his voyage. The letters that came in to-day from Holland, and were

written on Saturday last, say that the King is so well recovered that he has not looked better for many years than he does now.

My Lord Marlborough tells me by the same post that he shall be in England within a week after the King.

The Lords Justices were at the council to-day, where another week's prorogation was resolved on. The instrument thereof is sent to his Majesty for his confirmation.

Upon a memorial from the Lords of the Admiralty, according to custom, about victualling the navy, it was ordered that the declaration should be for twenty thousand men. It is supposed more will be wanting, but this is a fair beginning, and his Majesty will add to it as he thinks fit.

The Lords Justices have sent directions to the Admiralty, that the squadron returned with Sir John Munden should be refitted, to be in readiness for any service his Majesty may think necessary.

I hear my Lord Macclesfield is like to die of a fever which seized him on Thursday last.

I have not seen any foreign letters that contained any thing worth taking notice of. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CC.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Arrival of King William at Hampton Court, much fatigued with his journey, and looking pale.—Presentation of numerous addresses.—Parliament prorogued to the 13th.—Death of Lord Macclesfield, his will, &c.—Court goes into mourning on Sunday.

MY LORD, Hampton Court, Nov. 6, 1701.

I came hither last night to wait for his Majesty, who arrived between eight and nine, being much tired with his journey, so that he went immediately to bed. He was pretty well recovered this morning, and I hope will do so every day more and more. The Lords Justices waited on the King at noon, but he has deferred receiving an account of business from them till he is a little more composed, so that this day has been spent in the ceremony of kissing his hand and presenting addresses, which have been very numerous. I have presented to his Majesty the addresses transmitted by your Excellency, which will be printed in the next Gazette.

I have not yet had an opportunity to lay before his Majesty what I have in commands from your Excellency, but I hope to give you some account of them by next post. In the mean time, I shall only mention that the King looks a little pale, but he eat to-day in public, and with a pretty good appetite.

The Parliament was prorogued to-day to the 13th, the King having signed the instrument for the commission since he came to Hampton Court.

I think I need not mention again that the court goes into mourning on Sunday next.

I heard before I came out of town of my Lord Macclesfield's death, and this day they talk of a will he has made at his going out of England, by which he has left his personal estate to my Lord Mohun, that is valued at above forty thousand pounds, only he has given a jewel worth two thousand five hundred pounds to the young lady he courted. I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CCI.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Dissolution of Parliament; the new one to meet on the 30th of December.—Order in Council for the test of the Writs—Bishoprick of Raphoe.—Lord Meath's offer to raise a regiment.—Bishops' monitions in Ireland.—Conciliatory and tolerant disposition of King William.—Major-general Earle, the King thinks his presence necessary in Ireland.—Creation of Lord Abercorn Viscount Strabane and Baron Montcashel.—Retardation of the West India squadron by stress of weather.

MY LORD, Hampton Court, Nov. 11, 1701.

A Council was held here this morning, at which his Majesty was pleased to declare, that he thought it necessary in this conjuncture to dissolve the present Parliament and call a new one. Then the draught of the proclamation was read, which Mr. Attorney was ordered to prepare, and the time for the new Parliament's meeting was filled up with the 30th of December next. I suppose the proclamation will come out in print, so as to be sent away by this post. There was besides an order of Council made for the test of the writs to bear date on Thursday next.

I put his Majesty in mind this morning of the Bishoprick of Raphoe, which he has not yet given any directions in, but said he would consider it.

I acquainted him with my Lord of Meath's offer to raise a regiment when there should be occasion.

I told him your Excellency expected some directions in relation to the monitions that had been issued by the Bishops against some of the Presbyterian clergy, for meddling in marriages. His Majesty commanded me to acquaint your Excellency that he should be glad if some expedient could be found out for quieting those prosecutions, without prejudicing the rights of the church.

As to Major-general Erle, his Majesty thinks it necessary that he should stay some time longer in Ireland to take care of the troops. His Majesty does not doubt but he will be chosen into Parliament notwithstanding his absence.

I laid Lieutenant-colonel Gore's memorial, with your Excellency's recommendation of his case, before his Majesty, who is pleased to remember that he has served very well.

His Majesty has signed the letter for my Lord Abercorn's being Viscount Strabane, as also for his being Baron of Montcashel, which I suppose he acquainted your Excellency with, that without the latter title he could not sit in Parliament. His Majesty has likewise signed another letter for being of the Privy Council there, as your Excellency had proposed.

His Majesty has not yet determined any thing about the wardenship of the Stannaries. I hear Colonel Grenville was here last week, and kissed his hand.

I think these are all the particulars I had in command from your Excellency, though as yet I can send you but an imperfect account of some of them.

I send inclosed a paper of advices that came from France yesterday.

I am afraid the five ships that were last ordered for the West Indies are not very far advanced. I have a letter from Captain Greenhill, the commander, of the 8th instant; he says that by distress of weather, off Scilly, he had the misfortune to spring his main-mast, which obliged him to put into Plymouth to refit. He hoped to get another fitted in a few days, and to be ready to proceed on his voyage.

I am, with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CCII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further accident to the ships destined for the West Indies.—The King pleased at the diligence with which the four regiments have been raised.—Earl of Radnor made Lord Warden of the Stannaries.—Mr. Manwaring a Commissioner of Customs.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 18, 1701.

I received yesterday your Excellency's letter of the 12th. I have given your Excellency an account that Captain Greenhill was driven back to Plymouth; and we now hear that Captain Whetstone is forced in thither, with some damage: the Admiralty have despatched orders to him that he and Greenhill should sail away together as soon as they are put into a condition for it. The other ships that came with Captain Whetstone from Kinsale, it is hoped are proceeded on their voyage to the West Indies.

I have laid your former letters before his Majesty, who is very well pleased with the diligence that has been used in raising the four regiments. His Majesty has commanded me to move at the Council on Thursday next, that seven hundred pikes may be forthwith sent into Ireland.

Colonel Brudenell was here this evening, and talks of beginning his journey for Ireland on Thursday.

When I waited on the King, he gave directions for a warrant for constituting the Earl of Radnor Lord Warden of the Stannaries.

The same day the Duke of Somerset brought Mr. Manwaring to kiss the King's hands, who, it is said, is to be one of the Commissioners of the Customs.

By the Dutch post, that arrived yesterday, we had the inclosed news.

I am, with great respect,
My Lord, your Excellency's
Most faithful and obedient servant,
JA. VERNON.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

CCIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Seven hundred pikes to be sent to Ireland.—A fast appointed for the Friday before Christmas.—Orders for the sailing of the ships to the West Indies.—Leave of absence for Lieutenant Chibbald.—The Spanish Ambassador at the French Court having acknowledged the Prince of Wales as King of England, King William will not answer the King of Spain's letter notifying his marriage.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 20, 1701.

His Majesty was pleased to direct this day in Council, that seven hundred pikes should be forthwith sent to Ireland. Sir Harry Goodrick hopes they may be sent by the ship which carries the muskets, which he says have been on board some time, but he believes the vessel is not yet sailed. I told my Lord Rumory and Sir Harry Goodrick that your Excellency would take care of their being reimbursed when they should send you the King's warrant, countersigned by the Treasury.

The Archbishop of Canterbury moved his Majesty in Council, that a fast day might be appointed to be observed all over England on Friday before Christmas-day; and Mr. Attorney is ordered to prepare a proclamation for that purpose. I think the reasons he moved it for, were to beg God's blessing on the consultations of the Parliament, and in the preservation of the Protestant religion.

My Lord President told me, that he had acquainted his Majesty that the orders sent to Captain Whetstone and Captain Greenhill, now at Plymouth, are, that they should sail as soon as they were ready to Cork; if they found the four men-of-war there, they should go all together to the West Indies, or if the four ships were gone, they should lose no time in following them. I asked him whether they had sent orders to the four ships to sail without expecting these two Commodores; I could not tell by his answer whether that were done or not, but seemed to say that one implied the other.

Sir Philip Boteler, a Member of Parliament for Kent, sent me a letter by one Lieutenant Chibbald, of Brigadier Langston's regiment, who he says has your Excellency's leave to stay from his command this term, and he desired I would move the King that he might have leave of absence for the next term likewise, when he should have a particular occasion to make use of his

evidence; the King has commanded me to acquaint your Excellency with it, and that he is willing Sir Philip should be gratified herein.

His Majesty likes very well that your Excellency is taking care that the arms remaining in Ireland should be repaired.

The inclosed is a paper of advices that came yesterday from France. The Spanish ambassador having in the name of his master owned the Prince of Wales as King of England, his Majesty will forbear answering the letter he lately received from the King of Spain notifying his marriage. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CCIV.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Wholly taken up with Election business.—The King has not named any one to Lord Macclesfield's regiment; Colonel Leigh is spoken of as a deserving officer.—The Lieutenant-Colonel busy with his Election in Buckinghamshire.—Lord Grey and his Government of Barbadoes.—Colonel Hussy and his pension.—Dr. Wake made Dean of Exeter.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 27, 1701.

I received yesterday your Excellency's letter of the 19th, and shall lay the matters contained in it before the King as soon as I have an opportunity for it, but at present my time is wholly taken up with attending a poll.* I hope it will not be so long as the last, but whenever it happens it brings trouble enough; and it is the greater by an unexpected competition, which I should gladly have avoided; this embarrass I hope will make my excuse for not writing to your Excellency these two lasts posts.

I have not yet heard the King mention whom he would have at the head of my Lord Macclesfield's regiment, but I suppose he will take one of the Colonels that have been reformed here. I have heard Colonel Leigh spoken of as an officer in good esteem; whomsoever the King resolves on I take it for granted he will leave it to your Excellency to give him the commission: till the Colonel's commission be disposed of, one cannot expect to know what the Lieutenant-Colonel will do, he is at present busy about his election in Buckinghamshire. As to the Government of Barbadoes, I have not heard what my Lord Grey's intentions are; I think there are no letters from him since

* Mr. Vernon was a candidate for the representation of the City of Westminster in Parliament; his opponent was Sir Henry Colt.

his brother's death. At the desire of his agent, his Majesty signed a letter of leave for my Lord's coming into England: if he makes use of it and returns, I suppose he will not go back to Barbadoes.

When I am a little more at leisure, I will speak to Mr. Clark about Colonel Hussey's being left out of the establishment. I understand there is an attested copy of his patent lying in the office, which gives him his pretensions to the 200*l.* per annum he had on the establishment. I make no scruple of delivering his paper to any one he will send for it. I hope your Excellency will find his behaviour to be such as may deserve your favour in the continuance of his pension.

If there be any news, I can have no time to enquire after it. I hear only that Dr. Wake* is to be Dean of Exeter. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CCV.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The King gives Lord Rochester leave to come to England.—Mr. Vernon will search for precedents as to the manner of signifying the King's permission, and will despatch it accordingly.—The Lord Chancellor of Ireland has permission also to come over.—Lord Marlborough is arrived in London.

MY LORD, Hampton Court, November 29, 1701.

Soon after I had despatched a messenger to London with my other letter of this date, the King sent for me, and when I had read to him your Excellency's letters of the 19th and 21st, he commanded me to acquaint you that he gave you leave to come to England. When I go to London, I will have search made in the Signet Office, whether leave in these cases has been usually signified under the King's hand; and if there be a precedent for it, it shall be followed, and a letter despatched in form accordingly.

Your Excellency has already power, by your commission, to appoint and constitute such as shall administer the government there during your absence.

My Lord Chancellor of Ireland being chosen a Member of Parliament, his Majesty intends he shall likewise come over, which will be signified to your Excellency more in form. As to the other particulars contained in

* Dr. Isaac Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the illustrious vindicator of the doctrines of the Church of England in times of the utmost peril, and now about to receive the reward due to his talents and exertions.

your Excellency's letter of the 19th, his Majesty said they might be considered at another time when the several occasions required it. I heard above stairs, that my Lord Marlborough came to London this noon. He is expected here to-morrow. I am with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

JA. VERNON.

CCVI.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Finds that the regular mode of giving him leave to come over is by letters under the King's Sign Manual; and as it is usual to name those who are to succeed to the Government, he has inserted the names of the Earl of Drogheda and of the Archbishop of Dublin, as Lords Justices.—Sends the Lord Chancellor the King's letter of leave for him to come over.—Lords Meath and Mountcashel to be Commissioners of the Great Seal in his absence.—The King cannot yet resolve to give Major-general Erle leave to come over, thinking his presence in Ireland still necessary.—Lord Marlborough was at a Cabinet Council at Hampton Court on Monday.—News of the Troops on their way to the West Indies.

MY LORD, Whitehall, December 2, 1701.

I sent your Excellency an account by the last post, that his Majesty had given you leave to come over into England. I have since searched the Signet books, and find that the form of doing it has been under the King's hand, and therefore I prepared a letter according to the precedent in the Earl of Essex's case, when he was sent for; and at the same time directed to pass letters patent, constituting the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, Lords Justices for administering the Government during his absence. Since I believed your Excellency expected a despatch of this matter, I thought it was no great venture to insert the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Drogheda, as the Justices to be appointed, those having been originally designed by your Excellency for that trust. What is done was purely intended for your service: if it be right, there is a good deal of time gained; if it be otherwise, your Excellency will direct how you would have it ordered, and I will receive the King's pleasure upon it.

I send to my Lord Chancellor his Majesty's letters about his coming over, which I thought would be most properly presented by himself to your

Excellency. I have followed the last precedent in the same case, and the Earl of Meath and Earl of Mount Alexander are named Commissioners for the Great Seal.

I did not forget to mention Major-general Erle to his Majesty upon this occasion, that he might likewise have leave to come to England; but his Majesty cannot yet resolve upon it, thinking his service very necessary there at present.

The Earl of Marlborough came to Hampton-Court on Sunday, and was at the Cabinet Council. He went from thence to Windsor, and is expected back to-night.

I am afraid Brigadier Sellwyn is likely to have a very unlucky passage. A gentleman who is newly arrived in a Dutch ship from Portugal, tells me, that on the 12th of November he met Captain Paul in the Experiment, about forty leagues off Cape Finisterre. The Captain acquainted them that he came from Kinsale three weeks before; that they had nothing but contrary winds, which had dispersed them. The next day they saw two other ships, which they supposed were of the same company, but they were too far off to speak with them. As well as they could observe the winds, he believes those ships have made no great way since.

Your Excellency's letter of the 26th past arrives just now. I shall lay it before the King when I next attend him, and let you know his pleasure upon the several particulars: this is the first time your Excellency has mentioned Mr. Deringe.

By the account above, your Excellency may well expect to receive the King's letters by this post. I sent them last night to Hampton-Court for the King's hand, and the messenger is not yet returned with them. If they should be brought so late, they cannot be despatched this evening, since they must be stamped and entered at the Signet Office, before they are sent away. I am with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

JA. VERNON.

" To the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

CCVII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Cause of the delay in forwarding his letter of licence to come to England.—Colonel Hussey's pension.—Pensions to French Protestants in Ireland.—Doubt whether so many ships are necessary in the West Indies, as are destined to be sent there.

MY LORD, Whitehall, 4th December, 1701.

I gave your Excellency an account by the last post, that I had sent your letter of leave to Hampton-Court to be signed, and not being returned, I went thither this morning. His Majesty had some business with Sir George Rook, and after that took coach to come to Kensington. He only directed me to wait on him again next Saturday in the evening. I hope I may then be able to explain the reason of this delay, and have an opportunity to lay your letter of the 26th past before his Majesty.

Mr. Clark having been for some time out of town, I desired Mr. Cardonnell to enquire why Colonel Hussey's pension, in the name of Mr. Waller, was left out of the Irish establishment. He has sent me word that Mr. Waller is placed upon an additional establishment. If that be so, I suppose Mr. Hussey will be well satisfied.

I laid before his Majesty, on Sunday last, the enclosed petition of three French Protestants that are on the list of pensions in Ireland, which his Majesty commanded me to transmit to your Excellency. If their case be truly stated, his Majesty thinks their circumstances ought to be considered, and their not being able to undertake a long journey, should not deprive them of the relief intended them.

I asked Sir George Rook to-day about the bomb-ship that is driven into Milford-haven. He said, they had an account of her, and a fire-ship that came in with her; that they were taken care of, and had directions not to sail till further orders, and the like were sent to the ships at Plymouth. The reason of it, as I understand it, is that the Lords of the Admiralty intend to apply to the King, to know whether he thinks so many ships necessary in the West Indies as have been ordered thither: since they conceive that Chateau Renaud, if he goes to the West Indies, is designed only to bring away the Flota, and that Coetlogon will come back with him. This representation is not yet made, therefore I know not what will be his Majesty's resolution upon it. I am, with great respect, My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CCVIII.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Knows not why the signing of his letter of licence is delayed.—Half-pay officers in Ireland.—Brigadier Tiffin; his disability to perform the duties of his station.—Mr. Dering to be of the Privy Council in Ireland.—Regulation of the Ships intended for the West Indies.—The King makes no answer to Lord Limerick's offer of serving in the Plantations.—The letter of licence signed by the King.

MY LORD, Whitehall, December 9, 1701.

I went to Hampton-court on Saturday last; but not seeing the King that evening, I could have nothing to write to your Excellency about. When I waited on his Majesty the next day, he told me he would sign the letter that lay before him, for your coming over, and that it should be sent after me to London. I have waited for it ever since; but instead of receiving it, I am told the King is gone this noon to Windsor, and will stay there three or four days, which makes me fear I shall neither have the letter for this post nor the next. I can only tell your Excellency how it stands in fact, but why the signing of the letter is delayed I do not know.

I read to his Majesty your letter of the 26th of November. As to the half-pay officers, his Majesty will defer signifying his pleasure till he receives the list, which you mention would be sent by the following post.

The King is sorry that Brigadier Tiffin is growing into a disability of discharging the duties of his post; and his Majesty will take a few days to consider how it shall be supplied.

Your Excellency having recommended Mr. Dering to be of the Privy Council there, as some of his predecessors have been, his Majesty has directed that a letter be prepared for that purpose, which I shall carry with me the next time I go to Hampton-court.

I mentioned in my last, of the 4th instant, a representation I heard would be made to the King for keeping some few of those ships at home that had been ordered for the West Indies: this was done on Sunday last at the Cabinet Council, when it was proposed by the Admiralty, that Captain Whetstone only should be sent at present with the York, and another fourth-rate, and the Ordnance store-ship, as also the fire-ship and bomb-vessel (put back by bad weather), if they can be got ready; which, they say, will be suffi-

cient to carry the officers from Ireland. This his Majesty has approved of. I do not doubt, therefore, but orders are despatched accordingly.

I received the enclosed yesterday from Altrope.

I am, my Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

The King having made no answer to the offer of my Lord Limerick's serving in the Plantations, I was in doubt whether it needed any mentioning or not.

I might have spared part of this letter, since a messenger is just now arrived with the letters signed by the King for your Excellency and my Lord Chancellor's coming over. The messenger tells me he brought them from Windsor. He comes so late that I cannot send them away till next post; since they must be stamped and entered at the Signet Office, neither of which can be done to-night.

The Princess is come from Windsor to stay at St. James's.

CCIX.

MR. VERNON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Leave given to Major-general Erle and Mr. Ogle to come into England.—Commission for Lords Justices of Ireland.—The King thinks Brigadiers Tiffin and Langston competent to the care of the troops in Ireland.—Doubts not that a further supply of arms will be ordered for Ireland.—State of the Forts in that country will be taken into consideration. Naval stores providing by the Admiralty for Kinsale.—Proclamation for a fast.—News from Holland.

MY LORD, Whitehall, December 13, 1701.

I waited yesterday on his Majesty, who commanded me to acquaint your Excellency that he would have leave given to Major-general Erle, and Mr. Ogle, one of the Commissioners of the Revenue there, for their immediate coming over into England. At my return from Hampton-Court, I received your Excellency's letters of the 2d and 5th instant; in the last of which you mention, that you designed to put Major-general Erle into the Commission of Justices. But his Majesty having named those who should fill that commission, I suppose that appointment will stand.

The King thinks that the Brigadiers Tiffin and Langston are sufficient to

take care of the troops till he shall give further orders about it, which will not be long delayed.

I hope I may have an opportunity to lay your Excellency's letters before his Majesty to-morrow. I do not doubt but more arms will be ordered for Ireland upon the terms the last were, and I wish your Excellency had specified what quantity you think necessary.

The Lords Justices laid before his Majesty, at his arrival, the state of the forts in Ireland, which your Excellency sent over; but the consideration thereof was deferred to some other time. I believe, if it could be known were money may be had for carrying on those works, orders would not be delayed for the despatch of those that are the most necessary. I have heard that the Admiralty were providing naval stores for Kinsale, which I shall know more of to-morrow when I meet my Lord President at the Cabinet Council.

I do not doubt but your Excellency received the proclamation for the fast, both as it was printed by itself and in the Gazette. I now send some of the forms of prayer which are brought us from the King's printing-house, and some proclamations are put up with them.

We had an account yesterday, by the Dutch post, that the garrison of Sas van Ghendt had fired upon the French, who were erecting a new fort within shot of them, which they had given notice of, if they did not cease working there by such a day. Some letters say that ten or twelve of the French were killed. They already threaten at Brussels that they will return it: so that hostilities are like to proceed.

I am, My Lord, &c.

JA. VERNON.

CCX.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Remarks upon a Memorial of Dr. Heyne's, titular Bishop of Cork, who was ordered to be transported to Portugal for exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction.—Sends a plan of the Harbour of Beerhaven, and of a Fort intended to be erected there.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, January 19, 1702.

We lately promised your Excellency our thoughts upon a memorial you sent us of Dr. Heyne's, the titular Popish Bishop of Cork, which you re-

ceived from Count Wratislaw, the Emperor's Ambassador; and having informed ourselves of the proceedings relating to that Bishop, we must acquaint you, that in August last, my Lord Chief Justice Pyne laid before us the enclosed presentment of the Grand Jury of the City of Cork, by which your Excellency will see the Bishop was presented for exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, contrary to Act of Parliament. And your Excellency may remember, when his stay was connived at by his late Majesty, it was upon that condition that he should not exercise any such authority, which he engaged faithfully to observe; but he having broken his promise, and the gentlemen of the country complaining of his behaviour, and that he was not transported according to the Act of Parliament, we could not forbear signing an order for his transportation to Portugal, which we accordingly did on the 8th of August last, and sent it to the then Mayor of Cork, with directions to put him on board the first ship bound to Portugal; and the Bishop had notice of it, which he has signified under his own hand, though in his memorial he positively asserts that he was to be sent to some islands which he knew not. But our order was never executed, for the reasons you will also see in the enclosed letter from the present Mayor of Cork to Mr. Dawson. We return you the Bishop's memorial again, and having thus laid the whole matter before you, shall expect your Excellency's further directions concerning him.

We have by this post sent your Excellency a plan of the Harbour of Beerhaven, and a draft of a Fort proposed to be built thereon, for the security of merchants' ships going to or coming from the East or West Indies, and where men-of-war may lie with great safety; together with an estimate of the charge which such a fort will cost, and a report upon the whole matter, all (as we think) well prepared by Captain Burgh, the Surveyor-general, which we submit to your Excellency's consideration, and remain,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

MOUNT ALEXANDER.

THO. KEIGHTLEY.

" To the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland."

CCXI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Addresses on the Act of Resumption.—Lord Mountjoy requests leave to come to England.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Jan. 24, 1701-2.

We have this day, by the hands of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin, received an address from that city, relating to the late Act of Resumption in this kingdom, with their desires that the same may be transmitted by us to your Excellency, and that you will be pleased to lay it before the King.

Sir Robert King having also presented an address from the county of Roscommon, and the Lord Mountjoy two others, one from the borough of Lifford, and the other from the county of Donegal, of the same nature with those general ones which were delivered to, and transmitted by your Excellency while you were here, we have, according to the request of the several persons, directed them to be enclosed to your Excellency.*

The Lord Mountjoy at the same time making it his request to us, that we would procure your Excellency's leave for his coming for a short time into England, upon some business of very great consequence to himself; and we being satisfied, upon enquiry, that he will leave his regiment under such command and care in all respects, as will not let his absence be any way prejudicial to his Majesty's service; we hope and desire that he may be gratified therein, and that you will be pleased to let the same be signified to us, that we may grant him a licence accordingly. We are,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
And humble Servants,
NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.

* At this time petitions poured in from all quarters against the hardships imposed by the Act of Resumption, and the severity with which its provisions were enforced by the Trustees appointed for managing the Irish Forfeitures. Indeed, the whole board of Privy Council in Ireland, had joined in requesting Lord Rochester to lay before the King the grievances sustained from these proceed-

CCXII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Their concern at the illness of the King.—The Dragoons ordered to be sent to England are in readiness, but unless they hear of the King's recovery they shall wait for further orders.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, 13th March, 1701-2.

The surprising news of the great danger of his Majesty's health, which your Lordship's letter of the 7th instant brought us, has touched us with so inexpressible a concern, that nothing can alleviate our trouble but an account of his Majesty's recovery, which we expect with the greatest impatience; and we hope the next packet that arrives will bring us that joyful news. In the mean time, we assure your Lordship our duty and affection for his Majesty is such that no care shall be wanting on our part to show our zeal for his service and government.

The horse and dragoons ordered to be sent from hence into England are all ready, but the wind being contrary they cannot at present go off, and we doubt not before it alters but we shall have better news; otherwise we shall think ourselves obliged to expect further orders.

We are, my Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most humble servants,
NARCISSUS DUBLIN.
DROGHEDA.

"Earl of Rochester."

ings. The Lord Lieutenant seems to have been troubled at these petitions, and the English Parliament was moved to proceed with severity against those who had promoted them; they were even voted false and scandalous. But at length the heat with which the measure had been carried, subsided, and the trustees were afterwards accused of showing too much favour to the Papists in settling claims. The whole of the rents arising from the forfeited estates were consumed by this commission during the two years they sat, and the discussion of petitions, and framing of bills on the subject, took up a great part of the session of Parliament.

CCXIII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

New commission of Lords Justices.—Measures taken for the completion of the five regiments to be embarked at Kinsale.—Instructions given for apprehending Father Bernardo Tyrconnel, if he should land in Ireland.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 11, 1702.

Your Excellency's of the 4th instant, coming over at the same time with her Majesty's, for constituting us her Justices of this kingdom,* the late Lords Justices left it to us to execute your commands therein, which we now do, in acquainting your Excellency that the five regiments of foot designed for the sea service, will be at Cork and Kinsale by the last of this month; and the several colonels having engaged to make their respective regiments full and complete by that time, as yet we have no reason to doubt their performance. But lest, on their going on board, any of these regiments should by desertion, death, or any other unforeseen accident, be deficient in the numbers intended to be shipped, we have thought fit that a detachment of thirty private men be made out of each of the five regiments that remain here, and will order them to march to Kinsale, to be in readiness to supply such deficiency, and as many men as these regiments shall have occasion for, they are to pay forty shillings a man to the officers of those companies from whence they are detached.

We have already given the necessary directions to the Commissions of the Revenue here to send instructions to their officers at the several ports, for apprehending Father Bernardo Tyrconnel, mentioned in your Excellency's, in case he lands in this kingdom; and shall take such other measures for discovering and seizing him, if he comes hither, as shall be thought proper.

We are, my Lord, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THO. ERLE.
THO. KEIGHTLEY.

* Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander, Lieutenant-general Thomas Erle, and Thomas Keightley, Esq., were appointed Lords Justices of Ireland by a new commission, on the accession of Queen Anne.

CCXIV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The five regiments to be embarked at Cork, instead of Kinsale.—Will use all possible exertions to forward the completion of them.—Have advanced 300l. to each regiment to supply them with knapsacks, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 14, 1702.

In our letter of the 11th instant, we acquainted your Excellency in what forwardness the regiments were, that are designed for the sea service, and what time they would be at Cork and Kinsale; as also with the resolutions we had taken to have each regiment full on their going on board, in case of any deficiency. We now beg leave to acknowledge the favour of your Excellency's of the 7th, which came to our hands this morning; by which we find her Majesty's pleasure is that these regiments are to be embarked at Cork instead of Kinsale, as was first directed, and that they must march to Cork for that purpose, which we will take care shall be observed accordingly.

We perceive by your Excellency's that the preparations in England for this expedition, are forwarded with all the diligence that is possible, which gives us an opportunity of assuring your Excellency that the great zeal we have for her Majesty's service, and the honour we have for your Excellency's commands, will oblige us to exert ourselves for the furtherance of this service, to the utmost of our power; and that your Excellency may see in the few days we have been in this government, what advances we have made, we this day, on the application of the colonels, signed warrants for three hundred pounds a regiment, for providing them with knapsacks, kettles, and other necessaries, and chose rather to run the risk of issuing so much money, and charging it on the military contingencies, than by a strict observance of the methods of the government, and the rules of the establishment here, to retard or prejudice the service. The particulars of this matter we thought too tedious to trouble your Excellency with, but have directed Mr. Dawson to transmit them, with some other observations, to Mr. Secretary Gwyn, to be laid before your Excellency, for your care and direction, as soon as you shall think convenient; and we doubt not but to be able to send your Excellency the pleasing account that the regiments that go from hence will be as full and complete in all respects on their embarkation, as those that go from England.

We are, &c.

CCXV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Have great satisfaction that their proceedings in regard to the arms, &c. are approved of.—Have given Colonel Stanhope leave to attend the Duke of Ormond in his sea expedition.—The Declaration of War with France was proclaimed yesterday.—The Merchants are grateful for the timely notice they had of the intended Declaration of War.—Hope no time will be lost in sending vessels to guard the coast, which is infested with Privateers.—Prayers for Princess Sophia.—Report of the state of the Barracks.—Seizure of vessels and goods belonging to France and Spain, in Dublin harbour.—Remonstrance of the Merchants on that proceeding, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 12, 1702.

On Sunday about noon, we received your Excellency's of the 5th instant, with great satisfaction to find that what we represented to your Excellency in our letter of the 23d of last month, about stopping the value of the unserviceable arms, and the charge of the arms to be carried out of this kingdom by the regiments that go to sea, is approved of; and we hope the estimate of that charge is come to your hands before now, Mr. Dawson having by our direction enclosed it to Mr. Gwyn.

We have given leave to Colonel Stanhope to attend the Duke of Ormond in his sea expedition, according to your Excellency's commands.

We received her Majesty's declaration of war enclosed in your Excellency's, and the same was proclaimed here yesterday in the usual manner.

In our letter of the 6th instant, we acquainted your Excellency with the notice we had given the merchants of this city, that war would soon be declared, and of the grateful return they made for your Excellency's great favour and kindness to them, in sending them so early a caution. We at the same time directed the Commissioners of the Revenue to consider of the properest stations for the men-of-war to lie in, for the security of our trade, and they have given us their thoughts therein, which we send your Excellency enclosed; and hope no time will be lost in despatching hither the necessary guards for our coast, which we fear will be much infested with privateers, an instance whereof we had by yesterday's post from Colonel Gorges at Cork, who tells us that Captain Jumper, in the Lenox, is come in there, after having chased four privateers by order of Admiral Fairborne, in whose company, with fourteen men-of-war, he sailed from England about a

fortnight ago, so that we are in daily expectation to hear of the arrival of the whole squadron.

Mr. Keightley having by the same packet received from Mr. Gwyn her Majesty's order in Council, directing the Princess Sophia to be prayed for here, it was yesterday in Council appointed to be complied with, as has been usual in such cases. And Mr. Gwyn having also, in the same letter, by your Excellency's directions, sent to Mr. Keightley to know whether Captain Corneile had laid before us his representation of his view of the barracks, we in answer thereto acquaint your Excellency, that Captain Corneile did make such a return, as did also the other persons who were sent out at the same time; and in pursuance thereof, four extraordinary supervisors have been sent out, to make such repairs, and look after the execution of such things as were represented necessary to be done: and your Excellency may depend upon our constant care over the general management of the barracks, though, notwithstanding that, we are not without apprehension that we shall very often meet with disappointments.

The same packets which brought us your Excellency's, brought also orders from my Lord High Admiral to Captain Breholt, in the Charlotte, and Captain Lawrence, one of the owlers in this harbour, directing them to seize all ships and goods belonging to the subjects of France and Spain, and to do all acts of hostility upon them without distinction of time or place. Captain Lawrence had no sooner received these orders, but immediately he seized and secured all the French ships with their men in this port, as well those that were laden with goods of this country by merchants of Dublin, as others.

Yesterday the merchants and owners of these ships made application to us to be relieved, setting forth that the taking these ships in port before the declaration of the war here, would be of ill consequence, they having had advice that the Dutch ships in France, which were in harbour, had liberty to go away; and that if this usage should be known in France, it might make them severe on the English there. And we having ordered a Council to be called about the declaring war against France and Spain, and praying for the Princess Sophia, we communicated this matter to the Council; who, upon seeing the Captain's orders, thought he was a little too early in putting them in execution, and even went beyond the intention of them: it not appearing that they extended so far. And the Council being of opinion that security ought to be taken for the ships and cargoes, and that they should be thereupon released, we accordingly directed the Commissioners of the Revenue to take

security that they should be forthcoming in a month's time if demanded. Now having laid this matter before your Excellency, we desire your directions, whether any further notice shall be taken of these merchants and owners; because, if they be not called upon in a month the bonds will be void.

We are, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY.

Since the writing of this letter, came in an express from Sir Stafford Fairborne, with a letter to us; and one to Mr. Birchett, Secretary to the Admiralty, which we have sent forward; giving an account of the arrival of some of the men of war at Cork, and that in a day or two the rest were expected; so that we doubt not but by this time all of them are arrived. And for your Excellency's particular satisfaction therein, we send you a copy of the Admiral's letter to us.

We have this day received advice from Waterford that there are five ships laden with wool for England in that port, and likewise from Belfast, that there is a ship laden with tobacco come in there from the West Indies, which must go for England, and not any of these ships can sail without convoys; so that we hope, as well for the advantage of the revenue of England, as for that of Ireland, men-of-war will be immediately sent hither.

CCXVI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Answer to a complaint of Captain Spann, that the Government of Ireland impeded him in impressing seamen.—Exposure of his conduct. Clothing of the West India Regiment.—More naval force required on the coast of Ireland for the protection of trade.—Charge upon Ireland for arms sent from the Tower of London.—They hope part of it will be remitted.—Embarkment of the troops for the West Indies.—Appointment of High Sheriff for the County of Cork.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 20, 1702.

Though we have no letter from your Excellency to acknowledge by the packets which arrived two together yesterday morning, we take leave to address to yourself what we have to say to an extract of a letter from Captain Spann, in the Sorlings, to the Lord High Admiral, which we received from Mr. Gwyn by your Excellency's commands, wherein the Captain complains of the discouragement given him by this Government, in pressing seamen for

the fleet. And that your Excellency may be truly informed how little reason that gentleman had to complain, we lay that whole matter before you; and then we hope it will appear that if the Government deserved to be blamed for any thing on that occasion, it has been that they did not complain first, which we forbore in favour to the Captain, because he was upon so necessary a service to her Majesty, as we did omit the mentioning that matter at all to your Excellency, because we believed it over to his satisfaction.

His late Majesty, in February last, by a letter from the Lords of the Council, directed the then Lords Justices of Ireland to issue the necessary orders for taking up all such straggling seamen and able-bodied landmen as should be found within twenty miles of the sea-coast of this kingdom, they being supposed to have come over hither on purpose to desert his Majesty's service; whereupon the Lords Justices and Council here considered with the Judges and King's Counsel of the properest method for answering that service, and for the more effectual execution thereof issued their proclamation, requiring all magistrates, &c. to use their best endeavours to take and apprehend such seamen, &c.; which said proclamation was at that time sent into England, both to the Lords of the Council and Secretary of State, and we have now again directed Mr. Dawson to enclose another of the same to Mr. Gwyn, for your Excellency's consideration. And now, to come particularly to Captain Spann, we must inform your Excellency that the first notice we had of his being come into this harbour was by a complaint from several owners, that he had pressed so many men out of their ships, outward bound, as had disabled them to perform their voyages; upon which Mr. Dawson was directed to send the Captain advice of these complaints, and to desire very civilly he would attend the Government, and bring his instructions with him. The Captain excused himself from coming, but sent up his instructions with his Lieutenant; by which it appeared he was directed by Admiral Hopson to sail along the coast of England from Spithead to Liverpool, and in his way to take up all such seamen as had tickets and stayed beyond their time, or were straggling from their ships, and then to return; without any mention made of Ireland: which service we were so far from obstructing, that your Excellency will see by the Proclamation it was the very purport thereof; and we were constantly so careful to see the same executed, that having very lately received advice from several ports of such men being taken up by the magistrates, we had given extraordinary directions for sending them on board the men-of-war that lay upon the respective coasts, at the public trouble and charge:

but, contrary to his orders, this Captain came into this port, and without giving us the least notice (which we believe your Excellency will think a respect due to this Government) had pressed (by his Lieutenant's confession) above twenty-four men from the complainants' ships; and we believe we had never heard of him but for those complaints: with which Mr. Dawson was directed to acquaint the Captain (who would not come ashore) by letter, a copy of which we have also sent Mr. Gwyn for your Excellency's satisfaction; upon which he went off the next day. We are confident your Excellency is far from believing we could give any obstruction or discountenance to her Majesty's service in any sort; but when you know what prejudice the pressing seamen in this harbour has already done to her Majesty's revenue, and how, by the proceedings of this Captain, and the Lieutenant of the Burford, now in the Warner, a tender which has lain ten weeks together in this harbour, and continues still here for no other purpose, (tradesmen and inhabitants of this city, who were never at sea in their lives, being some taken and carried away, leaving their wives and families starving behind them, and others driven into the country from their former habitations, for fear of the like usage,) our trade is like to be destroyed, we believe your Excellency will think it necessary that some regard ought to be had for this kingdom in that particular. The late Lords Justices resenting these proceedings in the said Lieutenant, he forbore, and we hoped we should hear no more of this kind. But we now find, on the strength of this complaint (which Captain Spann has since made to my Lord High Admiral), that no later than yesterday he returned hither again from Liverpool, having at Chester Water pressed two men out of the Mary of Dublin, a ship frequently employed by this Government; notwithstanding the master produced a protection for the men by name, under the hand of my Lord High Admiral, which was obtained at the instance and on the application of the late Lords Justices, to which he showed no manner of regard, though, at the same time, he owned it to be as good a protection as any in England, but, with great disrespect, declared he valued it not a straw: the truth whereof has been affirmed to us by the master of the said ship, and that the Captain further declared he should soon come hither again on the like service, and that then he would not leave a hand on board. On his second coming he accordingly took out of the ships in this port above twenty-four men; and particularly three men out of the Dove of Dublin, laden with provisions for the Plantations, which were all the hands on board at that time. As to what the Captain asserts of the

number of English seamen deserters being in and about the several ports of this kingdom, we believe it to be as much without ground, as it is that the Government is not as willing and ready to get them on board her Majesty's fleet as Captain Spann himself would pretend to be, or my Lord High Admiral can require. We hope your Excellency will excuse our dwelling so long on this subject, in which we think we should not do this kingdom justice without being thus particular; and we desire your Excellency will, as you shall think fit, let my Lord High Admiral be acquainted herewith, who will always find us ready to pay due respect to his orders, and the Queen's service.

We received likewise, from Mr. Gwyn, copies of the clauses added to the Land Tax Bill, for clothing the West India regiments from hence, and about the ground whereon the barracks are built, in which we have given the necessary orders; and the Commissioners of the Revenue have, in pursuance thereof, sent directions to their collectors concerning the exportation of the said clothing, a copy of whose letter to the said collectors we have, for your Excellency's information, sent to Mr. Gwyn.

There came also enclosed, a copy of a letter from Mr. Birchet, Secretary to the Admiralty, to Mr. Gwyn, giving an account that directions were sent to the commanders of two men-of-war (whose stations are on this coast) to observe the orders of this Government; but these being too few, as we lately represented to your Excellency, we hope the number we desired will soon be sent, otherwise our trade must be ruined; being informed from all parts, that privateers are now swarming on this coast.

This day was brought to us her Majesty's letters for payment of 3316*l.* 10*s.* for the charge of the arms lately sent hither from the Tower; but having, in our letter of the 23d instant, represented to your Excellency, that we hoped the value of the arms carried out of this kingdom by the regiments ordered to sea, and the charge of the unserviceable arms sent hither, would be stopped out of that sum; and your Excellency having, in your letter of the 5th, given us hopes that care should be taken therein; and finding also her Majesty's letters to be of so old a date as the 24th of March last; we deferred giving any warrant thereon, till we receive your Excellency's further directions.

We received letters from Major-general Erle and Admiral Fairborne of the 15th and 17th instant, which give account, that all the regiments were

shipped in good order; but the wind not being fair, they were not then sailed, but hoped to get off the next morning.

Mr. Foulkes, the High-sheriff of the county of Cork, being dead, my Lord Chief Justice Cox made application to us, in behalf of his son, to succeed Mr. Foulkes for the remaining part of the year, which we would not grant to any person until we had first acquainted your Excellency with it, and received your directions therein; but that being a place which her Majesty's service required to be immediately filled, we appointed Mr. Cox, to which we were the more inclined, because my Lord Chief Justice assured us your Excellency would have appointed him when you were here, but that you were pre-engaged to my Lord Burlington in favour of Mr. Foulkes, so that we hope what we have done herein will be agreeable to your Excellency.

We are, my Lord, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THO. KEIGHTLEY.

CCXVII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Mischief done by French Privateers.—Slender state of the defences of the Kingdom.—Have directed Commissions of Array to be issued for organizing a Militia.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 6, 1702.

The account your Excellency sends us of the six men-of-war being ordered for the guard of our coast, is very acceptable to us all; and it is the more so at this time, when we have advice from several parts of mischief already done by French privateers on our coasts, the particulars whereof we have directed Mr. Dawson to enclose to Mr. Gwyn, which we hope will be sufficient demonstration of the necessity of hastening these frigates hither: and we can now with confidence assure your Excellency, that your kind engagements for us about the number of seamen mentioned in your Excellency's to be wanting, will be answered.

We are very sensible how slenderly this kingdom is at present guarded, and that we cannot be too watchful and careful for the safety thereof, now in this time of war; and therefore we have considered with the Council of raising the militia, and in order thereto, have directed Commissions of Array to be issued

to every county, for arraying all persons qualified to bear arms: and upon return of proper persons to be officers, (which we required to be immediately made,) such commissions will be issued to them as will keep them in a readiness upon occasion, without any further instruction that may put the country to charge in the mean time, and all other necessary cautions will be taken as shall be thought convenient for our greater security.

We are, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THOMAS ERLE.
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY.

CCXVIII.

THE EARL OF ORRERY* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Soliciting his interest to procure him the appointment of Commissioner of Trade.

MY LORD, Bath, June 8th, 1702.

When I had the honour of waiting on your Excellency last, you were so kind as to promise me, whenever I could pitch on any particular place, you would do what lay in your power for me; upon that assurance I now make bold to trouble you, and without vanity in myself, or disparagement to any one else, I think I am as fitly qualified in all respects for a Commissioner of Trade, as some lately put in. My pretensions to any thing are on the account of my losses on the late Revolution, which were very great; my hopes of getting any thing are from your Excellency's favour, interest, and the honour I have of being related to you. I know it is in your Excellency's power to get me this; for her Majesty may make as many as she pleases, and may put out and in whom she thinks fit. I do not ask it out of necessity, for, God be thanked! I can live without it; but I am very ambitious and should be very proud of serving her, and am very desirous of being particularly

* Lionel, third Earl of Orrery. The losses he speaks of, by the Revolution, arose from his attainder by King James's Irish Parliament, in 1690. In October of that year, the Duke of Berwick, after having dined in Lord Orrery's house at Charleville, ordered it to be set on fire, and stayed to see it consumed to ashes. This nobleman took his seat in the Parliament of Ireland, on coming of age, in June 1697, and represented the borough of East Grinstead in the English Parliament. He married a natural daughter of Charles Earl of Dorset, and did not long survive, to avail himself of Lord Rochester's patronage. He died on the 25th of August, 1703, at Earl's Court, near Kensington.

obliged to your Excellency. I am, my Lord, a man of few words; but will be bold to assure you, that where I have an obligation, I will on all occasions, and wherever it lies in my power, acknowledge it as long as I live. I will in whatever station her Majesty shall be pleased to put me, serve her faithfully and honestly, and beg of your Excellency to believe me to be very sincerely,

My Lord, &c.

ORRERY.

If this is refused me, I will henceforward leave it to your Excellency to do what you shall think fit for me.

CCXIX.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Declaration for the encouragement of Privateers.—Intercourse of the Irish peasantry at Bantry with a French privateer.—Proclamation for preventing like occurrences in future.—Rumoured intention of the Pretender being about to land in Ireland with 16,000 *men.—Necessary caution to be taken in guarding the Western and South-western coasts of Ireland.—Recommend the appointment of the Bishop of Kildare to the commission of Privy Seal, in the room of Lord Charlemont who is gone to sea, to relieve Lord Meath of some of the duties of the office.*

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 9, 1702.

We received yesterday the favour of your Lordship's of the 2d instant, mentioning her Majesty's declaration to be sent us enclosed for the encouragement of privateers, with her Majesty's order in Council that the same should be likewise published here; which shall be punctually observed as soon as the declaration comes to our hands, it not being enclosed; the reason, as Mr. Gwyn tells us, was because it was not then printed. Since our last to your Excellency, we received advice from Mr. John Davys, who lives near Bantry, that several of the Irish thereabouts went lately on board the French privateer that engaged the English ship come in there from Antigua; an account whereof Mr. Dawson enclosed to Mr. Gwyn by last post: and we having considered with the Council, of proper measures to hinder all correspondence with privateers, resolved to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to all such as shall discover and apprehend such persons as shall go on board privateers, or hold any manner of correspondence with her Majesty's enemies, which we hope will prevent the like practices for the future.

My Lord Chief Justice Cox brought us a letter from Colonel Beecher to him, advising him of an information he received of the King of France's intentions to send the pretended Prince of Wales to Ireland with 16,000 men. We have no other ground for this story than that letter (of which we send you a copy); however, we think it our duty to acquaint your Excellency with whatever comes to our knowledge of that kind.

Though we are assured that we shall be provided with men-of-war sufficient to guard our coast from Waterford to the Northward of this kingdom, yet we should be glad to know what ships are appointed to take care of the South-west and Western coasts, the ships of greatest value from the East and West Indies generally touching there, and it being taken for granted by the Commissioners of the Revenue in their representation for the stations of ships, that that station would be provided for by some part of the English fleet, as had been done in the last war.

My Lord Charlemont, who is one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, being gone to sea, my Lord of Meath, who is the other Commissioner joined with Lord Mount Alexander, is very uneasy that he is obliged constantly to come to town (from Cartown, where he now lives,) to attend the Seal; and therefore, if your Excellency thinks fit, we believe the Bishop of Kildare will be a very proper person to be added to that commission, his Lordship being always a resident in town.

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THOMAS ERLE.
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY.

CCXX.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Necessary supply of Ordnance Stores.—Have resolved to renew the Commissions of the present Sheriffs for the remainder of the year.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 16, 1702.

The Earl of Mount Alexander, Master-general of the Ordnance, has laid before us the enclosed memorial, by which your Lordship will see what is proposed for a sufficient proportion of ammunition to be constantly kept in the stores of war in this kingdom. The powder must of necessity be pro-

vided in England, and as we doubt not but your Excellency, considering the more than ordinary hazard of this time, will provide that supply for us, and take effectual care that it be sent in as little time as is possible; so we hope you will approve of that ease which we propose to give the Ordnance-office in England for the other part of our wants, the ball, which we think we may be supplied with by laying out our money at home, and that good husbandry, as your Excellency has allowed already, in the case of repairing the arms, we think an indispensable duty to preserve in all things as far as it can be applied in this kingdom: but we submit the same to your Excellency's consideration.

The Sheriffs' commissions determining on the 8th of September next, there is an absolute necessity of either renewing commissions to the present Sheriffs for the remainder of their year, or of appointing new ones before that time: but it appearing much more convenient to continue the same, we have, by the advice of the King's Counsel, resolved to take that course, unless your Excellency shall think fit to direct otherwise.

We are, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THO. ERLE.
THO. KEIGHTLEY.

CCXXI.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complaint of the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland, of prosecutions against their Ministers on account of Marriages celebrated by them, unfounded.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 18, 1702.

EXTRACT.

We have discoursed with the Bishops of Derry and Down about the complaint lately made to your Excellency by the Presbyterians in the North, of a fresh prosecution against their ministers on account of their marriages; and they both assure us that complaint is so far from being just, that their prosecution on that account has been less vigorous since her Majesty's accession to the crown, than it was during the time of his late Majesty, because they would not give the Dissenters occasion to believe the expectations they had from her Majesty's favour to the Church induced them to be more

severe than otherwise they would be to these people; and they are of opinion if the Bishops should desist altogether from continuing the prosecution formerly begun, the Dissenters would be encouraged to make further encroachments on the Church, and their own clergy be too much discouraged by it. We are, &c.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THO. ERLE.
THO. KEIGHTLEY.

CCXXII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

More effectual mode of recruiting the West India Regiments.—Serious consequences to be apprehended to the service by drafting men from the Irish regiments to serve in the West Indies.—Proposal to find men for that service by bounty offered to Volunteers.—Care has been taken about the subsistence to the Wives of Officers serving in the West Indies.—Petition of the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland about their Pensions unfounded.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, 6th July, 1702.

In our letter of the 27th of last month, we acquainted your Excellency that we would consider of the properest method for recruiting the West India regiments, and return you our thoughts as speedily as we could. We have accordingly considered of it, and are of opinion the most effectual way must be by detachment, which may be done after Colonel Gibson's regiment arrives, which is to be quartered at Cork, for then there will be three regiments in Cork, Kinsale, and thereabouts; and as soon as the ships come that are to carry them away, an equal proportion of the number expected may be drawn out of those regiments, and they again recruited by drafts from the other regiments of foot; so as each regiment may bear an equal share in the detachment. Now that we have laid before your Excellency what we take to be the best method to effect this service according to the Queen's command, we think it our duty at the same time to tell you what may be the consequence of continuing the making drafts out of the regiments here for the West Indies. The great apprehensions the soldiers are under, of never coming back again, and of sickness there, will force those that are now in the army, rather to run the risk of being shot for desertion than go, and hinder others from enlisting either here or in England: so that, though

Ireland may be the fittest place from whence regiments may from time to time be drawn to serve in Holland or elsewhere in Europe, yet the sending men from hence by drafts to the West Indies, will discourage their going into the service at all. And therefore, notwithstanding we find by your Excellency's, which came in this day, to my Lord Inchinqueen, that Major-general Ingoldesby is likely to succeed Brigadier Selwyn in the government of Jamaica, we continue our resolution of laying before your Excellency what had formerly passed between my Lord Inchinqueen and us upon that subject, which we looked upon to be the best expedient in the world to avoid the inconveniency that may happen by drafts. His Lordship proposed to raise a regiment of foot at his own charge, or else recruits equal to the number, which would at least answer this service, if he had been so lucky as to have found the Queen's favour for that Government. But if this proposal comes too late to save her Majesty that charge, then we would offer it to your Excellency's consideration, whether, if a good allowance were given of five or six, nay, even ten pounds a man, to encourage volunteers both in England and Ireland to serve in the West Indies, it might not answer these ends better than by having the army run such risks.

Since we wrote this, your Excellency's of the 30th of June came to our hands, which gives us the satisfaction of seeing what we did at Mutton Island is approved of by your Excellency, and that what we wrote about subsisting the wives of the officers in the West Indies, has been taken care of. As to the postscript relating to the petition of the Presbyterian ministers in the North, wherein they complain of their not being paid their pension further than Michaelmas last, we find upon enquiry what they allege is not true; Mr. Putland having this day assured us they were cleared to the 31st of March last.

We are, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble servants,
MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THO. KEIGHTLEY.

"To the Lord Lieutenant."

CCXXIII.

LORD CUTTS* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanking him for his congratulations on the share he had in the successes of the Campaign.—State of the Allied Army, &c.

MY LORD, At Leige, October 25, 1702.

The honour and favour of your Excellency's very obliging letter of the 18th of September, came to my hands but a few days since. I received it, my Lord, with all the pleasure and gratitude imaginable; and I give your Excellency my humble and hearty thanks for your kind interpretation of the little share I have had in the successes of this campaign; and for the promises your Excellency gives me of the continuance of your favour and protection, which I embrace with the highest degree of satisfaction and respect.

All things go on here with a success beyond expectation; and the enemy seems everywhere under a great disorder and consternation. I hope your Excellency is satisfied now, that we have returned them their visit they made us, when we retreated under the walls of Nimeguen, as I told your Excellency we should do, when I had the honour to write you a relation of that action.

I forbear sending your Excellency particulars of what passes here, because

* John Lord Cutts: this gallant and enterprising soldier distinguished himself in every considerable action in King William's wars; he had chosen for his motto, "With labour and with blood." He was called by the Duke of Marlborough, "the Salamander;" because he was always to be found in the hottest part of the battle, encountering the thickest fire of the enemy. Swift's epigram on a Salamander alludes to him, and the conclusion of it refers to his marrying a widow, who suffered by the consequence of his former amours. A line in one of the State Poems of the time designates him,

"As brave and brainless as the sword he wears."

The action to which this letter alludes, and for which Lord Rochester appears to have complimented him, took place near Vanloo; and is thus mentioned by Burnet:—"There was a fort on the other side of the river, that commanded Venlo, which was taken by Lord Cutts in so gallant a manner, that it deserved to be much commended by every body but himself: but he lost the honour that was due to many brave actions of his, by talking too much of them."

The gallant soldier was also something of a poet; there is a small volume by him in print, dated 1687, entitled "Poetical Exercises written upon Several Occasions:" it is dedicated to Mary Princess of Orange. And in one of the volumes of the State Poems, there are verses by him upon the death of Queen Mary.

I am sure you see the accounts from the Secretary of War: besides that when we arrived before Leige, my Lord Marlborough put me in here with six regiments, to command the city and garrison; which gives me so much business from morning to night, that I have not time to turn me round, having under my custody about two hundred French officers and two thousand soldiers, prisoners; besides all other business, military and civil that occurs.

I beg your Excellency's good offices to the Queen, and am with sincerity and respect,

My Lord, &c.

CUTTS.

CCXXIV.

MR. METHUEN TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanks for favours shown to him.—Hopes that the King of Portugal may be brought into the alliance against France; his stay there will be regulated by that circumstance.—Allusion to the excesses committed by some of the troops in the expedition against Cadiz: none of them can be laid to the charge of the Duke of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Lisbon, Oct. 16–27, 1702.

I have not presumed to trouble you particularly with the affairs of this court, knowing the account I have constantly given to my Lord Nottingham, would certainly come to your knowledge. But understanding by my late letters from Ireland, that your Excellency hath been pleased to take the care of causing my patent to be renewed, together with a provision of another person to supply the custody of the Seal, and a commission to the Judges to hear the causes in my absence,* I thought it my duty to return my most humble acknowledgement of your Excellency's favour to me, and to request the continuance of your protection; being very sensible that my absence from Ireland cannot be without some inconvenience to that kingdom, which yet would be much more, if you were not pleased by your care to prevent it. I

* Mr. Methuen was Lord Chancellor of Ireland at the time he was employed on this embassy to Portugal; and according to Mackay's Memoirs, he was once very near being Lord Chancellor of England. The same authority says, "He was a man of intrigue, but very muddy in his conceptions, and not quickly understood in any thing;" and that he was "in his complexion and manners much of a Spaniard." Swift in a manuscript note adds, that he was "a profligate rogue, without religion or morals, but cunning enough, yet without abilities of any kind."

did not propose to myself to stay here longer than the return of the fleet, but having settled, as I think very securely, a very friendly neutrality, and finding some reason to hope this King may be engaged to enter entirely with us into the alliance against France,* the great importance of the affair, and the belief that the hope of success depended entirely on the personal confidence this King hath reposed in me in so nice a matter, hath prevailed with me to stay a little longer. On the other side, the consideration that your Excellency may think fit to hold a Parliament this spring in Ireland, hath made me resolve not to stay here beyond the next month, unless this King should resolve to enter into the alliance of which I have written to my Lord Nottingham this post; and therefore I humbly beg you will please to speak to him and my Lord Treasurer about my stay, if that should happen.

I hope you will understand from my Lord Duke of Ormond, that I did whatever lay in my power, by my respect and service to him, to justify the honour you did in recommending me to his favour, and my son being present with his Grace a great part of the time, it is my duty to do him that justice to assure your Excellency, that of the several unhappinesses we fell under in that great enterprise,† no one of them can be charged upon the Duke of Ormond, who, to the satisfaction of every person, showed that zeal, resolution, and concern for that action, as became a man so desirous of his own honour and the honour and interest of England. I humbly beg your Excellency's pardon for this trouble, and remain with the utmost respect,

May it please your Excellency, &c.

Jo. Methuen.

* Burnet relates that the King of Portugal's ministers had involved him in a negotiation with France, which terminated, contrary to expectation, in a treaty of alliance:—and that when it was brought to him, he threw it down and kicked it about the room. Methuen ultimately succeeded in his mission, as will be seen in a note on a future letter.

† The allusion is to the expedition against Cadiz, which failed of complete success, principally by the misconduct of some of the troops, who gave themselves up to the most infamous excesses at Port St. Mary; and some officers of high rank were implicated in their disgraceful and licentious behaviour. Sir Henry Bellasys, who bore the rank of Lieutenant-general, was afterwards tried by a Court of general officers, broke, and dismissed the service on this account. But if the British laurels received any tarnish on this occasion, their lustre was completely restored by the glorious successes which followed at Vigo Bay.

CCXXV.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Refusal of the officers on half-pay to serve in the West Indies.—Proposal for striking them off the half-pay list.—Measures taken for recruiting the regiments in the West Indies.—Memorial of the Mayor and Corporation of Dublin, relating to the office of Judge of the Admiralty.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, November 12, 1702.

In our last we promised to give your Excellency an account what answer we should receive from the half-pay officers, in relation to their going to the West Indies. Since which we have had a return from Cork, Limerick, and Galway; and as if it had been by a general agreement of them all, not one man (except Lieutenant-colonel Hodson, whom we excused on account of his age and station,) would consent to go on the terms offered them. Nor indeed is it to be depended upon, that they would go upon any conditions whatsoever, or serve anywhere at all out of the kingdom. Nay, we wish there were not so much reason as we fear there is, to suspect that many of them, having stocks and farms, and being settled in the country, would not accept the like posts in the army here, as they had formerly. So that upon this whole matter, notwithstanding our former application for the restoring these gentlemen to their half-pay, after they had been suspended by the late King for the first refusals of some of them to go into service, we cannot but offer it to your Excellency's consideration now, whether, after so general a refusal as this has been proved to be, the striking the generality of them out of the establishment of half-pay, may not be as reasonable and as justifiable a way, even in the opinion of a House of Commons hereafter, to ease the public of such a charge, as any other that can be thought of; especially if a regard and tenderness be still preserved to such among them whose age, long service, and incapacity by those circumstances to provide for themselves, may deserve her Majesty's particular favour or charity. And that your Excellency may not be unprovided (if any time you shall approve of this method of easing the establishment of so considerable a charge upon a sinking revenue) to lay it before her Majesty as soon as you shall have a mind to it, we are now preparing to make such an enquiry into the circumstances and condition of each respective officer, as may enable us to judge

of, and to lay before you, such among them as may be the proper subjects for her Majesty's above-mentioned favour or charity; and as we hope we may have gone through this work by the time that Major-General Erle will be ready to set out for England, we design to charge him with the further account of it to your Excellency.

After all the trouble and concern which the affair of the West-India recruits has given us, we can now, to our great satisfaction, acquaint your Excellency that the ships with Gibson's regiment on board arrived at Cork on Tuesday last was sevennight, and Colonel Gorges, after keeping two hundred men of that regiment on board, made the detachment of two hundred men apiece out of Temple's and Brudenell's, and shipped them without any more loss than the desertion of six men out of the two regiments, during the whole time of his being at Cork; and besides the commissioned officers of Whetham's and Livesay's regiments that go along with them, Colonel Gorges appointed lieutenants and ensigns out of young gentlemen who offered their service to go thither, which we thought much better than to make them out of serjeants; so that now this whole service is happily over, and we hope to her Majesty's and your Excellency's satisfaction. As to the recruiting of those three regiments out of which the detachments were made, we have sent for the commanding officers of each up to town, and as soon as we have settled that affair and their clothing, which will be quickly done, we will lay it before your Excellency.

We send your Excellency enclosed, a memorial of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, relating to Doctor King's exercising the office of Judge of the Admiralty within the port and liberties of Dublin; by which your Excellency will see that the execution of that office, in that place, is looked upon by the City to be an infringement of their rights; but we have reason to think that the City, out of the respect they are inclined to pay to my Lord High Admiral, would not let any obstruction be given to the Doctor in the discharge of his duty in that station, even in this place itself, provided there might be some private instruction given him by the Admiralty (if the officers of that court shall not be willing to alter the present commission) not to force, either himself or his officers, money from the fishing and other boats that ply in this port and harbour, for liberty to fish, or to follow their free trade of carrying goods, &c., which they hear (before he is sworn) is intended to be practised, to the great discouragement of their trade. For prizes, wrecks, and all other pretences of the Admiralty officers, the City is willing to ac-

quiesce, rather than give any disturbance or stop to this commission. And if your Excellency shall have no objection to the countenancing such an accommodation as this is, we hope, for the service of this City, from which we receive every day more and more proofs of their respect for your Excellency, you will be pleased to appear in it.

CCXXVI.

MR. METHUEN TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Hopes soon to return to England, and to end his negotiation in a few days.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Lisbon, 9-18th December, 1702.

I have the honour of your letter of the 10th November, which hath made me very easy in what relates to Ireland, hoping to be in England time enough to do your Excellency all the service I am able, in order to the having a Parliament. I am the more confident of my returning soon, because since my letter I have very great reason to hope that a few days will put some end to this affair, which hath been so long in suspense, and which is very nice in its own nature.* My hopes are that it will end in this King's resolution to enter into the alliance entirely and heartily, and acting in it immediately with all his force; and I must own myself of the opinion which you mention, that it will probably render the next year as successful to the Allies as the present year hath been.

The assistance this King will expect from England and Holland, to enable him to prosecute a war with vigour, seems now the only thing that can stop the conclusion. This point I shall know in a few days, and will probably require my coming home either way.

I am, &c.

JO. METHUEN.

* In this treaty an incident happened which had like to have spoiled all:—The King of Portugal insisted on demanding the flag [of the fleet which was to be sent over] to be struck, and other respects to be paid by our admiral when he was in his ports; the Earl of Nottingham insisted it was a dishonour to England to strike even in another King's ports;—so, though Methuen had agreed to this article [under the sanction of Godolphin to promote the conclusion of the treaty], he pressed the Queen not to ratify it. She did, however, confirm it.—See *Burnet's History of his Own Time*, vol. ii. pp. 352-3.

CCXXVII.

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Petition of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin, praying aid for the Hospital of Oxmantown.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, 24th December, 1702.

This day was brought to us the enclosed petition of the Lord Mayor, &c. of Dublin, wherein they pray us to represent to your Excellency the necessitous circumstances of the hospital in Oxmantown; so as to prevail with you, if you think it proper, to lay their case in such manner before her Majesty, as that they may obtain her bounty in giving to the said hospital the quarter's rent of the primacy, which will be due the 25th instant, if kept so long vacant. We could not refuse my Lord Mayor to transmit this petition; and though we shall not press your Excellency to recommend their request to her Majesty, lest it may be improper, yet we cannot but acquaint you, that that foundation is not only the only one of that kind in this kingdom, but the best governed, and employed to one of the most charitable uses: the sons of poor and decayed citizens being taken and put in there, and maintained and carefully educated in the principles and discipline of the Church of England; and as soon as those boys are fit for trades, they are put out apprentices. So that if her Majesty shall at any time think fit to extend her charity and bounty to any thing in this kingdom, either in the manner desired, or in such other way as she shall think best, we are humbly of opinion it cannot be better disposed than to this foundation, which we nevertheless most humbly submit to her Majesty's and your Excellency's goodness and consideration.

We are, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most humble Servants,
MOUNT ALEXANDER.
THO. KEIGHTLEY.

"To the Lord Lieutenant."

CCXXVIII.

PROPOSALS FOR THE SECURITY OF THIS KINGDOM DURING THE WAR.

From a Paper in the hand-writing of Major-General Erle.

That the light horse and dragoon horses should be better guarded whilst they are grazing.

The quarters of regiments and companies to be as little dispersed as possible, which I think pretty well provided for by the present disposition of quarters, since regard must be had to the barracks in Kerry, considering the situation of that county and the people it is inhabited with.

All the half-pay officers should have notice to be in a readiness to be applied as occasion shall offer, for her Majesty's service and the security of the kingdom.

And upon apprehension of any design from abroad, should be commanded on duty with the garrison of Charlyfort at Kinsale, and in other places where they shall by the Government be thought necessary.

If any of them reside out of the kingdom, my Lord Lieutenant should be applied to, that orders may be given for their immediate repair hither, that the pay they receive from this kingdom may be spent in it, as in the case of the French pensioners, and that at the same time they may be in a readiness to be employed as they shall receive orders from the Government for the defence of it.

The French officers that are pensioners, and have given in their names as willing and able to serve, should likewise have notice to be in a readiness to observe such orders as they shall receive from the Government for the defence of the kingdom, and may be posted as occasion requires, in the same nature as it is proposed the half-pay officers should be.

There should be a list made of those half-pay officers, both of horse and foot, in each county, or at least in each province, that are properest and of most credit, who should be ordered to be aiding and assisting to the gentlemen who command the militia on occasion.

The French officers that are pensioners, who are of most experience, may likewise be applied that way.

The army here should be in such a posture during the war, as they might be able to take the field immediately, should there be occasion: therefore it is

proposed, that her Majesty for the first time should at her expense provide the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, with tents; the subsistence being so small in Ireland, it will be a great hardship to deduct it at once from them: but then such measures may be taken as by degrees they may provide them for the future themselves, which they should be obliged to do; and if this proposal be answered, the officers should have notice immediately to provide themselves with tents and equipage.

Some way must be thought of to furnish the marching train with horses, should there be occasion.

CCXXIX.

M. DE LA CONSEILLERE DE MEHERENE TO LORD ROCHESTER.

Translator of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion into French; he asks permission to continue his translation, and expresses a wish to dedicate it to Lord Rochester.

MONSEIGNEUR, A Rotterdam, ce 25-14 June, 1705.

Je prens la liberté de vous dire que c'est moy qui ay traduit en François le premier volume de l'Histoire de la Rebellion, et des Guerres Civiles d'Angleterre, par My Lord Comte de Clarendon; et qui travaille à traduire le second. Afin que la France, aussi bien que l'Angleterre, soit instruite de la verité d'un si grand évènement, qui a partagé les esprits depuis tant d'années. Je suis un gentilhomme Normand, qui ay porté la robe d'avocat pendant 29 au Parlement de Normandie; et qui fus obligé de fuir une violente persecution en 1700, avec une femme et cinq enfans, que j'avois retirer des couvens par mon argent et par mes amis. Comme je n'avois pas l'honneur de vous connoître, je ne vous demanday pas la permission d'entreprendre cet ouvrage, et Monsieur Leers ne m'en parla que quand tout fut imprimé, ou peu s'en falloit. J'espère, Monseigneur, que vous ne trouverez pas mauvais que je continue, et que j'achève le second et troisième volumes, si Dieu me donne des jours: et plut à Dieu qu'il me fut permis de vous dedier toute la traduction, et que ce souhait vous fut agréable! Au reste, Monseigneur, j'ay tant de vénération pour l'auteur, et un si profond respect pour vous, Monseigneur, et pour une des plus illustres Princesses qui ayent jamais monté sur le thrône, que je croirois commettre un sacrilege, si je retranchois ou changeois quelque chose de cet ouvrage; et j'espère montrer un jour l'erreur ou la malice de ceux qui ont ecrit pour le parti contraire. Permettez moy,

Monseigneur, de vous assurer que personne au monde n'est avec plus de soumission et de respect que moy,

Monseigneur,
Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,
DE LA CONSEILLERE DEMEHERENE.

CCXXX.

J. H. TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Expressions of the Elector of Hanover respecting Lord Rochester, and his esteem for him.—The Electress, Princess Sophia, her sentiments upon the propriety of the heir presumptive to the Crown being called into England.

MY LORD, Hanover, $\frac{\text{Sept. 21,}}{\text{Oct. 2,}}$ 1705.

This place affords but little news, except what the prints carry to England. Their Electoral Highnesses have a right judgment, as I think, of English affairs. I have had the honour and occasion to speak long with his Electoral Highness, who upon your Lordship's subject said, "*Je suis fort bien persuadé que My Lord Rochester est, et a esté toutjour dans les interests de sa Majestie, de sa religion, de sa patrie, et de ma famille; pour lesquelles choses il meritait l'estime du tout le monde; et pour ce que me regard en particulier, je luy tiendray compte en temps et lieu.*" I told him what your Lordship gave me leave to say, and he heard it with satisfaction. He seems extremely desirous to have the prosperity and the peace of the Queen and these kingdoms continued. The Electoress did ask me several questions concerning your Lordship's health, habitation, and children; and on all occasions calls you her friend: and in one word, depend on it, whenever the Queen and the Parliament call her, the next day she will go and wait on her Majesty in England, whatever difficulties may be objected by any. They are persuaded that it will be more for the interest of England, of her Majesty, and of this family, to lay hold on the first opportunity that may place the presumptive heir in the nation, and take such possession as the people of England will allow, than to be obliged to recover a succession, if accidents or mismanagements should thwart it, as was lately the case in Spain. So that, whatever was said to your Lordship that this family would not that any should move for their being called into England, I say whoever put that notion about, did it out of a malicious intention; for the Electoress hath told me in as many words, as well as those about

her, that whenever the Parliament calls for her, she is ready to obey; because she is persuaded that it must be for the good of the three Kingdoms, for the Queen, and her own family, that some be still in England, whatever may happen: at the same time they wish long life and great prosperity to her Majesty. The Elector is exceeding modest on this point; but I am well assured that his mother speaks as he thinks. The Duke of Zell's great estate, which he now is in possession of, makes him a great prince, and very considerable in the Empire; and the marriage of his son to one of the best qualified ladies in Germany pleases all concerned. I leave the enclosed open for your Lordship's perusal, and must beg leave your Lordship will please seal and send it with convenience. I missed of Mr. Poley, who was gone before I came here: when I know how to address to him, I will send a longer letter by him to your Lordship; and continue with that affection and duty, as becomes,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and faithful servant,

J. H.

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS

RELATING TO

SOME TRANSACTIONS

MENTIONED IN THE

DIARY OF HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON,

&c.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE APPENDIX.

THE following papers are chiefly illustrative of the attempted inroads of King James upon the Established Church. They are derived principally from the papers of Archbishop Sancroft, which were purchased of his nephews by Bishop Tanner, who gave them with the rest of his valuable MSS. to the Bodleian Library. A portion of them was first published by Dr. Douglas in his Appendix, and he thus adverts to them in his preface:—

"These papers need little or no commentary. Many of them do honour to the characters of those Prelates whose spirited behaviour, in the affair of their Petition against reading the Declaration, roused the great body of the nation from the lethargy they had too long been in, and contributed, more than any other transaction of those times, to the happy change which soon after happened. But what passed between King James and the Seven Bishops, with regard to their signing the petition, is more generally known than what passed between his Majesty and some of the Bishops* concerning the abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design. Bishop Sprat has indeed given us, in his second letter to the Earl of Dorset, a general account of what passed in the King's closet on that memorable occasion. But his more extended and particular relation of it, now first published, and Archbishop Sancroft's own very curious journal of that transaction, will be received as most valuable accessions to the history of King James's reign.

"But of all the papers which enrich the Appendix, the Dispensation to Massey, Dean of Christ-church, is the most remarkable; as the existence of any such dispensation seems to have escaped the enquiries of every historian of King James's reign. When Bishop Burnet tells us,† that 'the Deanery of Christ-church was given to Massey, one of the new converts:—who at the first went to prayers in the chapel, but soon after declared himself more openly;' by this lame account the Bishop allows his readers to believe that some appearances were saved, and that Massey had not absolutely disclaimed Protestantism,

* Canterbury, London, Rochester, and Peterborough. † History of his Own Time, p. 696, vol. i.

till after he was in possession of his Deanery. But we now know the contrary; and future historians will justly treat the dispensation granted to this popish Dean of Christ-church as the most alarming of all the attacks made by King James the Second on the Constitution.

"In the affair of Magdalen College, the rights of a private corporation only were invaded; and though nothing could be more illegal than the proceedings of the King in this business, he could however appeal to precedents of such interpositions of the Crown in former times, and insist that he had done little more, in forcing a President on Magdalen College, than Queen Elizabeth had done, in forcing a Chancellor on the University of Oxford.* In other instances, when King James exercised his dispensing power, to qualify Papists for civil or military employments, the Church of England was still left in full possession of its establishment. But in the case of Massey, there was a formal attack upon every part of the constitution; and it is as strange as it is certain, that at the very time when nothing more was attempted in Ireland against the Established Church there, than by keeping some of the bishopricks vacant, the Deanery of Christ Church in Oxford, one of the first Dignities of the Church of England, should be conferred on a Papist.—Bishop Burnet dates the lawfulness of resistance to King James from his treatment of the Seven Bishops, in 1688, which 'satisfied him,' he says, 'that a total destruction of our constitution was designed.'† Had he known anything of Massey's dispensation, he might have satisfied himself of the King's intentions near two years sooner; for this important paper, which seems to have been industriously secreted at the time, bears date December 16, 1686; and it appears from the Chapter Books of Christ-church, that Massey produced and pleaded it on December 29th, 1686, and was admitted Dean by Dr. Aldrich, Sub-Dean."

Some additions and corrections have now been made to these valuable illustrations of the foregoing pages, by comparing them with the accurate work of Mr. Gutch, published in 1781, under the title of "Collectanea Curiosa," and chiefly consisting of excerpts from Archbishop Sancroft's papers.

* "This happened in 1591, when Queen Elizabeth put her negative on the Earl of Essex, whom the University would have chosen. Murdin has published some curious letters in his Collection, concerning this anecdote, which seems to be little known."—*Murdin's Collection of State Papers*, pp. 649, 650.

† See his History, vol. i. p. 745.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.*

MY GOOD LORD, Lambeth, Feb. 11, 1678.

After so long and so active a life as you have spent hitherto in serving the public to so good purpose at home and abroad, in that great variety of stations and conditions in which God by his good providence hath placed you, there is no man, I think, who, observing you make to land and ready to put into port, did not follow you with his good wishes, that your anchors and cable might hold; that you might ride safe there from all harms, and enjoy a long and an easy old age, and at last find that happy *ευθανασια*, that always attends a life led according to the rules of our great and common Master. I have not hitherto interrupted your privacy and retirement, but prayed heartily, as I do still, that you may enjoy the comforts of it, till our Lord shall think fit to remove you from your work to your reward; which sure you long for, as a labourer for the shadow of the evening.

But, my Lord, (and therefore after all the former descant upon "fortiter occupa portum," I am to say also from the same poet, "O navis referent in mare te novi fluctus") you stand on the shore, and cannot but see us toiling and rowing. I know you pity us,

* "Archbishop Sancroft, on his first coming to the see, engaged in a very remarkable attempt to recover the Duke of York from the bosom of the Romish Church. There seems no reason to doubt that the design originated principally, if not wholly, with himself; and that he communicated it to some of his brethren on the bench, for their approbation and concurrence. He was probably induced to make the attempt, from the anxious desire which he felt of averting the evils, religious and civil, which the Duke's devoted attachment to the Romish faith was likely to entail upon the nation. We cannot suppose, that, with the knowledge which he must have had of the Duke's character, he formed any sanguine expectations of succeeding in his purpose; but he probably felt it matter of conscientious duty to try what he could effect in a matter, in which success would be attended with the most valuable and important consequences."—*D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 167. In this letter to Morley Bishop of Winchester, he uses an expression which might seem to imply that the design originated with the King. He says: "I had private intimation from my superior, that it is *his pleasure* some further attempt should be made," &c. The matter is made quite clear by what Sancroft himself told James at the close of his address, that the King knew of their intention, but that the design originated with the bishops.

for the wind is contrary. We must desire you (as we all do) once more to put out again and help us. Yesterday I had a private intimation from my superior, that it is his pleasure some further attempt should speedily be made to recover the Duke of York out of that foul apostacy, into which the busy traitors from Rome have seduced him. And he names your Lordship, if not the only person proper for such a negotiation, at least as most fit to appear in the head of it. I cannot minutely discourse all particulars to you: the very naming the design will bring into your Lordship's view the happy consequences which will follow it, if it shall please God to bless us with success. However, we shall not miss the comfort of having done our duty in a thing which is so highly decent for the King to direct, and for us to endeavour: and which will certainly be acceptable both to God and man, whatever the event shall prove. I cannot doubt, my Lord, but you will be ready to hazard something; and your particular friends here will be careful to provide you so fair accommodations, as may abate as much as is possible of the danger: and the rest of us will not fail to attend you with our hearty prayers, that the good hand of God may be upon you to bring you safe, and to give you favour in the sight of the man. Though we cannot expect you should immediately upon the receipt hereof come towards us, yet we hope you will immediately resolve, and let us know it; for the matter is pressing, and I am urged to hasten it to an issue. That it may be such as our souls desire, shall be the daily prayer of,

My good Lord,

Your Lordship's

Affectionate brother and servant in our common Master.

II.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER* TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Farnham Castle, Feb. 13, 1678.

In the first place, to accept of my most humble thanks for the many expressions of kindness to me and concern for me in the letter which your Grace was pleased to send me by this last post; and then to give me leave to tell you, that nothing but such an occasion, together with such an intimation as your Grace speaks of, could have prevailed with me to leave this so seasonable and so agreeable a retreat, and to venture myself again into the world, though for never so little a while. But this, I confess, is such a call, that nothing can excuse me from hearkening to it, but an absolute impossibility of complying with it. Not that I think that my being there, or any thing that I can do when I am there, will add any thing of efficacy to what might be done if I were not there; but because his Majesty and your Grace shall see I will not omit to do what I can towards the effecting of a thing of so very great importance, what hazard soever I may expose myself unto in the doing of it. And therefore, though this day fortnight (if I live so long) I begin the eighty-second year of my age, and though it be above four months since I was without the doors

* George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, translated from Worcester in 1662: he died in 1684.

of mine own house, I will (if I be no worse in health than I am at present) be at London, God willing, upon Monday next, the 17th of this month; and next day I hope to wait upon your Grace for such directions as your Grace shall be pleased to give to

Your Grace's most affectionate
And most obedient servant,
GEOR. WINTON.

III.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S SPEECH TO THE DUKE OF YORK, TO RECLAIM HIM FROM POPERY.

SPOKEN TO HIM IN HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S CLOSET AT ST. JAMES'S, FEB. 21, 1678.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

We are here to wait upon you this morning (this my reverend brother and myself) with allowance and by your appointment, and are therefore the bolder to pray you, that of your clemency you would hear us patiently a few words. We come to you, Sir, with that humility and profound respect, which beseems those who have the honour to speak to so great a Prince; and with hearts full of that duty and loyalty, which upon so many accounts is particularly due from us to your most illustrious family. But we come also warmed and enlivened and spirited with that ardent zeal and true devotion, which we owe to the excellent religion we profess, and to that most holy faith, whereof our Kings have the honour to be, and to be styled the defenders. What we are now about to say to your Highness is that which heaven and earth have long expected from us that we should say; and what we cannot answer it to God or man, if we omit or neglect it, when we have an opportunity, which your Royal Highness is pleased at this time to afford us. And therefore hearken unto us, we beseech you, that God may hearken unto you; and let it be no grief nor offence of heart unto you, if with that freedom which becomes good Christians, and loyal subjects, and true Englishmen, we lay before you at this time some of the many grievances and just complaints of our common mother, the holy, but most afflicted Church of England.

If there be now in the world a church, to whom that eulogium, that she is a lily among thorns, is due and proper, it is this Church of which we are members, as it stands reformed now, and established amongst us: the purest certainly upon earth; as being purified from those many corruptions and abuses which the lapse of times, the malice of the devil, and the wickedness of men had introduced insensibly into the doctrine and worship and government of it. But then, withal, this lily of purity hath for these many years (by the malicious and subtle machinations of her restless and implacable enemies) been surrounded with thorns on every side; and even to this day she bears in her body the marks of the Lord Jesus, the scars of the old, and the impressions of new and more dangerous wounds; and so fills up daily that which is behind of the sufferings of her crucified Saviour.

But yet, Sir, in the multitude of the sorrows which she hath in her heart, give us leave to tell you (for so it is) scarce any thing hath so deeply and so sensibly wounded her, as that your Royal Highness should think fit even in her affliction to forsake her. Her's is the womb that bare you, Sir, and her's the pap that gave you suck. You were born within her then happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy faith. You sucked the first principles of Christianity from her, the principles of the Oracles of God, that sincere milk of the Word, not adulterated with heterogeneous or foreign mixtures of any kind. Your royal father, that blessed martyr of ever glorious memory, who loved her and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back upon an impious and ingrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion, (which he thought worth not only his three kingdoms, but ten thousand worlds,) he gave that queen in legacy amongst you. For thus he bespake the King your brother, and in him all that were his; words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble: "If you never see my face again, I require and entreat you as your father and as your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or disaffection from the true religion established in the Church of England. I tell you, I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes have concluded it to be the best in the world."

And accordingly, Sir, we hereupon enjoyed you for many years (to your, we hope, we are sure) to our exceeding great comfort and satisfaction. We saw you, in those happy days, constant and assiduous in the chapels and oratories of the palace.

Like the bright morning and evening star, you still arose and set with our sun, and shined with him there in the same heavenly orb. You stood, as it was meet, next to the throne, the eldest son of this now despised Church, and in capacity to become one day the nursing father of it; and we said in our hearts, it may so come to pass, that under his shadow also we shall sit down and be safe.

But, alas! it was not long before you withdrew yourself by degrees from thence, (we know not how, nor why, God knows!) and though we were loth at first to believe our fears, yet they proved at last too mighty for us; and when our eyes failed with looking up for you in that house of our God, and we found you not, instead of fear sorrow filled our hearts, and we mourn your absence ever since, and cannot be comforted. And then, in that other august assembly, in the House of the Kingdom, the most sacred of any but the house of God himself, think, we beseech you, Sir, (and sure it will soften and intenerate you into some pity, when you have thought,) how you stab every one of us to the heart, how you even break our hearts, when we observe (as all the world doth) that we no sooner address ourselves to Heaven for a blessing upon the public counsels (in which you have yourself so great a share too, and so high a concern) but immediately you turn your back upon us.

Have we forgotten the name of our God? Or do we stretch out our hands to a strange God? Would not God search this out? for he knoweth the very secrets of the heart. Or, if indeed we worship the same one God, and go to him by that one Mediator

of God and man, whom you cannot refuse, is there any thing in the matter of our requests which can be justly blamed by any Christian? We pray (amongst the rest) for your Royal Highness by name; and so do many thousands of good Christians besides, within his Majesty's dominions, every day. And can you find in your heart, Sir, (a heart so noble, and generous, so courteous too) to throw back all these prayers, and renounce them, as so many affronts and injuries to Heaven and you? If we, who stand here before you, Sir, should declare (as we do at present, and we hope it misbecomes us not) that we do now actually lift up our hearts with our hands unto God in the heavens, that he would be pleased to endue you with his holy spirit, to enrich you with his heavenly grace, to prosper you with all happiness, and to bring you to his everlasting kingdom; can you withhold your soul from going up together with our souls, one entire sacrifice to Heaven, to so good and so holy a purpose? Or, if you can, (which seems, indeed, to be the sad state of the case; nor is that action of your's, in the common acceptation of mankind, capable of fairer construction,) blessed God, what shall we say? Tell us then, if you please, what we are to think you judge of us. Are our prayers (so qualified as before) not only turned into sin to ourselves, but able to desecrate and unhallow your's too by their contagion? Are we then all become to you as heathen men and publicans; given up as firebrands of hell, and marked out for damnation? Or rather, Sir, (for what patience, what phlegm of a stoick can tamely pass it by?) have not they, to whom you have unhappily surrendered the conduct of your conscience, put off at once all reason and common sense, all bowels of Christian charity and mercy, nay all common modesty and humanity itself? Now blessed be God, that these men are not appointed judges of the quick and the dead; for then no flesh would be saved, but those few (I say few, in regard of the whole Christian world) who absolutely give up themselves to serve the secular interests and designs of the proudest, the cruelest, and the most uncharitable church in the world.

It is more than time, Sir, that you consider seriously between God and your own soul, (when you two meet together alone at midnight,) what you have done, and where you are; that you remember whence you are fallen, and repent, and do the first works; that at length you open your eyes and your ears (and we beseech Almighty God, who only can, to open your heart) to better and more impartial information. It may be, you have been told, (we are sure it is the usual method in which some treat their proselytes,) that you ought to put out your own eyes, and give them your hand to lead you whither they please; to yield up yourself entirely, in implicit faith and wretched blind obedience to all their imperious dictates and commands, but by no means to hear or read (much less consider) what any man else can suggest to the contrary; which is so mean and so unmanly a submission of reason, and faith too, and of all the powers of the soul, to the arbitrary impositions of an insolent and tyrannical faction, that nothing can be more so; unless this be, that, if perhaps, under this dismal universal interdict of all aids and assistances that can come in to you from abroad, it shall please God himself by his Holy Spirit to hover on the working of your own thoughts within, and by that collision to strike fire out of them, and to say "Let there be light," and in that light to show you the error, or

the sin of something that hath been imposed upon you; you are bound (say these severe casuists, but remiss enough in other instances) to resist those motions, to refuse those irradiations, to rebel against that light, and to shake these bright sparks of Heaven out of your bosom, and tread them under foot, and damn them all, as the suggestions and temptations of the devil. Certainly there cannot be, I think, a stronger presumption (I had almost said, a clearer demonstration) of a bad cause, weak and ruinous in itself, diffident too, and despairing of itself, than such a vile and disingenuous fashion of procedure. And if this, Sir, were the case with you at present, we should have nothing left us to do, but only to mourn for you in secret, and to commend you to the extraordinary and miraculous mercies of God, which alone can rescue you from so great a bondage.

But we hope better things of you, great Sir, and things that accompany salvation, though thus we speak. You are master of too good an understanding, and of too high a courage, to suffer yourself to be treated at so vile and cheap a rate. A generous and noble mind can never give up itself to be thus imposed upon, and ridden by such unjust, immodest pretenders. They are not only cruel, but impudent and foolish, that pretend great kindness forsooth, while they put out a man's eyes, (at least hoodwink and blindfold him,) and then set him to grind in their mills, and serve their turns upon him in all the low instances of drudgery: whereas the true and genuine Christian religion is a plain and honest and disinterested thing, full of sweet candour and holy simplicity; hath no tricks in it, no designs upon any man, but only to make him wise and good, and so happy for ever: and it suits not at all with the noble free temper and ingenuity of it, to pretend or desire to be taken upon trust, or to obtrude himself upon any man without examination. Nothing at all of that moment is to be done in the dark, or be huddled up in such a blind, implicit manner. The coin that refuseth the touchstone and the balance, is justly suspected false and adulterate; and will never go for current payment with any that understand themselves and take care of their affairs. And therefore, Sir, for the love of Heaven and your own soul, look about you, and make use of the faculties which God hath given you. You owe a satisfaction to yourself, and so doth every honest man in whatever he doth; and when all is done and said on all sides, if he but lets himself loose to think, consider, and reflect, he will judge for himself at last, and he cannot help or avoid it. It was St. Paul's advice to his Thessalonians, (and it is ours to you, Sir, and the sum of what we would say,) "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good;" or with those Bereans, more noble than their neighbours, "search the Scriptures, whether those things be so or not."

And if this be your present resolve or inclination, (as we trust it is,) we are here, Sir, in our own, and in the names of the rest of our brethren now about town, to make you a most humble tender of our best and utmost assistance; and, that the consultation may be easy and come to a short issue, we will not engage you in doubtful disputations; we will not lead you into hard and thorny questions; we will not perplex you with the subtilties and niceties of the schools, nor with any thing that lies remote and out of common view, beyond the reach of ordinary notice. A plain text (or two) of Scripture, and a plain obvious matter of fact, recorded in one hundred books, that are in our own language and in

every man's hand, is all we shall trouble your royal highness with: and from these, so few and so humble premises, we doubt not by God's assistance to be able to evince, that your Royal Highness is bound in conscience, and as you tender the welfare of your immortal soul, immediately to quit the communion and guidance of your stepdame, the Church of Rome, and then to return into the bosom of your true, dear, and holy mother, the Church of England. And thus we prove the first of these: sc. that you ought forthwith to abandon the communion of the Church of Rome.

That Church, which teacheth and practiseth doctrines destructive of salvation, is to be relinquished. But the Church of Rome teacheth and practiseth doctrines destructive of salvation. Therefore the Church of Rome is to be relinquished.*

IV.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE KING.

On his declaration at his accession to the throne.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY, Feb. 7, 1684-5, Manu W. C.

We are here this morning (the few Bishops that are about the town) with design to throw ourselves at your Majesty's feet; and there, in the names of ourselves and our brethren, and the whole state of the clergy of the realm, to profess our duty and our loyalty to your Majesty, your heirs and successors. Sir, it hath been accounted the distinctive character of the established church; it is her glory, and her holy boast, that she hath been always loyal to her kings, even in the greatest trials; and she esteems it one of her greatest honours, that your Majesty hath oftentimes of late publicly declared

* This discourse lasted near half an hour, and James heard it through without interruption; but when the Archbishop had concluded, he told him, "He was much surprised when the Bishop of Winchester, some days before, requested leave to wait upon him on the subject; for though he did not think it proper to refuse to hear them, he looked upon the measure as fraught with ill consequences to him, to be moved on such a subject just before the meeting of Parliament, when he lay already under great pressures on account of his religion, which this must necessarily aggravate." He said he doubted not their good meaning; but could not help believing that those who put them upon it intended his prejudice. That as to the discourse they had made, it would be a presumption in him, who was an illiterate man, to enter into controversial disputes with persons so learned as they; that, nevertheless, he would have acquainted them with the reasons of his conversion, did he think it proper at that time, or had leisure for it. He assured them he had taken all the pains he could to inform himself in matters of religion before he changed, that he did not do it hastily, nor without previous foresight of the inconveniences which had already happened, and which were likely to follow on that account; and then excused himself from entering into any further discussion, upon the plea of business.—*Memoirs of James II.* vol. i. p. 539.—It will be seen that the Duke makes the same reply, on being moved to change his religion, in a letter to Lord Rochester, printed for the first time in this work at p. 45 of vol. i. And it is stated in his Memoirs, that he afterwards wrote a letter to the Archbishop, in which he assures him, that it was in his riper years, from a full conviction in all controversial points, that he was forced to embrace a religion he well foresaw would change his condition in this world, from one of the happiest princes in Europe, to that of the most unfortunate and abandoned man upon earth.

and acknowledged it. And we humbly desire your Majesty to be assured, that we will make it the endeavour of our lives to make good the fair opinion you have been pleased to express concerning us, in all the instances of our duty, how costly or how hazardous soever they may prove to us.

Sir, when we came first within the prospect (the sad prospect) of what befel us yesterday* in the morning, we could not but think, that, at such a time as this is, we should have had much (very much) to ask of your Majesty, and to beg it upon our knees with the same earnestness with which we would petition for our lives, if they were all in question: but your Majesty's great and unexampled goodness hath prevented us. In that most auspicious moment in which you first sat down in the chair, to which God and your right have advanced you, you were pleased in our favour to make that admirable declaration, which we ought to write down in letters of gold, and engrave in marble.† However, we shall treasure it up in our hearts, as the greatest foundation of comfort which this world can afford us in our present condition. So that we have nothing to ask your Majesty, but that you would be (what you have always been observed to be) yourself; that is, generous, and just, and true to all you once declare: nor any thing to tender in return to your Majesty, but our most humble thanks, with our hearts and affections, our lives and fortunes, together with our ardent prayers to Almighty God, (which shall never be wanting,) that he would make the rest of your Majesty's reign happy and prosperous, and suitable to these glorious beginnings; and at last crown your Majesty with his own glory in the world that is to come.

V.

KING JAMES THE SECOND'S LICENCE, DISPENSATION, AND PARDON,‡ FOR JOHN MASSEY, M.A., FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, LATELY APPOINTED DEAN OF CHRIST-CHURCH, OXFORD, DEC. 16, 1686.

James the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

* Death of King Charles II.

† The King, in his speech to the Privy Council on his accession, promised *to preserve the government, both in Church and State, as it was then established by law,* and this he reiterated in his first speech in Parliament. The joy and loyal expressions of satisfaction with which this declaration was at first received by all ranks, soon subsided, and gave way to the most anxious and gloomy apprehensions, at the open and manifest strides taken to introduce popery and arbitrary power.

‡ The importance of this document, as a remarkable evidence of the design of James to subvert the Protestant establishment, has been pointed out by Mr. Hallam. "This dispensation seems not to have been generally known at the time; Burnet has stated the circumstances of Massey's promotion inaccurately, and no historian, I believe, till the publication of the instrument after the middle of the last century, was fully aware of the degree in which the King had trampled upon the securities of the established church in this transaction."—*Constitutional History of England,* vol. ii. p. 409.

Whereas we have lately constituted and appointed our trusty and well-beloved subject, John Massey, A.M. and Fellow of Merton College, to be Dean of Christ-church in our University of Oxon; and the said John Massey having humbly besought us, that he may be admitted and installed Dean of Christ-church aforesaid, and enjoy the same dignity and preferment without being obliged to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or either of them, or any test or sacrament, or making any declaration or subscription relating to religion, or doing, performing, or subscribing any other act or acts in conformity to the doctrine, discipline, or liturgy of the said Church of England; and we, being well assured of the ability, loyalty, and integrity of the said John Massey, are graciously disposed to grant his said humble suit: Know ye therefore, that we, for the considerations aforesaid, and of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said John Massey, our royal licence and dispensation to absent himself from the church, chapel, or usual place of Common Prayer, as the same is now used in England; and to forbear using or reading the same, or declaring his assent or consent to the contents of the book of Common Prayer now used in England, and to abstain from and forbear receiving and administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Liturgy or usage of the said Church of England, and from taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and from reading and subscribing the articles of religion, commonly called the nine-and-thirty articles; and from making, subscribing, or repeating any declaration, acknowledgment, or recognition, or doing any other act or thing required by, or mentioned, or contained in one Act of Parliament, made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of our late royal brother, entitled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church of England;" or mentioned or contained in one other Act of Parliament, made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of our said late brother, entitled, "An Act for the preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants;" and from doing, declaring, or subscribing all and every such other acts or things in conformity to the doctrine, discipline, and Liturgy of the Church of England, as he the said John Massey, by reason of his being Dean of Christ-church aforesaid, by the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, or by any statute, constitution, or custom of the University of Oxford, or of the College called Christ-church aforesaid, or either of them, is, or shall be obliged to perform, make, or subscribe. And we do hereby, of our further special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant, declare and direct, that the said John Massey shall be admitted and installed Dean of Christ-church aforesaid: and we do hereby authorize, empower, and enable him to be, and continue Dean of Christ-church aforesaid; and to have, hold, use, exercise, and enjoy the said place, and dignity of Dean of Christ-church, with all the rights, profits, powers, privileges, authorities, and advantages whatsoever to the same belonging; and to travel to the cities of London and Westminster, and to come, remain, and be in our presence, or in the presence of our royal consort the Queen, or of Catherine Queen-

dowager of England, or in our Court, or in the court or house, where we, or they are, or shall be, or reside; although the said John Massey hath not taken the order of priesthood, or hath not done or performed, or shall at any time hereafter omit, neglect or refuse to do, or perform any thing, or things enjoined, required, or enacted to be done or performed by the said Acts of Parliament, made in the thirtieth year of the reign of our said late royal brother, King Charles II. or in the first, fifth, thirteenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, twenty-ninth, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, or in the first, or third years of the reign of our late royal grandfather, King James, over England, &c. or in or by any statute, constitution, or custom of or in the University of Oxford, or of or in the said College called Christ-church; and although the said John Massey hath committed or done any thing contrary unto the said Acts of Parliament, or any or either of them, or contrary unto any clause, or article, or thing in them, or in any of them contained, or contrary to any statute, constitution, or custom of the said University of Oxford, or the College called Christ-church aforesaid: hereby also requiring and enjoining the Chancellor and Vice-chancellor of our said University, and the Subdean and Canons of Christ-church aforesaid, and all other officers and persons whatsoever whom it may concern, that they, and every of them, in their respective places do act and perform all, and whatsoever is, or ought to be acted, done, and performed by them respectively, for the admitting, installing, and establishing the said John Massey in the said place or dignity of Dean of Christ-church aforesaid; notwithstanding his not having taken the order of priesthood, or his not doing or performing what by the said Acts of Parliament, or any of them, or the statutes, constitutions, or customs of the University or College aforesaid, or any of them, he is enjoined, or required to do, or perform; and as if he had fully and effectually done, or performed the same. And to the end that this our royal licence, dispensation, and grant, may have its due effect, we do hereby, of our further especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, pardon, remit, exonerate, and discharge the said John Massey of and from all offences, pains, penalties, suspensions, and deprivations, sentences, censures, or disabilities by him incurred, or to be incurred, or whereunto he now is, or hereafter may be liable, for or by reason of his not having done or performed, or for that he hath omitted, neglected, or refused, or shall at any time hereafter omit, neglect, or refuse to do, execute, or perform any thing, or things enjoined, or required to be done, executed, or performed in or by the said Acts of Parliament, or any of them, or in or by the statutes, constitutions, or customs of the University of Oxford, or of the said Colleges of Merton or Christ-church, or either of them; hereby enjoining and requiring all and singular courts, and judges, as well ecclesiastical as civil, to supersede, and forbear at all times hereafter, all prosecutions and proceedings whatsoever against the said John Massey, for or by reason of any matter or thing hereby dispensed with, licensed, and remitted. And our pleasure is, and we do hereby, of our more abundant grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, grant and declare, that these presents shall be in and by all things firm, valid, and effectual in the law; and shall be available for the purposes aforesaid, notwithstanding the said Acts of Parliament, or any of them, or any of the statutes, customs, or constitutions of the University or Colleges

aforesaid; and notwithstanding the not reciting or mentioning, or not sufficiently or particularly reciting or mentioning, or misreciting the statutes, constitutions, or customs of the said University or Colleges aforesaid, or the said Acts of Parliament, or any of them, or the title or contents thereof; and notwithstanding that the said John Massey is not consecrated priest, or is, or at any time hereafter shall be a convict recusant; and notwithstanding any misdemeanour, misrecital, or other defect or imperfection in these presents, and any act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, disability, or restriction to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent: witness ourself at Westminster, the sixteenth day of December, in the second year of our reign.*

PIGGOT.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

VI.

LORD CLARENDON'S SPEECH TO THE COUNCIL, WHEN HE WAS SWORN INTO THE OFFICE OF LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, JAN. 9, 1685-6.

MY LORDS,

As I have the honour to have the King's commission to be his Chief Governor here, so, I assure you, I have brought with me a desire and resolution of applying myself entirely to perform the duty of it; in which I shall very frequently desire your advice and assistance, and particularly from you two, my Lords, who have at other times, as well as now, so happily discharged this trust. It is by God's blessing upon your endeavours, that I enter into the administration of this government in so perfect peace and quietness; which, I hope, will always continue. I have the King's commands to declare upon all occasions, that, whatever imaginary (for they can be called no other) apprehensions any men here may have had, his Majesty hath no intention of altering the Acts of Settlement: and I hope, by the daily experience you will have of his Majesty's gracious government over all his subjects, every dutiful and loyal heart will be perfectly at ease under that protection, and fall to his labour and trade with that industry and application, which will make the kingdom flourish and prosper; of which I shall be glad to see the effects, whilst I have the happiness and honour to be amongst you.

* James had previously, in May of this year, granted a licence, dispensation, and pardon for Obadiah Walker, Nathaniel Boyse, and Thomas Deane, Master and Fellows of University College, Oxon.; and for John Bernard, Fellow of Brazen Nose College, to absent themselves from church and common prayer, from the administration of the Sacrament, and from taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. This document is to be found in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa; together with a licence to Obadiah Walker to print and sell popish books, and another to Edmund Sclater, Rector of Putney and Esher, to the same effect, and to enable him to keep a public school.

VII.

THE EXAMINATION OF THEODORE CADE OF CARICKMAQUIGLY, IN THE COUNTY OF DONEGAL, GENT.

TAKEN BEFORE FRANCIS CARY AND MATHEW COCKEN, ESQUIRES, TWO OF HIS MAJESTY'S JUSTICES OF THE PEACE FOR THE COUNTY AFORESAID, THE 15TH DAY OF MARCH, 1686, BY ORDER OF THE LORDS JUSTICES OF ASSIZE FOR THE NORTHERN CIRCUIT OF ULSTER, NOW SITTING AT THE CITY OF LONDONDERRY:—

Who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and examined by virtue of his oath, saith, that he, this examinant, being in company with one Samuel Steel, a seaman, and Patrick Coyle, an exciseman, about the latter end of January last, (but the certain day he doth not remember) in his, this examinant's, house at Carickmaquigly aforesaid, the said Patrick Coyle began a discourse about the times, and, directing his speech to this examinant, told him with oaths and asseverations, that Mr. Fitz-James* would inherit the crowns of these kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, after the death of our present King; and that the Pope had passed a bill to make him legitimate in order thereunto, and that he was to go into France and Spain, to make interest with those crowns to assist him with forces, when occasion should offer; and at his return from thence he would come to Ireland, and there be sheltered till the King's death, they having the sword in their own hands to maintain and justify his lawful title to the said kingdoms: upon which this examinant asked the said Patrick Coyle, what would become then of the title that the Princess of Orange and the Princess of Denmark bore to these kingdoms? To which the said Patrick Coyle replied, "Let them fight it out, and try their hands," speaking in a slighting manner, and smiling, while he spoke those last words. And further, he, the said Patrick Coyle, composing his countenance, told him, this examinant, that he, the said Patrick Coyle, had seen letters from very good hands to that purpose, and swore with many oaths, that it was true, and would certainly come to pass; and further this examinant saith not.

THEOD. CADE.

Capt. die et anno suprascript. virtute mandati prædicti, coram nobis { Francis Cary. / Mathew Cocken.

* Henry Fitzjames, natural son of the King. This affidavit is referred to in a letter of Lord Clarendon to his brother at page 81 of this volume.

VIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

On being about to leave his Government in Ireland.

SIR, Dublin Castle, February 6, 1686-7.

I hope your Majesty will not be displeased, that I presume on this day to approach your royal presence in this manner, to congratulate your happy entrance into the third year of your reign: that it may be as long and prosperous, as any of your predecessors, and that you may enjoy all the felicity you propose to yourself, and which a dutiful people can contribute to, shall ever be my prayer. My Lord Tyrconnel is arrived this afternoon: and, as soon as I have obeyed the commands he has brought me from your Majesty, I shall make all possible haste to cast myself at your Majesty's feet; and doubt not, but I shall give you such an account of your affairs here, as will be pleasing to your Majesty. As I have ever made it the business of my life to obey you in all things, so I shall most cheerfully submit to be disposed of as your Majesty pleaseth; and shall take all opportunities while I live to show, that I am with the utmost zeal and devotion,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant.

IX.

ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT TO THE KING.

Requesting to be excused from attending the Ecclesiastical Commission.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of William Archbishop of Canterbury

Sheweth,

That your petitioner hath now almost completed the threescore and tenth year of his life; that the infirmities which usually attend so great an age, are already (and grow daily more and more) upon him; that the affairs of the Church within the province of Canterbury are so many and so great, that they require all the application and diligence which any one person (though of better health, and greater vigour of body and mind, than your petitioner is) can possibly use: your petitioner therefore, with the most profound submission throwing himself down at your Majesty's feet, most humbly and earnestly beseecheth your Majesty, that you would be pleased graciously to dispense with his attendance upon the execution of your late commission for causes ecclesiastical, in which so many great and able persons are engaged, to the end he may the better mind those things which belong to his single care, and have the more leisure, without distraction, as to bless God for this your royal indulgence, so also to pray continually for all the blessings of Heaven to be showered down upon your royal person, family, and government.

X.

THE PETITION OF SOME OF THE BISHOPS TO HIS MAJESTY AGAINST DIS TRIBUTING AND READING HIS "DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CON SCIENCE," WITH SOME PROCEEDINGS THEREUPON.

On Friday May 18th, 1688, a petition to the King was formed at Lambeth, by Willia Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and several suffragan bishops of that province; vi Henry Lord Bishop of London, William of St. Asaph, Francis of Ely, John of Chicheste Thomas of Bath and Wells, Thomas of Peterborough, and Jonathan of Bristol; in th presence, and with the consent of John Tillotson, D.D. Dean of Canterbury, Edward Sti lingfleet, D.D. Dean of St. Paul's, Simon Patrick, D.D. Dean of Peterborough, Thom Tenison, D.D. Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, Robert Grove, D.D. Rector of St. A drew's Undershaft, and William Sherlock, D.D. Master of the Temple. The petition wa as followeth:*—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of William Archbishop of Canterbury, and of divers of the su fragan Bishops of that province, now present with him, in behalf of ourselves and oth of our absent brethren, and of the Clergy of our respective dioceses, humbly showeth,

That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishi in all their churches your Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceedet neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, (our holy mother, th Church of England, being, both in her principles and constant practice, unquestionabl loyal; and having, to her great honour, been more than once publicly acknowlegded to b so by your gracious Majesty,) nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper, as shall be thought fit, whe that matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation: but, amon many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upo such a dispensing power, as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament; and partic larly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and stat that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience so far make themselv parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amou to in common and reasonable construction. Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly ar

* On two other copies of the petition, one of which is in Archbishop Sancroft's hand, are the followi subscriptions:—

"Approbo H. London, May 23, 1688.
William Norwich, May 23.
Robert Gloucester, May 21, 88.
Seth Sarum, May 26.
P. Winchester.
Tho. Exon., May 29, 1688."

earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon the distributing and reading your Majesty's said declaration; and your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

W. CANT.	THO. B. & W.
W. ASAPH.	THO. PETRIBURGENS.
FR. ELY.	JON. BRISTOL.
JO. CICESTER.	

In the evening of the same day, the petition being finished, all the subscribers, except the Archbishop, who had been forbidden the Court almost two years before, went over to Whitehall to deliver it to the King. In order thereto, the Bishop of St. Asaph went first to the Earl of Middleton, principal secretary, in the name of all the rest, to desire his assistance for the introducing them to his Majesty; but he had been sick for a fortnight before, and so confined to his chamber. Then St. Asaph (his brethren staying at the Earl of Dartmouth's house) went, and made the like application to the Earl of Sunderland, desiring him to peruse the petition, and acquaint his Majesty with it, that he might not be surprised at the delivery of it; and withal to beseech his Majesty to assign the time and place, when and where they might all attend him and present their petition. The Earl refused to inspect the petition, but went immediately and acquainted the King with their desire; and they were presently thereupon brought to the King in his closet within his bed-chamber; where the Bishop of St. Asaph with the rest, all being upon their knees, delivered the petition to his Majesty. The King was pleased at first to receive the petitioners and their petition graciously, and at first opening of it to say, "This is my Lord of Canterbury's own hand:" to which the Bishops replied, "Yes, sir; it is his own hand." But the King, having read it over, and then folding it up, said thus, or to this effect:—

KING. This is a great surprise to me: here are strange words. I did not expect this from you; especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion.

ST. ASAPH, and some of the rest replied, that they had adventured their lives for his Majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him.

KING. I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion: I never saw such an address.

BRISTOL, falling down on his knees, said: Rebellion! sir, I beseech you, do not say so hard a thing of us. For God's sake, do not believe we are, or can be guilty of rebellion; it is impossible that I, or any of my family, should be so. Your Majesty cannot but remember that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth's rebellion; and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another, if there were occasion.

CHICHESTER. Sir, we have quelled one rebellion, and will not raise another.

ELY. We rebel! Sir, we are ready to die at your feet!

BATH AND WELLS. Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us which you allow to all mankind.

PETERBOROUGH. Sir, you allow liberty of conscience to all mankind: the reading this declaration is against our conscience.

KING. I will keep this paper. It is the strangest address which I ever saw: it tends

to rebellion. Do you question my dispensing power? Some of you here have printed and preached for it, when it was for your purpose.

PETERBOROUGH. Sir, what we say of the dispensing power refers only to what was declared in Parliament.

KING. The dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the Church of England.

St. ASAPH. It was declared against in the first parliament called by his late Majesty, and by that which was called by your Majesty.

The KING, insisting upon the tendency of the petition to rebellion, said, he would have his Declaration published.

BATH AND WELLS. We are bound to fear God, and honour the King: we desire to do both. We will honour you; we must fear God.

BRISTOL. We will do our duty to your Majesty in every thing to the utmost, which does not interfere with our duty to God.

KING. Is this what I have deserved of you, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it? I will remember you that have signed this paper: I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you; especially from some of you: I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

BATH AND WELLS. God's will be done!

KING. What is that?

BATH AND WELLS, and PETERBOROUGH. God's will be done!

KING. If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed their knees to Baal.

This is the sum of what passed, as far as the Bishops could recollect it; and this being said, they were dismissed.

The petition was afterwards approved and subscribed by divers of the absent Bishops: viz. by Henry of London, May 23d, Will. Norwich, May 23d, Robert Gloucester, May 21st, Seth Sarum, May 26th, William Landaff, May 27th, William Worcester, June 3d, Peter Winchester, May —, Thomas Exon, May 29th.

Thus things remained for some time after; and, though in the mean while many and very different methods of severity intended against us were spoken of in the talk of the town, yet nothing seems to have been resolved on, at least nothing was done till Sunday May 27th.* Late in the evening that day one of his Majesty's messengers served the Archbishop of Canterbury with the following summons.

* In the extracts from King James's Diary, printed by Macpherson, p. 151, it is said in express terms, that "The Chancellor (Jeffries) advised the King to summon the Bishops before the Council for a tumultuary petition, liable to a legal prosecution. They, refusing bail, were committed to the Tower." And in the Memoirs of James II. p. 158, it is also said, "He gave more easily into the Chancellor's advice, who thought his having reprimanded them not sufficient." There seems also to be a glance at Sunderland, as having also counselled the measure, in the preceding page, where we find the following passage:—"It was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous councils, with intent, as it was suspected, to widen the breach; and therefore encouraged his persisting in those ways, which he might have seen would not go down with the multitude."

To Sir John Taylor, one of his Majesty's messengers in ordinary.

Locus Sigilli. Robert Earl of Sunderland, Baron Spencer, of Wormleighton, President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Principal Secretary of State, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

These are in his Majesty's name to require William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury to appear personally before his Majesty in Council upon the eighth day of June next at five o'clock in the afternoon, to answer to such matters of misdemeanour, as on his Majesty's behalf shall then and there be objected against him; and you are hereby required to summon the said William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury to appear accordingly: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at the Court at Whitehall, the 27th day of May.

SUNDERLAND P.

So many of the petitioners as were in town, viz. the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, and Peterborough, were at the same time served with the like summons by other of the King's messengers, and the like sent after the rest, who were gone home into their dioceses.

On Friday, June 8th, at five in the afternoon, his Majesty came into the Privy Council. About half an hour after, the Archbishop and six Bishops, who were attending in the next room, were called into the Council Chamber, and graciously received by his Majesty. The Lord Chancellor took a paper then lying on the table, and, showing it to the Archbishop, asked him in words to this effect:—"Is this the petition that was written and signed by your Grace, and which these Bishops presented to his Majesty?" The Archbishop received the paper from the Lord Chancellor, and, addressing himself to his Majesty, said to this purpose: "Sir, I am called hither as a criminal; which I never was before in my life, and little thought I ever should be, especially before your Majesty: but, since it is my unhappiness to be so at this time, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, that I am cautious of answering questions. No man is obliged to answer questions, that may tend to the accusing of himself." His Majesty called this chicanery, and hoped he would not deny his hand. The Archbishop still insisted upon it, that there could be no other end of this question, but to draw such an answer from him as might afford ground for an accusation; and therefore desired there might be no answer required of him. St. Asaph said, "All divines of all Christian churches agree in this, that no man in our circumstances is obliged to answer any such questions." The King still pressing for an answer with some seeming impatience, the Archbishop said, "Sir, though we are not obliged to give any answer to this question, yet, if your Majesty lays your command upon us, we shall answer it, in trust upon your Majesty's justice and generosity, that we shall not suffer for our obedience, as we must, if our answer should be brought in evidence against us." His Majesty said, "No; I will not command you: if you will deny your own hands, I know not what to say to you," &c. The Lord Chancellor said, "Withdraw." After about half a quarter of an hour they were called in again: then the Lord Chancellor said, "His Majesty has commanded me to require you to answer this question: Whether these be your hands that are set to this petition?" His Majesty himself also said, "I command you to answer this

question." Then the Archbishop took the petition, and having read it over said, "I own that I wrote this petition, and that this is my hand." Then the Lord Chancellor asked each of the Bishops; and they all acknowledged their hands, and that they delivered this petition. Then they were commanded to withdraw. After a while they were called in a third time. Then the Lord Chancellor told them, "It is his Majesty's pleasure to have you proceeded against for this petition; but it shall be with all fairness in Westminster-hall: there will be an information against you, which you are to answer; and in order to that, you are to enter into a recognizance. The Archbishop said, that without a recognizance they should be ready to appear and to answer, whensoever they were called. One of the Bishops said, the Lord Lovelace had been called before the Council to answer to a complaint that was brought in against him, and that he was allowed to answer it in Westminster-hall, without entering into any recognizance; and that they hoped they might be allowed to answer in like nature. The Lord Chancellor said, the Lord Lovelace had affronted his Majesty, and had behaved himself very rudely before them; and therefore his Majesty would have him proceeded against the common way: but, for the Bishops there present, his Majesty was pleased to treat them with all favour in respect of their character; and therefore he would have them enter into a recognizance. His Majesty was pleased to say, "I offer you this as a favour, and I would not have you refuse it." St. Asaph said, "Whatsoever favour your Majesty vouchsafes to offer to any person, you are pleased to leave it to him whether he will accept it or no; and you do not expect he should accept it to his own prejudice. We conceive that this entering into recognizance may be prejudicial to us; and therefore we hope your Majesty will not be offended at our declining it." Then the Lord Chancellor said, "There are but three ways to proceed in matters of this kind: it must be either by commitment, or by recognizance, or by subpœna out of the King's Bench. His Majesty was not willing to take the common way in proceeding against you, but he would give you leave to enter into recognizance:"—and his Lordship again advised them to accept it. Some of the Bishops said, they were informed, that no man was obliged to enter into recognizance, unless there were special matter against him, and that there was oath of it made against that person: this they said, not considering, that now the petition was made special matter, and that their confessing it was as good as an oath. But at last they insisted on this, that there was no precedent for it, that any member of the House of Peers should be bound in recognizance for misdemeanour. The Lord Chancellor said, there were precedents for it; but, being desired to name one, he named none. The Bishops desired to be proceeded against the common way; but that was not allowed, and they were a third time commanded to withdraw.

A while after, they were called in the fourth time, and asked, Whether they had considered of it better? and, whether they would accept of his Majesty's favour? The Archbishop said, he had the advice of the best counsel in town, and they had warned him of this, assuring him it would be to his prejudice; and therefore he desired that it might not be required, offering his promise again to appear and to answer, whensoever he should be called. But his Majesty seemed to be displeased, and said, "You will believe others before you will believe me:" so they were the fourth time commanded to withdraw.

A good while after this the Earl of Berkeley came forth to the Bishops, and endeavoured first to persuade the Archbishop to enter into recognizance, which he thought had been agreed between them over-night; for on Thursday night, almost at bed-time, his Lordship came to the Archbishop at Lambeth, and after half an hour's discourse, at last came to speak of his appearing at Council the next day, and then advised his Grace to offer a recognizance: his Grace said, "I am advised to that way:" his Lordship said, "That is well," and soon after took his leave. Now he seemed to look upon it as something strange, that his Grace should refuse to enter into recognizance; but, finding him fixed, he endeavoured to persuade the other Bishops. He told them, he would do it, if he were in their case; but, finding them all of a mind, he went outward from the Council, but soon after returned that way into the Council Chamber again; from whence, about half an hour after, came forth Mr. Riley, a Serjeant-at-arms, with the warrant, signed with fifteen hands, to carry the Seven Bishops to the Tower; and another warrant, with nineteen hands and seals, for the Lieutenant of the Tower to keep them in safe custody.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE KING AND BISHOPS AFTER THE THIRD OR FOURTH COMING IN.

A. Sir, we appear before you this day, by virtue of your summons, as criminals; the first time that ever I stood as a criminal before any man, and I am sorry that it happens to be before my Sovereign Lord. We are advised, Sir, that they, who are in this condition of criminals, are not obliged to answer to questions which may be to their prejudice: notwithstanding, if your Majesty requires it of us, we will tell you the true matter-of-fact, trusting in your Majesty's justice and generosity, that no advantage shall be taken against us from our confession.

Q. Is this your petition?

R. Pray, Sir, give us leave to see it; and if, upon perusal, it appears to be the same ——— Yes, Sir: this is our petition, and these are our subscriptions.

Q. Who were present at the forming of it?

R. All we who have subscribed it.

Q. Were no other persons present?

R. It is our great infelicity, that we are here as criminals; and your Majesty is so just and generous that you will not require us to accuse either ourselves or others.

Q. Upon what occasion came you to London?

R. I received an intimation from the Archbishop, that my advice and assistance was required in the affairs of the Church.

Q. What were the affairs which you consulted of?

R. The matter of the petition.

Q. What is the temper you are ready to come to with the Dissenters?

R. We refer ourselves to the petition.

Q. What mean you by the dispensing power being declared illegal in Parliament?

R. The words are so plain that we cannot use any plainer.

Q. What want of prudence or honour is there in obeying the King?

R. What is against conscience is against prudence and honour too, especially in persons of our character.

Q. Why is it against your conscience?

R. Because our consciences oblige us (as far as we are able) to preserve our laws and religion according to the Reformation.

Q. Is the dispensing power then against law?

R. We refer ourselves to the petition.

Q. How could the distributing and reading the Declaration make you parties to it?

R. We refer ourselves to our petition, whether the common and reasonable construction of mankind would not make it so.

Q. Did you disperse a printed letter in the country, or otherwise dissuade any of the clergy from reading it?

R. If this be one of the articles of misdemeanour against us, we desire to answer it with the rest.

General. We acknowledge the petition: we are summoned to appear here to answer such matters of misdemeanor as shall be objected; we therefore humbly desire a copy of our charge, and that time convenient may be allowed us to advise about it, and answer it. We are here, in obedience to his Majesty's command, to receive our charge, but humbly desire we may be excused from answering questions from whence occasion may be taken against us.

XI.

THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE'S LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

Loo, October 1, 1687.

Though I have not the advantage to know you, my Lord of Canterbury, yet the reputation you have makes me resolve not to lose this opportunity of making myself more known to you than I could have been yet. Dr. Stanly can assure you that I take more interest in what concerns the Church of England than myself, and that one of the greatest satisfactions I can have, is to hear how that all the clergy show themselves as firm to their religion, as they have always been to their King, which makes me confident God will preserve his Church, since he has so well provided it with able men. I have nothing more to say, but beg your prayers, and desire you will do me the justice to believe I shall be very glad of any occasion to show the esteem and veneration I have for you.

MARIE.

"To the Archbishop of Canterbury."

XII.

COPY OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S ANSWER TO PRINCESS MARY.

[It was probably never sent.* The words in italic are erased in the original.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

The high and dear esteem you have of the Church and holy religion established amongst us, *which you are pleased* so emphatically *to* declared in your *gracious* letter which you were lately pleased to send me *with*, and the full assurance which farther Dr. St [anley] gives *me* that you hold this pious good affection towards [us] in common with that great and excellent Prince in whose bosom you lie, are *such* strong and rich consolations, which as we never needed more than now, *nor* could they never come more seasonable or welcome to us. It hath seemed good to the infinite wisdom to exercise this poor Ch [urch] with trials of all sorts and of all degrees. But the greatest calamity that ever befell us *is* that it pleased God in his wise and just providence to permit wicked and ungodly men, after they had barbarously murdered the father, to drive out the sons from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, *and as it were to say* had said to them, "Go and serve other Gods." The *dismal* effects hereof we still feel every moment, but *can*not nay we cannot particularly express. And though all this (were it yet much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our Sovereign and the Royal Family in the legal succession of it, yet it embitters the very comforts that are left us; it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God who in so dark and

* The ground for this opinion is the following letter of Dr. Stanley to Dr. Hickes, printed by Mr. Gutch in his preface to the Collectanea Curiosa.

TO DR. HICKES.

SIR, Amen Corner, May 26, [1715.]

I do not remember that I ever heard that the late good Archbishop Sancroft was thought to have invited the Prince of Orange over into England. If any one did charge him with it, I believe it was without grounds. All that I can say as to the matter is, that anno 1687, when I came into England out of Holland, I confess I did desire the Archbishop to write to the then Princess of Orange, on whom I had the honour to attend, to encourage her still to give countenance to the Church of England: but he was pleased not to write to her. And afterwards, when we were come over into England, and a report being spread abroad that some of the Lords Spiritual as well as Temporal had invited the Prince of Orange into England, in my discoursing with the Archbishop, I remember he said to me, "I am now glad I did not write to the Princess as you desired, for if I had written to her, they would have said that I had sent to invite them over." This is true, and this is all that I can say of that affair.

I am, Sir,
Your most faithful friend and humble servant,
WILL. STANLEY.

dismal a night *time* hath caused some dawn of light to break from the eastern shore, in the constancy and good affection of your Royal Highness and the excellent Prince towards us, for if this should fail us too, (which the God of Heaven and Earth forbid) our hearts must surely break. And as our thanksgivings for you both go up before God continually, so we all pray for you without ceasing, that God would crown you with all the blessings of Heaven and earth. He hath inspired your Royal Highness (with Mary in the Gospel) to choose the better part, and I trust it shall never be taken from you. Be faithful unto death, and he will give a crown of life. In the close of all, your Royal Highness's personal but most undeserved grace and favour to your poor unworthy servant must not be forgotten, *where*by which you have put new life into a dying *an* old man, ready to *who was ever* sink*ing* under double the burthen of age and sorrow, but will, so long as *while* he holds his soul in life, continue *to be* indeclinably to be what he is upon so many obligations (may it please your Royal Highness)

Your most devoted faithful servant
and daily orator at the throne of Grace,
W. C.

Lambheth House, Nov. 3, 1687.

XIII.

DR. STANLEY'S LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Hague, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 24}{\text{Feb. } 3}$, 1687-8.

When I returned hither (from) England, I durst not make bold to trouble your Grace so much, as to acquaint you how graciously and kindly the Princess received your Grace's letter, and the Prince your humblest service, but desired my uncle, Dr. Beveridge, to do it for me, which I doubt not but he hath done. But I reckon myself bound in duty now to address myself immediately to your Lordship, by reason of something which hath lately happened here; with which, I think, I ought to acquaint your Grace, who I know are so truly concerned for the good of our Church, and so, in some measure, prevent the ill reports which may possibly be raised of our excellent Princess.

I suppose your Grace may have heard that the King hath not been wanting to press his daughter here to be favourable to Popery; but lest you should have heard more than is true, and that the Papists should (as their way is) dishearten people, by representing her as inclined to them, I presume to acquaint your Lordship with the sum of all that hath passed (her Royal Highness [being] pleased to make me privy to it, and giving me express leave to communicate it to your Grace.) Whatever reports have been raised, the King hath scarcely ever spoken or written to our excellent Princess, to persuade her to Popery, till last Christmas: when the Marquess d'Abbeville came hither, the King sent to her a very long letter of two sheets of paper, written with his own hand, containing the motives

of his own conversion to Popery. This letter the Marquess d'Abbeville gave to the Princess on Christmas day. The sum of the letter (for she showed it me afterwards) was this:—that he had been during his exile zealous for the Church of England, and was scarcely ever spoken to by any body, but one nun, to turn Papist. Nay, he endeavoured to confirm his brother the Duke of Gloucester in the Church of England; from which he was once thought to be warping. But he says, that the first thing that wrought with him was, the holy and exemplary lives and constant devotion of those of the Church of Rome, the divisions among Protestants, with the necessity of an infallible judge to decide controversies together with some promises which Christ made to his Church in general, that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it, and some others made to St. Peter: And there being no person that pretends to Infallibility but the Bishop of Rome, he concluded this Church and Infallibility must needs be with them. Afterwards he is very severe against the Church of England for its cruelty towards Dissenters; saying, that Dissenters can give as good reasons for their separating from us, as we for our departure from Rome; nay, that any county in England can with as much reason separate from the rest, and choose officers and make laws for itself, as we could separate from the Bishop of Rome, and from those that hold communion with him. This is the main of what I remember was in the King's letter. Our excellent Princess seeing this letter written with the King's own hand, was resolved not only to write an answer, as the King desired, but to write it presently, and without consulting us, that he might see she was very ready to give an account of herself, and might be [able] truly to say it was her own answer. And therefore, the very next day being post-day, she made haste and wrote a letter of two sheets of paper (which she afterwards did read to me), which truly I can without flattery say, I think was one of the best letters that I ever saw, and as full to the case as I could desire; she treating him with that respect that was due to her father and a King, and yet speaking her mind freely and openly as became the cause of religion; answering every objection so handsomely, that I confess [I] could [not] sufficiently admire it and thank God for it. And in vindication of our Church said, that as she had used all means to inform herself concerning religion, so she was well satisfied in what she had done when she embraced the Church of England, and she hoped that God would give her grace to live and die in it. Besides much more, which it would be too long to trouble your Grace with. I confess I never was so fully satisfied in my life, as on this occasion with her, and though I knew she did understand her religion exceeding well, yet now methoughts she even outdid herself. And if ever I can procure a copy of her letter, I hope it may be with leave of communicating it to your Grace and my Lord of London, and I am sure you would be very well pleased with it.

After she had sent this letter to the King, his Majesty was pleased to answer little or nothing, but would have had her discourse with Father Morgan, who was Rector of the Jesuits College at Rome, and now lives with the Marquis d'Abbeville; but though she would willingly answer whatever the King shall write to her, she hath absolutely refused to admit this Jesuit to discourse with her; for if she should allow of any such discourse, she is sensible how they would boast presently, that she listened to them,

and was inclining towards them; which, I thank God, I think she is as far from as I can desire. And besides, she hath given me this assurance, that if ever there should be any objection or difficulty put to her, which she cannot clearly answer, she will not fail to command my advice and assistance in it. I make bold to acquaint your Grace thus at large with this affair, that if the Papists should raise any report of it, your Grace may have somewhat wherewithal to satisfy yourself and others, so far as in your great prudence you think fit. Our excellent Princess's reputation as to religion being of so great moment, I hope your Grace will pardon my thus representing this matter between the King and her to you; for I know your Grace's hearty concern for the Church: but I dare not speak of it even here, or write of it to any body else for several reasons; only my Lord of London knows of somewhat of it.

And as I thus beg your Lordship's pardon, so I must humbly also beg your commands and directions as to my management, either in this affair or in any thing else, in which the good of the Church is concerned, which, I can truly and with a safe conscience say, is much dearer to me than my life itself, or any thing else I have in this world; and therefore your Grace may be sure I will not fail (by the blessing of God) to make all the good impressions that I shall be able; but your Grace's commands and assistance will enable me to do much more; and I know that any thing will be much the better taken also as coming from your Grace. To this purpose I humbly crave leave to beg of your Grace, that you will be pleased sometimes to write to her Highness. I am from herself assured that she will take it very well, and when your Grace thinks fit to write to her, if you will please to give your letter to Dr. Tenison, he will frequently find a private hand by which to send it enclosed to me. And if your Grace doth take some notice to her of her carriage in this affair, as I have related it, it will I believe be very acceptable. I again most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this long letter, and for my bad writing, for the gentleman that is to carry it is in so great haste that I have not time to transcribe it. I bless God their Highnesses are in good health, and beg your Grace's prayers to God for them, and your blessing on

Your Grace's most humble and obedient Servant,

WILL. STANLEY.

XIV.

DR. STANLEY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Houslaerdyke, $\frac{\text{May } 31}{\text{June } 10}$, 1688.

I hope your Grace did pardon the trouble which I gave you of a letter since I returned hither out of England; and in confidence of that, I, having the opportunity of a friend's going for London whom I can trust, presume to acquaint your Grace with how great satisfaction the news was received here of the Petition which your Grace and your brethren the Bishops presented to his Majesty. All men here that love the Church or Reformation, do rejoice in it, and thank God for it, as an act very prudent and resolute,

and every way becoming your places and characters. But especially our excellent Prince and Princess were so very well pleased with it (notwithstanding what the Marquis of Abbeville, the King's envoy here, could say against it), that they have both vindicated it before him, and given me a command in their names to return your Grace their hearty thanks for it; and at the same time to express their real concern for your Grace and all your brethren, and for the good cause in which you are engaged: and I dare say that they are not only highly satisfied with your Grace's conduct, but reckon themselves particularly obliged by your Grace's so steadily maintaining the Church: and your refusing to comply with the King is by no means looked on by them as tending to disparage or depress the monarchy; for they reckon the monarchy to be really undervalued and injured by all unreasonable and illegal actions, though never so much pretended to enhance it. Indeed, we have great reason to bless and thank God for their Highnesses' steadiness in so good a cause, and their affection towards us: they do give us all the comfortable prospect that we ourselves can desire; and I pray God, in his good time, to answer and fulfil all these our hopes in them. I will not trouble your Grace with news from hence; only I cannot but acquaint your Grace, that here has lately been discovered a great design against the life of the Prince by poison: the person who was to have done it discovered it, and produced the poison, but he could not produce the person that hired him; for he would never tell him his name, nor meet him in any house. He gave him some money in hand, and promised him more, if he would but for trial first poison his landlord where he lodged, and then he should have much more for doing the same to the Prince: and because this person delayed to do either, he was by an unknown hand stabbed here in the fair time, but is not dead. We discourse little of it, but it is most true, that there was such a wicked design, which, I thank God, is defeated; and I pray God for ever to blast all designs against their Highnesses, and to make them great and lasting blessings to our Church and nation; to which purposes I humbly beg your Grace's prayers to God for them, and your blessing on

Your Grace's most humble and most obedient Servant,

WILL. STANLEY.

XV.

THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

GOOD MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, July 24, 1688.

I have received your letter by one of your beadles, acquainting me that the University of Oxford have been pleased to elect me their Chancellor upon the death of my grandfather; which as I esteem a great obligation upon me, who was but a few years since a member of it, so I shall not be wanting on all occasions in my endeavours for their service to the utmost of my power. My affairs require my going to London to-morrow; so that till the funeral is over I cannot reasonably appoint the time of my acceptance of this

favour; but from thence I shall give you notice. In the mean time, I desire you to accept of, and acknowledge in my behalf my real thanks to the University for the great trust they have thought fit to repose in me. I remain,

Your very affectionate Servant,

ORMOND.

XVI.

THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO DR. ALDRICH.

GOOD DOCTOR, Kingston Hall, July 24, 1688.

I had a letter from you, intimating my being elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford upon the notice you had upon the death of my grandfather. I make no doubt of your concern for me on this occasion; and therefore I return you my thanks, and desire you to do it to such friends of your acquaintance as were pleased to appear on my behalf, though, I presume, other persons of great quality and honour were proposed to them. Till the funeral rites are paid, I forbear to nominate a time for my acceptance of the trust the University have thought me worthy of. Designing for London to-morrow, I shall from thence write farther to them, in the mean time be you assured of my being

Your affectionate friend and servant,

ORMOND.

XVII.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.*

MY LORD,

I take this University, specially myself, to be at this time extremely unhappy in reference to his Majesty and your Lordship. His Majesty's displeasure, next to that of God's, I am sure, this loyal University knows it to be their duty never to do any thing to deserve; and will be always very careful of any neglect to your Lordship, of whose good-will and favour to us we have had so much experience.

My Lord, his Majesty expressed a fatherly care to us in recommending your Lordship to be our Chancellor;† and your Lordship were the most desirable person in the world. But as we had no notice of your Lordship's inclinations that way, or that you would accept of that office; so, on the other hand, my late Lord Duke of Ormond's obligations to this place were so many and so great, and our presumptions that his son would stand

* Jeffries, Baron of Wemme.

† This recommendation came in the form of a mandate signed by Lord Middleton as Secretary of State, directing them to elect the Lord Chancellor (Jeffries) to the Chancellorship of the University, vacant by the death of the Duke of Ormond. This mandate came a day too late, the young Duke of Ormond having been elected to succeed his grandfather.

up in his father's room were so reasonable, that the consideration of it made a speedy way for the election of his Lordship. As for the suddenness of our election, on Sunday, at two o'clock, I had an express of my Lord Duke's death, and I am peremptorily commanded by our statutes to proceed to a new election *quam primum commode fieri poterit:* accordingly, I called a Convocation on Monday morning, in which my Lord Duke that now is was chosen by one hundred and eighty voices. His Majesty's mandate did not come to me till yesterday in the afternoon.

I humbly beseech your Lordship to take this true account of our affairs as an excuse for us, and, according to the great goodness of your nature and good-will to this place, to offer it to his Majesty; to whose service, notwithstanding any sinister suggestions to the contrary, we are, and will be always entirely devoted. I am, &c.

"For my Lord Chancellor of England."

XVIII.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY TO LORD MIDDLETON.

MY LORD,

By this messenger I received his Majesty's command to me and the Convocation, requiring us to choose my Lord Chancellor of England into the office of Chancellor of this University. My Lord, we had notice on Sunday of the death of my Lord Duke of Ormond, and we are by our statutes expressly required to proceed to a new election *quam primum commode fieri poterit:* I did therefore, according to my duty, call a Convocation yesterday morning, where and when my Lord Duke of Ormond that now is was chosen Chancellor, as being a person that was thought most fit to receive the acknowledgments we owed to the manifold obligations his illustrious grandfather had laid upon this place, and one that would be very acceptable to his Majesty; to whom, I know, this loyal University will never be wanting in paying all manner of duty consistent with their oaths. I am, &c.

"For my Lord Middleton."

XIX.

DR. FINCH TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Long Leate, July 28, 1688.

Upon Wednesday last, the Vice-chancellor favoured me so far as to appoint me to wait upon your Grace with the humble duty of your University of Oxford: but, being informed upon the road by our beadle, that your Grace was gone to London, I was unfortunately disappointed of the honour of kissing your hands, which was the occasion of my calling here.

My Lord, though the sorrow for the death of my late Lord Duke is justly become universal, yet we, who have now the honour of being under your Grace's government, as we

had the happiness of being a long time supported by his excellent conduct, do presume to claim a peculiar right of condoling with your Grace for so extraordinary a loss. It cannot but be very obvious to every considering man, how fatal it had been to us, had not your Grace generously undertaken our protection.

My Lord, it was part of my commission to communicate to your Grace a mandate that was sent us the day after the election, in behalf of the Baron of Wemme, signed by the Lord Middleton: I was likewise to present you the copy of a very handsome letter from the Vice-chancellor to his Lordship. Your Grace was upon no other account to be troubled with these letters, than that we think it our duty to inform your Grace of all things that come to us of that nature, though they may be both in themselves illegal, as well as that they arrive too late.

I was, upon your Grace's perusal of these papers, ordered humbly to propose to your Grace, that, when your affairs will permit, you will be pleased to hasten your commands to us to attend your instalment, that we may be not only happy in the satisfaction, but likewise in the great advantage of your early confirmation.

I hope your Grace will be pleased to pardon this trouble, since I was ordered by my superiors to give it you personally, had I been in a possibility of coming in time. I return on Monday to Oxford, to be in readiness to observe such orders as your Grace shall be pleased to send us; to which place, if your Grace has any commands, they shall be diligently conveyed by,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

L. W. Finch.

XX.

THE BISHOP OF ELY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Seven at night.

Just now Mr. Thinne brings me a message from Lord Godolphin, whose credit is great at this time, that the King and the Court seem to wonder that they received no further applications from the Bishops to-day; adding, that it was my Lord Godolphin's opinion, that, whatever now was fit to be asked by us, we might have granted, at least by degrees; therefore we ought to be plain, and propose most humbly, as a necessary discharge of our duty to his Majesty, whatever we thought necessary for the public security. This I thought fit to impart for your Grace's consolation: but, good my Lord, press for expedition with some such kind of expression as this, "that otherwise the trap will be fallen upon us ere we are aware."

We discoursed Mr. Thinne upon their fatal inadvertency for excepting all the clergy by immediate consequence out of the general pardon: he stood amazed, and ran away to Whitehall about it, before the Council should rise.

I must be so just to Lord Clarendon as to add this one memoir, that not only an Irish archbishoprick with three bishopricks there, but all their deaneries, and every parsonage and

vicarage that has fallen in the gift of the Crown since Tyrconnel's regency, is kept void in Ireland. God's holy spirit guide your Grace, and grant you favour in the sight of his Majesty. May you, my good Lord, perform *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.* God send your Grace a good night and a happy morning.

I am your obliged and obedient Servant,

F. Ely.

XXI.

A JOURNAL OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THE KING AND SOME OF THE BISHOPS CONCERNING AN ABHORRENCE OF THE DESIGNS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

On Tuesday October 16, 1688, the Archbishop received a letter from Mr. Bridgeman, acquainting him that the King desired to speak with him that morning, if his health would permit. He went over at ten o'clock, and was introduced to the King, who discoursed to him about many things; as, about the restoring of Magdalen-college, in Oxford, (sc. that the Bishop of Winton mistook his letter, for he never meant to delay the visitation,*) and about the restoring of the Corporations; which, he said, would have been done the day before, had not the lawyers differed about the penning of the proclamation, &c. The Archbishop told him, that he had lately received a letter without a name, complaining of the ill state of the Church in Ireland; particularly, that four bishopricks had been long void there, (the filling of which was the Bishops' seventh advice to his Majesty,) and of some other grievances; of which the King desired to have a particular account sent to him, the Archbishop not having the letter about him.† At last the King came to that, which may be supposed to have been his chief intention in sending for the Archbishop; viz. to tell him that he had received certain intelligence, that the Prince of Orange was coming to invade England, and to make a conquest of it, &c.; and, in fine, that it would be very much for his service, and a thing very well becoming the Bishops, if they would meet together, and draw up an abhorrence of this attempt of the Prince, &c. The Archbishop told him, that, as soon as the Bishops had waited upon him the last time together, they, supposing his Majesty had no further commands for them, made haste to return into their several dioceses; so that there were now none of them in town, the Bishop of London being not yet come, and the Bishop of Rochester being gone into Essex. The King replied, that these two last-named might quickly be found; and that he was told that the Bishop of Peterborough was still in town. The Archbishop answered, that it was more than he knew; for that Bishop had bid him farewell some time before, saying that he was going into the country: so that, in all likelihood, no considerable number of Bishops could now be got together. Where it is

* See Macpherson's original papers, vol. i. p. 272, 273.

† See the letter immediately preceding this paper.

to be noted, that the King did not at all mention the Bishops of Chester, St. David's, &c. though there was now so direct an occasion leading to it. But the King still insisting upon his former proposal, the Archbishop, asking first, and having his Majesty's leave to speak freely, said, that there would be, he thought, no occasion for the Bishops to make such a declaration; "for," said he, "I could never believe, nor do I yet, that the Prince hath such a design;" for which, being demanded, he gave several reasons, too long to be here inserted: and this was all that passed at that time concerning this matter.

On Wednesday October 31st, the King ordered a letter to be sent by a messenger to the Bishop of London at Fulham, commanding him forthwith to wait upon his Majesty; but the Bishop, having been abroad in the country, came not home till it was too late to do so.

On Thursday November 1st, the Bishop of London waited on the King, and what passed between them the Bishop thus relates in his letter, dated November 6th:—"When I waited on the King by his command on Thursday morning November 1st, he told me that he had sent for me, when he had nothing but the declaration of the States of Holland; but that the declaration of the Prince of Orange himself was now come to his hands, out of which he read to me the short paragraph of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal inviting his Highness over: upon which I told him, I was confident the rest of the Bishops would as readily answer in the negative as myself; and his Majesty was pleased then to say, he did believe us all innocent. Next he told me, he thought it requisite we should make some public declaration of our innocence in this matter, and likewise an abhorrence. I then desired to see the declaration; but he refused. I told him, this was a matter to be considered. "Every one," said he, "is to answer for himself; but I will send for my Lord of Canterbury, who shall call you together."

On the same day the Archbishop received a summons from the Earl of Middleton to wait upon the King, with the rest of the Bishops, the next day at ten o'clock in the morning.

Friday November 2d, the Archbishop went to Whitehall, and found in the King's bed-chamber the Bishops of London, Durham, Chester, and St. David's; and they being all called into the closet to the King, he told them that he had seized a person, who had brought into the city a great number of the Prince of Orange's declarations, and had begun to disperse them; for his Majesty had received five or six copies from several persons, to whom they had been sent in penny-post letters, which he had thrown into the fire; but that he had still one copy, (which the Lord Preston held in his hand, who had all this while, from the first coming in of the Bishops, stood by the King,) "in which," said the King to the Bishops, "there is a passage that concerns you;" which he thereupon commanded the Secretary to read to them, pointing to the place where he would have him begin and end. The sum of it was, that he, the said Prince, was coming to invade England, being thereunto invited, among others of the English nation, by a great many of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. Whereupon the King was pleased to say, that he did not believe a word of it; that he was fully satisfied of the Bishops' innocency, and

that it was a false accusation; notwithstanding that, he thought fit to acquaint them with it, and that this was the occasion of his sending for them at that time.

The Archbishop, having thanked the King for his good opinion, so frankly and graciously expressed, spoke to this purpose: that he owed to his Majesty a natural allegiance, having been born in his kingdom; that he had oftentimes confirmed this by taking voluntarily the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and could have at once but one King; that (as his Majesty well knew) he never worshipped the rising sun, nor made court to any, but to his King; and to him he did, as often as he was pleased to receive it. And, as to this particular charge, and his personal concern in it, he averred it to be utterly false, he having been so far from inviting the said Prince any way to make this attempt, that he never made any application to him; and further, that he did not know, nor could believe, that any of his brethren the Bishops had ever given the Prince any such invitation. The Bishop of London said, he had given the King his answer the day before: the Bishop of Durham said, "I am sure I am none of them;" "Nor I," "Nor I," said the other two.

After this the King, repeating more than once his former declaration, that he verily believed the whole charge to be a groundless aspersion upon the Bishops, did nevertheless require, that some such denial should be published, saying, it would be for his service; yet would not allow him to send for the absent Bishops, but commanded the Archbishop to call together as many of the Bishops as were at hand, and to consider with them what was fit for them all to do, in order to the vindication of themselves from this accusation. The Archbishop told him, that there were no Bishops at hand (except those there present) but the Bishop of Rochester, to whom he undertook to send that night, and to summon him in. Here the Bishop of St. David's interposed, and affirmed that the Bishop of Peterborough was then in town; that he had been seen the day before in the Temple, and that he had enquired at his lodging, where so much was acknowledged. The Archbishop told the King, it might possibly be so, but he knew it not; and that, if he could, he would find him out.

Then the King went on to say, that when we met, if we should resolve upon a paper, or apology for ourselves in writing, before we did any thing further in it, the Archbishop should bring it to him,—"or rather send it," said he to the Archbishop, "for I would not endanger your health;" for which his royal compassion the Archbishop gave him thanks. "And then," he proceeded to say, "it being approved by me, may by you, the metropolitan, be sent to the absent Bishops for their concurrence."

All this while there was not a word spoken of the Abhorrence; but at last the King said, "You may do well, and it will be very much for my service, &c. if in your paper you express your dislike of the Prince's design:" to which, though he said it twice, neither the Archbishop, nor the Bishop of London, nor any of the other three, as far as is remembered, returned one word. And so they were dismissed.

On Saturday November 3rd, the Bishop of London (who had promised the Archbishop the day before to dine this day with him), and the Bishop of Rochester, who had been in

the mean time sent to, to meet him there, came to Lambeth accordingly; but understanding, when they came, that the Bishops of Chester and St. David's, though not invited, were come in before them, and were with the Archbishop, they went together to dine with a friend not far off; and returning about three or four o'clock (those two other Bishops being then gone) to the Archbishop, they consulted, and agreed that the Archbishop should send to enquire after the Bishop of Peterborough, and that all should meet again there on Monday, and resolve what was fit to be done on this occasion.

The Archbishop having found upon enquiry, that (whatever the Bishop of St. David's pretended) the Bishop of Peterborough was not in London, but that he might possibly be heard of at a place in the country not far remote; on Sunday November 4th, before day he horsed a servant, and sent him with a letter to the Bishop; who being found, came that evening to the Archbishop, and was by him acquainted with the meeting appointed for the day following; at which he promised to be present. In the mean time (this day before dinner) his Majesty sent the Lord Preston to the Archbishop, to require him to expedite, as much as might be, the return to the King's proposal. The Archbishop acquainted his Lordship what had been done herein hitherto; which he confessed was as much as could be done, and said that he would inform his Majesty accordingly.

On Monday Nov.* 5th, the Bishops met all at Lambeth according to appointment, and, after due deliberation and debate, agreed unanimously what measures to take and hold in their answers upon the whole matter; and what they were will best appear at their next audience.

This evening the Archbishop sent to the Lord Preston to give him notice, that the Bishops had this day met, and were ready to wait upon the King the next day between ten and eleven in the morning, if it were agreeable to his Majesty's convenience and good pleasure. The Secretary went immediately to the King, and, having spoken with him, returned answer that his Majesty accepted of the time, and would then expect them.

On Tuesday Nov. 6th, when the Bishops came together at Whitehall, they found the Bishop of St. David's waiting for them in the guard-chamber, ready to thrust in with them to the King; but they meeting also very happily the Lord Preston there, the Archbishop took him aside, and desired him to procure for them a private audience from the King. His Lordship understood the meaning of the request, and, going presently to the King, moved him in it; who thereupon (as the Lord Preston informed the Bishops) ordered the Bishop of St. David's to withdraw; which he did.

When the Bishops came into the closet—*

* Here concludes the narrative in the Archbishop's hand-writing.

XXII.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S RELATION.

"THE SUBSTANCE (AS I CAN REMEMBER) OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THE KING, MY LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, MY LORD OF LINCOLN, MY LORD OF PETERBOROUGH, AND MYSELF, ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1688."

We four being sent for into the room within the bed-chamber, whither the King was come before, my Lord Archbishop began to this purpose:—

ARCHBISHOP. Sir, we think we have done all that can be expected from us in this business: since your Majesty has declared you are well satisfied in our innocency, we regard not the censures of others.

Here the Bishop of Peterborough and myself, having been absent the former meeting, made our personal protestations (as my Lord Archbishop and my Lord of Lincoln had done before us) that we had neither by word nor writing, directly or indirectly, invited the Prince of Orange to invade his Majesty's dominions, nor did we know of any that had.

KING. My Lords, I am abundantly satisfied with you all as to that matter: I had not the least suspicion of you. But where is the paper I desired you to draw up and bring me?

BISHOPS. Sir, we have brought no paper; nor (with submission) do we think it necessary or proper for us to do it. Since your Majesty is pleased to say you think us guiltless, we despise what all the world besides shall say. Let others distrust us as they will, we regard it not: we rely on the testimony of our own consciences, and your Majesty's favourable opinion.

KING. But I expected a paper from you: I take it, you promised me one. I look upon it to be absolutely necessary for my service; and, seeing you are mentioned in the Prince of Orange's declaration, you should satisfy others as well as me.

Here the King, taking notice that my Lord of Peterborough and myself had been absent the time before, took out the declaration, and read to us what concerned the birth of the Prince of Wales, and the Prince of Orange's resolution to come hither for the preservation of our religion and laws, being invited by a great many of the spiritual and temporal lords.

BISHOPS. Sir, we cannot think ourselves bound to declare publicly under our hands against a paper come forth in such a private manner, which as yet nobody owns; and which, as they say, seems rather to be written like a lawyer's brief than a princely declaration. We assure your Majesty, scarce one in five hundred believes it to be the Prince's true declaration.

KING. No! said the King with some vehemence; then that five hundred would cut my throat, or bring in the Prince of Orange to cut my throat.

BISHOPS. God forbid!

KING. What! must not I be believed? Must my credit be called in question? And turning the declaration over in his hands, one of us asked, whether the Prince of Orange's arms were to it? He said, there were all the signs of a true declaration.

BISHOPS. Sir, your Majesty's credit is not here concerned: it is sufficient for that that your officers seized on it.

ARCHBISHOP. Sir, it is good reason to us to suspect it is not his, that this very clause is in it of his being invited by a great many spiritual and temporal lords; for either this is true, or false. If true, one would think it were very unwisely done of the Prince of Orange to discover it so soon: if it be false, one would not imagine a great prince would publish a manifest untruth, and make it the grounds of his enterprize.

KING. What! he that can do as he does, think you he will stick at a lie? You all know how usual it is for men in such cases to affirm any kind of falsehoods for the advantage of their cause.

BISHOPS. However, Sir, this is a business of state, which properly belongs not to us. To declare peace and war is not our duty, but in your Majesty's power only. God has entrusted the sword with you.

ARCHBISHOP. Truly, Sir, we have lately some of us here, and others my brethren who are absent, so severely smarted for meddling with matters of state and government, that it may well make us exceeding cautious how we do so any more. For, though we presented your Majesty a petition of the most innocent nature, and in the most humble manner imaginable, yet we were so violently prosecuted, as it would have ended in our ruin, if God's goodness had not preserved us: and I assure your Majesty, the whole accusation turned upon this one point—Your attorney and solicitor both affirmed, "That the honestest paper relating to matters of civil government might be a seditious libel, when presented by persons who had nothing to do with such matters," as, they said, we had not, but in time of Parliament. And indeed, Sir, they pursued us so fiercely upon this occasion, that, for my part, I gave myself for lost.

KING. I thank you for that, my Lord of Canterbury: I could not have thought you would believe yourselves lost by falling into my hands.

BISHOPS. Sir, my Lord of Canterbury's meaning is, he looked on himself as lost in the course of law:—lost in Westminster-hall.

ARCHBISHOP. But, Sir, the injustice of the prosecution did not cease there. After we had been acquitted by our jury, and our acquitment was recorded, and so we were right in the eye of the law; yet after that, we were afresh arraigned, and condemned by divers of your judges, as seditious libellers, in their circuits all over England.* And, Sir, I beg leave to say, that, if the law were open, (that is, as my Lord of Canterbury afterwards explained himself, if the same persons were not to be judges and parties,) had the meanest subject your Majesty has, been used as we have been, he would have found abundant reparation in your courts of justice for so great a scandal.

I will particularly acquaint your Majesty with what one of your judges, Baron H—— by name, said coming from the bench, where he had declared our petition to be a factious libel. A gentleman of quality asking him how he could have the conscience to say so

* See Justice Allibon's charge to the jury at Croydon, printed in Gutch's "Collectanea Curiosa," vol. i. p. 393.

when the Bishops had been legally discharged of it, he answered, "You need not trouble yourself with what I said on the bench: I have instructions for what I said, and I had lost my place if I had not said it." Sir, added the Archbishop, I hope this is not true; but it is true that he said it. There was another of your judges, Sir, Baron R——, who attacked us in another manner, and endeavoured to expose us as ridiculous, alleging that we did not write true English, and it was fit we should be corrected by Dr. Busby for false grammar.

BISHOPS. Sir, that was not all: the same judge, as we are certainly informed, presumed to revile the whole Church of England with the most scandalous language; affirming that this Church, which your Majesty has so often honoured by promising to cherish and protect it, is a cruel and bloody Church.

KING. The King, speaking to my Lord of Canterbury, said, My lord, this is *querelle d'Allemand:* all this is a matter quite out of the way. I thought this had been quite forgotten. For my part, I am no lawyer: I am obliged to think what my judges do is according to law; but, if you will still complain on that account, I think I have reason to complain too. I am sure your counsel did not use me civilly. I know what is commonly said, that it is customary for the counsel to speak what they can for their clients; but they went further, and interposed in matters they had nothing to do with. As for what you say, that it is hazardous to meddle in matters of state, that is true, when I do not call you to it: but I may ask counsel or assistance of any, as I now do of you; and then there can be no danger.

Here the King still earnestly urging that we would present him with something under our hands, which he had before sometimes called a dislike, sometimes an abhorrence, sometimes a detestation, of the Prince of Orange's proceedings; and his Majesty insisting much upon a promise of this nature, made by my Lords of Canterbury and London, when we other two were absent; they with all duty and submission persisted that they never positively promised a paper, but only to deliberate with other their brethren about town, whom they could confide in, about framing a paper; and if they should agree upon one, to bring or send it to his Majesty. Upon this the King asked my Lord Preston, whom his Majesty had sent for some time before, whether my Lords of Canterbury and London had not promised a paper, though they now denied it?

As far as I can recollect, my Lord Preston answered in these words, or to this sense—that the said Lord Bishops promised, that, if they should consent or agree upon a paper, they would present it to his Majesty before it was published.

BISHOPS. We then said, we were very few of the Bishops bench in town with whom we could advise; that in so weighty a business the King might be pleased to summon up the rest.

KING. The King answered, he had told my Lord of Canterbury before, that it would be too far and too late to send to Carlisle or Exeter, or other remote places; but, if we there present would subscribe, he would afterwards send to those who were farther off for their concurrence.

BISHOPS. We most humbly entreat that this small number here present may not be separated from the rest, as if we were more suspected than others: further we said, that the lords temporal were equally concerned in the accusation; and we prayed that they might be called together, and join with us in consulting about this protestation, required of us alone.

KING. The King hastily answered, Ay, I believe some of the temporal lords have been already with you, and caused you to change your minds.

BISHOPS. We all solemnly declared the contrary; and the King put this off by saying, that he knew some lords, as my Lord Preston, had been with us.

BISHOPS. We said, we understood that divers of the temporal lords had been with his Majesty upon this very occasion; and we humbly asked, whether he had demanded any such thing of them as he now was pleased to do of us?

KING. His Majesty said, No, he had not; but it would be of more concernment to his service that we should do it, because we had a greater interest with the people.

BISHOPS. We replied, that in matters of this nature, belonging to civil government and the affairs of war and peace, it was most probable, the nobility would have a far greater influence on the nation than we; they being persons who have a far greater stake to venture, and the managing such matters belonging properly to them, not us.

KING. But this is the method I have proposed. I am your King: I am judge what is best for me. I will go my own way: I desire your assistance in it.

BISHOPS. Sir, we have already made our personal vindication here in your Majesty's presence: your Majesty has condescended to say, you believe and are fully satisfied with it. Now, Sir, it is in your power to publish what we have here said to all the world in your royal declaration, which, we hear, is coming forth.

Here also something was added, which I do not distinctly remember; though, I think, it was to this effect: that this way of men's being so called to purge themselves might be a thing of very tender concernment to the liberties and properties of the subjects, especially of the Peers; and therefore we begged his Majesty would require no more of us in particular, but would rest content with publishing this our declaration of our innocency.

KING. No; if I should publish it, the people would not believe me.

BISHOPS. Sir, the word of a King is sacred: it ought to be believed on its own authority. It would be presumption in us to pretend to strengthen it; and the people cannot but believe your Majesty in this matter.

KING. They that could believe me guilty of a false son, what will they not believe of me?

BISHOPS. But, Sir, all the court sees us going in and out, and all the town will know the effect of what has been done and said; and we shall own it everywhere.

KING. And all the town will know what I have desired of you; so that it will be a great prejudice to my affairs, if you deny me.

BISHOPS. We still earnestly beseeched his Majesty that we might not be divided

from the temporal peers; that, at least, he would appoint a select number of them to consult with us. The King still refusing to hear of that, and urging our immediate compliance, we told him, that the chief place for us to serve his Majesty effectually in, was in a Parliament; and, when he should please to call one to compose all the distractions of his kingdoms, he should there find, that, as we had always shown our personal affections to his Majesty, so that the true interest of the Church of England was inseparable from the true interest of the Crown.

KING. My Lords, that is a business of more time: what I ask now, I think of present concernment to my affairs. But this is the last time: I will urge you no further. If you will not assist me as I desire, I must stand upon my own legs, and trust to myself and my own arms.

BISHOPS. The substance and conclusion of our reply was, that, as Bishops, we did assist his Majesty with our prayers; as Peers, we entreated we might serve him in conjunction with the rest of the Peers, either by his Majesty's speedy calling a Parliament, or, if that should be thought too long, by assembling together with us as many of the temporal Peers as were about the town. This was not hearkened to; and so we were dismissed.

XXII.

THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH'S RELATION OF WHAT PASSED WITH THE KING ABOUT ABHORRENCE, NOV. 6, 1688,

IN A LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

MY DEAR LORD AND BROTHER, November 7, 1688.

About ten we met, but in the way to the place appointed, my Lord Archbishop met Watson, who desired to thrust himself in amongst us, but was refused. He went into the bedchamber, and was sent away from thence by Lord Preston by the King's order, who was made acquainted with our exception. We entered the closet, and the King demanded the paper. We knew nothing of any paper. Rochester and I declared we had no hand directly or indirectly in calling in the Prince of Orange. The King said he believed so. The Archbishop said we had now done all that we could do: for we had satisfied his Majesty, and we were no way concerned for any man's opinion besides: but defied and scorned it. "But," says the King, "you ought to vindicate yourselves." "No, Sir," says he: "we have been often abused by false reports and libels: After we had suffered a sharp prosecution at the bar, your Majesty's judges reviled us all over the nation, and being secure of our innocence, we have made no complaints, nor endeavoured to set ourselves fair in men's opinions. If your Majesty be satisfied, as you declare yourself to be, we despise the opinions of others." "But," says the King, "you promised me a paper of your dislike." It was answered, "I promised to call the Bishops together, and to consult

about it," &c. "You promised me a paper, and my Lord Preston was witness of it;" upon which he was called, who said the same thing with a condition.

We argued against any farther declaration, because the paper against which we were to declare was not thought to be true; one of five hundred did not believe it. We were joined with the temporal lords, and if his Majesty expected any declaration from us, it ought to be in conjunction with them. The most proper place was a Parliament: but if his Majesty's business would not suffer the delay of a Parliament, the next best was a convention of the Peers. "No," says the King; "give me leave to understand my own business: It is your declaration which I desire: you are men beloved in your diocesses; and your names and examples will draw others." It was answered, the temporal lords are far more proper for that, whose great estates give them great interest. The Archbishop added, that we had lately suffered for meddling, as Williams said, with affairs of state, and there told all the story of our trial, and all this for meddling in public affairs. The King still insisted on a paper, and we on calling a Parliament, and in the interim the temporal lords: and so we parted under some displeasure. I am

Your affectionate brother,

T. P.

It was said that the King might use our names in his declaration, if he so pleased, which would be equal to our declaration that we had not called in the Prince: but, says he, the people will not believe me. We answered, it was a shame that we should give attestations to his Majesty's words, which were sacred, &c. He need not fear we should retract our words, especially when the retraction was treasonable, &c. He told the Archbishop and Bishop of London, that they had changed their minds; the temporal lords had turned them.

(Superscription)
"To the Right Reverend Father in God,
the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph."

XXIV.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON CONCERNING OUR* INVITING THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, AND ABHORRENCE OF HIS DESIGNS.

MY LORD, November 6.

Having some necessary business in Essex, which calls me away to-morrow for two or three days: I thought it my duty to give you this account.

When I waited upon the King by his command on Thursday morning the 1st of November, he told me that he had sent for me when he had nothing but the declaration of the States of Holland, but that the declaration of the Prince of Orange was now come to

* The title in Archbishop Sancroft's hand.

his hands; out of which he read to me the short paragraph of the lords temporal and spiritual inviting his Highness over. Upon which I told him, I was confident the rest of the Bishops would as readily answer in the negative as myself: and his Majesty was pleased then to say, he did believe us all innocent. Next he told me, he thought it requisite we should make some public declaration of our innocence in this matter, and likewise an abhorrence. I then desired to see the declaration; but he refused. I told him this was a matter to be considered. "Every one," says he, "is to answer for himself; but I will send for my Lord of Canterbury, who shall call you together."

On Friday the 2d of November, I waited upon the King with my Lord of Canterbury, &c., when his Majesty told him of the Prince's declaration, and made the Lord Preston read it. Then he put the question round, which was answered in the negative. Then the King desired some such denial should be published, saying it would be for his service; but would not allow time to send for the Bishops at a distance. So his Grace told him he would send for those in and about town, to consult about it. Upon which the King repeated twice, that we should add our dislike, which would be very much for his service.

I have not time to write the last conference, which I hope my Lords of Rochester and Peterborough will complete

XXV.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S REASONS AGAINST GIVING ANY PAPER OF ABHORRENCE.

1. We humbly beseech your Majesty to receive what we offer in a favourable sense, since we have done nothing that can justly deserve misconstruction.

2. We humbly conceive that a general clause in a declaration, not avowed nor published, is not proof, or a sufficient ground for a man, or number of men, to vindicate themselves, as if they were concerned in it. And further, if this declaration should be owned and published by the Prince of Orange, we beg leave to offer it as our opinion to your Majesty, that it would be a new thing, and no good precedent to put it (in) the power of a foreign and a general accusation to bring your Majesty's subjects in particular to a vindication of themselves, as if they were regularly accused, and legally tried for a criminal correspondence.

3. If your Majesty should think fit to make it punishable to read or communicate this declaration, then, by making such an address as is required, we should do an act, grounded upon a thing which must not be produced; and, consequently, we shall not be at liberty to allege the reasons of our doing it, which must unavoidably expose us not only to censure, but suspicion.

4. As we have in all times adhered to our duty and allegiance, we are the less willing to do any thing now, which may distinguish us as men marked with a particular cha-

racter of suspicion; since we think our loyalty less blemished by not being called in question, than it would be by the clearest vindication that can be made of it upon this occasion.

5. We beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that by an address from these few of us who are now in town, without the concurrence of the greater number, who are absent, it would look to the world, as if the Bishops (who, we hope, are very well united) were of differing opinions; or, that we, who are now here, had more particular need of a vindication than the rest; which maketh it reasonable for us to be unwilling to come within the danger of an interpretation.

6. We consider that the clause in the declaration joineth the lords spiritual and temporal; so that, if it has any meaning, it must intend that there is a concurrence of many of both orders to invite them to this attempt; which would make it more improper for us, even though all the Bishops were here, to make a separate vindication, where the accusation is joined and comprehends the temporal lords in it; so that, if any notice is to be taken of it, it can be done nowhere so naturally, or with so good effect, as in Parliament, which whenever your Majesty shall think fit to call, we resolve to do our duty, and to employ our utmost endeavours for the good of the Church and State, and for the preventing the miseries which now seem to threaten these distracted kingdoms, and to acquit ourselves in all things which shall be there transacted, as becomes, &c.

XXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, INFORMING HIM THAT THE DUTCH FLEET HAD BEEN SEEN OFF DOVER, SAILING THROUGH THE CHANNEL TO THE WESTWARD.

MY LORD, Sunday Morning, Nov. 4, 1688.

Last night, about eleven o'clock, the King received letters by an express from Dover, that about four that evening the Dutch fleet was seen off that place sailing through the Channel to the westward; and this morning the King has had another express out of the Downs, with this account, that Captain Aylmer, commander of one of the King's frigates, who was cruising towards the coast of Holland, had taken a Dutch fly-boat, wherein were four companies of Sir Henry Bellasise's regiment, and brought them into the Downs. This fly-boat, as it is said, sprung a leak, which made her so far behind the rest. This sailing westward seems to be a surprise at Court. My son had orders at three this morning to march to Portsmouth with his regiment, whither he is just going. Several of the other troops hereabouts are marched into Hyde-park, where they are to receive orders. This is all the information I can at present give your Grace: as soon as I know any thing worth your trouble, you shall not fail of an account of it from,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

XXVII.

A COPY OF FATHER CON'S LETTER TO THE PROVINCIAL OF THE JESUITS AT ROME.

SIGN^re^ GUILIELMO MIO PAD^ne^, Londra, Dec. 10, 1688.

Ecco finite tutte le belle speranze del progresso della santa religione in questo paese, il rè e la regina fuggiti, tutti li loro adherenti abandonati, un nuovo prencipe entrato, con una armata straniera senza una minima oppositione, una cosa non piu vista, ni udita, ni mentionata nell' historia, un rè pacifico possessore del suo regno con una armata di trenta mila combatenti huomini, e quaranta vascelli di guerra uscir del suo regno senza tirar un colpo di pistola; gli stranieri medesimi che sono qui entrati restano attoniti, e si burlano degl' Inglesi per la loro poltroneria, e infideltà a lor principe. Pare che il cielo e la terra hanno conspirato contra di noi, ma non è questo tutto, il gran male viene da noi medesimi, la nostra imprudenza, avaritia, ambitione, hanno attirato addosso tutto questo; il buon rè s' è servito d' huomini deboli, furbi, e sciocchi, e il vostro gran ministro che havete mandato qui n'a contribuito anche la parte sua; in vece d' un ministro attemperato, prudente e sagace, havete mandato un Giovenetto, un bel *coram vobis* per far l' amore alle donne.

" Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla tulistis."

Basta, caro amico mio, qui è finito, mi rincresce esser venuto fra tanti matti, i quali non hanno saputi ne regere ne governare; adesso torno con la piccola famiglia come posso a terra di Christiani, mi costa caro questo infelice viaggio, ma non v' è rimedio. Le speranze erano belle, s' il negotio fosse stato nelle mani d' huomini prudenti, ma per disgratia nostra li furbi stavano al timone. Ho dato il buon anno ai nostri signori pad^ni^. come do anche a voi et a tutti amici. Si Dio mi conduce salvo oltra mare, udirà anche delle mie nuove. Resto al solito.

POSTSCRIPT.

Un gentilhuomo Scozzese arrivato qui con il signore P. D. O. chiamato Salton, si racomanda a voi e al signore Tomaso. La confusione qui è grande, non si sà quel ch' ha da essere, ne quel che sarà, ma per noi non v' è più ne fede ne speranza; siamo futti per questa volta; i padri della santa compagnia hanno contribuito la parte loro à questa ruina; gli altri, vescovi, confessori, frati, monachi, hanno caminato con poca prudenza.

XXVIII.

TRANSLATION OF FATHER CON'S LETTER.

HONOURED FATHER WILLIAM, London, Dec. 10. 1688.

There is now an end of all the pleasing hopes of seeing our holy religion make a progress in this country. The King and the Queen are fled, their adherents are left to themselves, and a new Prince with a foreign army has got possession without the least resistance. It is a thing unseen, unheard of, and unrecorded in history, that a King in peaceful possession of his realm, with an army of thirty thousand fighting men, and forty ships of war, should quit his kingdom without firing a pistol. The foreigners themselves who have got possession are astonished at their own success, and laugh at the English for their cowardice and disloyalty to their Prince. It looks as if Heaven and earth had conspired against us. But this is not all; the great evil comes from ourselves; our own imprudence, avarice, and ambition have brought all this upon us. The good King has made use of fools, knaves, and blockheads; and the great minister that you sent hither has contributed also his share. Instead of a moderate, discreet, and sagacious minister, you sent a mere boy, a fine showy fop to make love to the ladies.

"High praises, mighty trophies you have won."

But enough on this head, my dear friend; the whole affair is over. I am only sorry that I made one among so many madmen, who were incapable either of directing or governing. I now return, as I can, with the little family to a land of Christians: this unhappy voyage costs me dear; but there is no help for it. The prospect was fair, if the business had been in the hands of men of sense; but, to our disgrace, the helm was held by rogues. I have already paid the compliments of the new year to our patrons; and I now do the same to you and to all friends. If God grants me a safe passage beyond sea, you shall hear further from me. I remain as usual; &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

A Scotch gentleman named Salton, who is arrived here with Signior P. D. O. sends his respects to you and Signior Tomaso. The confusion here is great, nor is it known what is likely to be the event, much less what it will be; but for us there is neither faith nor hope left. We are totally put to the rout this time, and the fathers of our holy company have contributed their part towards this destruction. All the rest, bishops, confessors, friars, and monks have acted with little prudence.

XXIX.

MR. POWYS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Jan. —, 1688-9.

I have sent my servant to attend your Grace for the order of Council I left last night; which is not to be taken away, unless your Grace have no further occasion for it. I know your Grace will easily pardon me for being solicitous to have it printed; for I was desirous to lay hold of any thing which might, if not to the world excuse, yet something perhaps alleviate my acting in that most unhappy prosecution, which (I call God to witness) was the most uneasy thing to me that ever in my life-time I was concerned in: and if I may be so happy as by any future action of my life to testify my sorrow, and my earnest desire, if it were possible, to make reparation, I will surely perform it with the greatest cheerfulness. My Lord, I hope, notwithstanding what is past, your Grace will be pleased to have that charity for me, as to believe me to be what I really am,

My Lord, &c.

THO. POWYS.

XXX.

THE BISHOP OF ELY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Ely House, Jan. 11, 1688-9.

If your Grace will forgive me and my brother our unwelcome importunities yesterday, I will offer nothing at this time that I believe will be unacceptable, but something that I hope meets your own thoughts and inclinations. And it is this, to proceed in the designs of drawing up propositions of our doctrine against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession. And this scheme we humbly and earnestly beg of your Grace to form and put into order for us. Without compliment, your Grace is better versed than all of us together, in those repertories of canons and statutes whence these propositions should be taken. If you please, my Lord, to cast your eye upon the enclosed paper of little hints from our oaths, your Grace will see through my design upon you, and I hope will oblige us all by undertaking it. The common law papers will furnish your Grace with arguments of that kind. Could your Grace finish this so as we might meet and settle it tomorrow, and perfect something of a preface before it, or inferences upon it from my Lord of Bath and Wells's draught; then we might communicate all this to some few of our ablest advisers, and have it ready to present if occasion require. We came home from Lambeth four bishops in my coach, and we could not but deplore our case, that we should disagree in any thing, and such a thing as the world must needs observe. But their ob-

serving this, and insulting thereupon, makes it the more necessary for us and our own vindication, to find out something in which we all can agree, and the world may take notice of our agreement. And I see nothing likely to unite us, and satisfy good men, who are now expecting and fixing their hopes as well as eyes upon us (as the body to make the stand), but such a representation as I propose.

Meanwhile, if your Grace will be pleased thus to lay out your time and thoughts for us, we shall not be idle, but, I hope, very well busied this afternoon; for there is to be a meeting at Ely-house of the most considerable city clergymen, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Tenison, Dr. Sherlock, and Dr. Scott. The three last, we are sure, are in our sentiments entirely: so are many, if not most, of the London ministers. Three bishops, St. Asaph, Peterborough, and myself, will be present; and Dr. Burnet is to sustain his notion of the forfeiture.

Since I promised your Grace the paper I read at Lambeth about the method of our proceeding, I send it; though it signifies little, and your Grace does not need it. But I enclose to your Grace another paper, which ought to be kept very private, but may be published one day to show we have not been wanting faithfully to serve a hard master in his extremity; and for the present it will be proof enough to your Grace, that, although I have made some steps which you could not toward our new master, I did it purely to serve our old one, and preserve the public.

I beg your Grace's pardon for all my encroachments upon your goodness, and remain with the greatest sincerity,

May it please your Grace, &c.

FRAN. ELY.

XXXI.

INFORMATION OF JOB STEVENS ABOUT COLBRAN THE JESUIT.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE, BY THE GRACE OF ALMIGHTY GOD, LORD HIGH PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE TRUE PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN FAITH.

From my Chamber in the great Ambery, hard by the Joiner, not far from Westminster Abbey, Jan. 18, 1688-9.

May it please your Royal Highness to understand, that last night, about ten o'clock at night, I heard Colbran the Jesuit say, he would either poison or kill your Royal Highness, and that the Church of England were heretics, &c.; and said, when the Protestants were killed in Ireland about forty years ago, there was just cause for it, &c.; and that the late army of thirty thousand that came over to your Royal Highness, it was because they were heretics; but yet the Papists expected a time wherein the heretics should suffer. I will take upon my oath, he said it at Mr. Dyer's coffee-house, in a

chamber hard by the Green-Dragon in Whitefriars. Colbran writes concerns there Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, &c. I suppose his letters he writes, he writes up for the Popish Church, &c. I presume, tomorrow he will be there, and busied in writing concerns; and your Royal Highness will do very well to send a messenger for me, and a strong file of musqueteers for him; by reason he set a penknife last night to my throat, because I would not turn Papist, but declared myself firm for the holy, loyal Church of England, and your Royal Highness.

Thus, with my hearty prayers to Almighty God, my King eternal, to whom alone all honour and glory and praise belong, that he will be graciously pleased to crown your Royal Highness, and your royal, godly, protestant and virtuous consort, with all imperial happiness and prosperity here, and with an everlasting diadem of ever-flourishing tranquillity in the world to come, for the most precious merits, bitter death, and bloody agony sake of Christ Jesus, our blessed Lord and only Saviour and Redeemer, I remain your Royal Highness's constant, steady, assured, faithful friend and servant, and humble and obedient agent,

JOB STEVENS.

Αρθαρτω βασιλει παντοτε δυξα θεω.

Vera copia comparata et revisa.

XXXII.

VOTE OF THANKS FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO THE CLERGY.

Veneris primo die Feb. 1688-9.

RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, that the thanks of this House be given to the Clergy of the Church of England, who have preached and written against Popery, and refused to read (in their churches) the King's declaration for toleration, in opposition to the pretended dispensing power, claimed in the late reign of King James II., and have opposed the illegal Ecclesiastical Commission.

ORDERED

That Mr. Leveson Gower, and Mr. Auditor Done do attend the two archbishops with the said resolve, to the end their Graces may communicate the same to the clergy in their respective provinces.

PAUL JODRELL.

XXXIII.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK TO THE SPEAKER, IN ANSWER TO THE VOTE OF THANKS.

MR. SPEAKER, Feb. 2, 1688-9.

We do not think it sufficient, that we have signified our grateful sense of the favourable vote of your honourable House, sent to us yesterday by two worthy members thereof, unless we do also repeat the same to you under our hands, and withal give you assurance (as we do hereby) that, so far as our observation can reach, the Bishops and Clergy of England are unmoveably fixed to the Protestant religion, and absolutely irreconcileable both to Popery and arbitrary power; and so, beseeching Almighty God to direct all your counsels and resolutions to his own glory, and to the good and welfare both of Church and State, we humbly take leave, and subscribe ourselves

Your very affectionate Servants,

W. CANT.

THO. EBOR.

XXXIV.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

It being probable that, as soon as this Convention shall be made a Parliament, one of the first things they will fall upon will be the Ecclesiastical Commission: it was thought necessary by some friends of mine, that I should draw up something, though not in defence, yet in extenuation of my fault in sitting there. What I have done in haste I here send your Grace, humbly submitting it to your Grace's judgment and correction. That part wherein your Grace is mentioned, I beseech your Grace to change and alter as you shall think fit, and so any of the rest; and the more faults your Grace shall find in it, the kinder I shall take it.

My Lord, I think after this to write a second letter to the same noble person, and therein to defend myself as to the other objections against me; as, the acting in the commission of London, and, above all, the writing the account of the conspiracy in 1683. In the end of this second letter, perhaps, I shall have occasion to mention what I did in conjunction with your Grace and the other Bishops, in respect to advising and petitioning King James, before and after the Prince of Orange landed. As I remember, your Grace has made a kind of record of all that then passed amongst us: if your Grace shall favour me with a sight of it by a trusty messenger, it shall be safely re-

turned to your Grace; and I will take nothing out of it that shall prejudice your Grace, or any of my brethren.

May it please your Grace,
I am your Grace's most dutiful and obedient Servant,
THO. ROFFEN.

P. S. The time pressing so much, I must intreat your Grace to despatch my papers with convenient speed. My servant is attending till your Grace has done with them; and I beg your Grace would put your corrections in a paper by themselves, if one paper shall hold them.

XXXV.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, Westminster, Feb. 3.

I send and present this short apology to your Grace, which you will find is altered, I hope to your Grace's content. What now remains in the letter of that passage relating to your Grace, I assure your Grace is literally true. I never knew your Grace's judgment of the illegality of the Commission till after your Grace had spoken with the King at Whitehall; which, your Grace may please to remember, was many days, I believe some weeks, after the Commission was begun.

In my last I intimated to your Grace that I intended a second letter, and therefore I begged your Grace would let me have a view of what your Grace has collected concerning our late applications to King James. But now I shall not trouble your Grace so far; only if your Grace would let Dr. Paman transcribe those ten advices we gave the King, and would be pleased to send them over by Ned Johnson, or any other trusty messenger, I should take it as a great favour. I pray God in Heaven preserve your Grace.

I am
Your Grace's most humble and most obedient Servant,
THO. ROFFEN.

XXXVI.

A LIST OF KING JAMES'S ARMY IN IRELAND AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Regiments of Horse and Dragoons.	Provinces.	Number of Troops.	Men.
Duke of Berwick's First Troop of Guards .		1	400
Sarsfield's Second Troop of Guards . .	Leinster.	1	400
Lord Tyrconnel's Regiment . .	Leinster.	12	600
Sarsfield's Regiment	Leinster.	12	600
Galmoy's Regiment . . .	Leinster.	12	600
Sutherland's Regiment . . .		9	450
Abercorn's Regiment		9	450
Parker's Regiment		9	500
Luttrell's Regiment	Leinster.	12	600
Lord Viscount Tyrconnel's Regiment . .	North.	16	800
Maxfield's Regiment of Dragoons . .		12	600
Sir Neale's Regiment	North.	12	600
Trant's Regiment, vacant . . .		12	720
King's Regiment of Dragoons . . .		12	720
Lord Dungan's Regiment . . .	Leinster.	12	720
Colonel Carroll's Regiment . . .	Munster.	12	720
Lord Clare's Regiment . . .	Munster.	12	720
Colonel Luttrell's Regiment . . .	Leinster.	12	720
Lord Tyrconnel's Dragoons . . .	Leinster.	12	720
Colonel Purcell's Regiment . . .	Munster.	12	720
	All the Horse and Dragoons		12,360

Regiments of Foot.	Provinces.	Number of Companies.	Men.
Regiment of Guards . . .		30	3000
Lord Grand Prior's Regiment . . .		22	1100
Colonel Hamilton's Regiment . .	Leinster.	22	1100
	Carried over . .		5200

Regiments of Foot.	Provinces.	Number of Companies.	Men.
Brought forward		.	5200
Lord Bellew's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Lord Louth's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Lord Galway's Regiment	Connaught.	26	1300
Lord Evaugh's Regiment	North.	13	650
Gordon O'Neale's Regiment	North.	13	650
Cormack O'Neale's Regiment	North.	13	650
Phelix O'Neale's Regiment	North.	13	650
Lord Maguire's Regiment	North.	26	1300
O'Reilly's Regiment	North.	26	1300
Brown's Regiment	Connaught.	13	650
Mac Mahon's Regiment	North.	13	650
Old Grace's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Colonel Nugent's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Colonel Grace's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Colonel Bourke's Regiment	Connaught.	26	1300
Dillon's Regiment	Connaught.	13	650
O'Gara's Regiment	Connaught.	13	650
Lord Kingsland's Regiment	Leinster.	22	1100
Lord Trimblestown's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Butler Mongarett's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Butler Killeash's Regiment	Munster.	13	650
Sir John Fitzgerald's Regiment	Munster.	13	650
O'Sullivance's Regiment	Munster.	26	1300
Lord Kinmare's Regiment	Munster.	13	650
O'Connor's Regiment	Munster.	13	650
Lord Slane's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Sir Maurice Eustace's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
Lord Westmeath's Regiment	Leinster.	13	650
O'Donovan's Regiment	Munster.	13	650
Con. O'Neale's Regiment	North.	13	650
Lord P. Offin's Regiment	Connaught.	13	650
Lord Dillon's Regiment	Connaught.	13	650
Carried over		.	29,700

Regiments of Foot.	Provinces.	Number of Companies.	Men.
	Brought forward	.	29,700
Mac Killiaidy's Regiment . . .	Munster.	13	650
Sir Mich. Creagh's Regiment . .	Leinster.	13	650
Colonel Connell's Regiment . . .	Munster.	13	650
Colonel Moore's Regiment . . .	Leinster.	13	650
Lord Gormanstown's Regiment . .	Leinster.	13	650
	Foot . .		32,950
	Horse, &c. .		12,360
Total of Foot, Horse, and Dragoons .			45,310

Not reckoning a great many Independent Troops and Companies, viz. :—

Captain Garrett Dillon	60
Captain Ria	60
Captain Driscoll	60
His Son's Dragoons	60
Mac Namara	60
Old Colonel Grace	60
O'Collehan	60
O'Sullivan Moore	60
Spott. Luttrell	60
	540

Indorsed " List of King James's Army in Ireland, after the Battle at the Boyne."

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GENERAL INDEX

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